The Federal Executive and Civil Rights

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

AND

CIVIL RIGHTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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This report was prepared by the staff and reviewed by the officers of the Southern Regional Council. In its preparation, the Council was assisted by advice and suggestions from some forty persons notably qualified by their study and experience in this field.

A special debt of gratitude is due Daniel H. Pollitt, Associate Professor of Law at the University of North Carolina, for preliminary legal research and analysis.

There are areas of social policy, such as welfare and farm programs, which basically affect race relations but do not directly raise questions of civil rights. These areas are not discussed.

Also omitted from discussion are personal as distinguished from official activities of the President. Their importance is in no degree minimized. Since the Presidency is a focal point of American interest, all of the acts of an occupant of that office receive national attention and thus set an example for millions of Americans. This is one of the fringe attributes of the office.

Presidential authority greatly exceeds constitutional or legal definition; much of it springs from the high personal regard and even affection in which the Chief Executive is held. Therefore, a President of robust conviction will lose no occasion, however trivial, to show by purely personal action his admiration of principles of equality. Such demonstration may be worth fully as much as executive orders and formal pronouncements.

THE PROPOSALS

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I. THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Internal Policies and Organization

1. An adviser on race relations could perform valuable services for the President, and could also participate helpfully in the program planning of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. There is, furthermore, a strong case for establishment of an office, with adequate staff, to review the execution of all governmental programs and expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. ..... 1 - 5

B. National Leadership

2. National unity will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly to and of the South, and if he and his administration confine their statements of policy regarding racial discrimination to that which they are prepared to enforce. The President and his administration could specially contribute to the abatement of sectionalism by frequent conferences and consultations, publicized or not as they see fit, with Southern economic and political leaders, to the end of broadening the base of Southern support for civil rights and equal opportunities. ..... 5 - 8

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B. Federal Employment

5. There should be overall review of federal employment practices, without waiting for complaints and with the aim of immediate compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. Agencies whose functions are critically related to civil rights have a pressing need for Negro staff. Mindful of the cumulative effects of past discrimination, the government could be a yardstick for private employers by careful experimentation with techniques for the measuring of job potential. ..... 12 - 15

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C. Education

7. We urge upon the President that he

--publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

--publicly affirm his administration's belief that segregation is an intolerable hindrance to the national goal of higher educational standards;

--direct the Attorney-General to look closely into the authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases;

--direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to assemble and disseminate, for the use of educators and the instruction of the public, educational facts related to the integration process. ..... 16 - 20

8. The vast federal outlays for public school education need to be administered with scrupulous regard for the basic federal policy against discrimination. At the present time, the two areas of vocational training and schooling for children of military personnel merit special attention to insure racial equality and fair-dealing. ..... 20 - 21

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10. While the present turmoil continues, the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statutes and precedents which protect personal security, and to discharge fully the federal government's duty to preserve the public peace; in particular, every available means should be used to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly and protest. ..... 22 - 25

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17. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in the apprenticeship and employment services.. 36

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18. A declaration by the President that federal housing programs will be guided by a belief in the values of integration would be the soundest basis for an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination. Because the federal government has been a principal architect of housing segregation, there is special reason for it continuously to evaluate its success in reversing the process. Adverse reactions, especially in the South, are to be expected to firm policies; Presidential leadership can be decisive in allaying and overcoming them. ..... 36 - 47

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I. THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Internal Organization and Policies

The President holds power under the Constitution and existing statutes which, diligently exercised, could carry the country far toward racial relations that are sane and honorable. These powers should be examined and responsibly used.

As with many ideas that are much discussed, the words "Presidential leadership" sometime appear to be an abstraction, unhung from the life of the office and the man who must occupy it. We think that leadership in race relations means a showing of concern, in all the countless acts of the office, that America be a place where men live with each other in confidence, and society cooperates with each of its members in the fulfillment of his search for a good life.

Race relations is America's oldest unsolved problem. The problem is now at a stage of crisis, though certainly not for the first time. Crises of the past were resolved, by compromise, by war, and,during the long years from 1877 to 1933, by national avoidance of responsibility. The present crisis will be, somehow, overcome. What is important is that the nation dedicate itself this time to solutions that will endure, and that will not breed future conflict. This ancient and always divisive issue has a claim on us not only for settlement, but for a decisive resolution. It is a burden which national self-respect demands that we finally lay down.

Negroes are not the only disadvantaged minority, and the South is not the only locus of discrimination against Negroes. The racial problems of the South are, however, now and throughout our history the acute test of

American ideals of liberty and equality. There is little in the record to encourage the belief that the situation in the South will improve unless recognized as the nation's failure, and properly subject therefore to national policy.

Because ours is a government under a Constitution, Negroes have secured through court action the enforcement of many of their rights. The judicial process is not, however, a valid substitute for political leadership. The courts can only guardedly look beyond the case at bar, and their decrees have limited application. Negro Americans, whose resources have been taxed severely in financing and manning what is in truth a defense of everybody's constitutional principles, have a just claim that the President and his administration give invigorating guidance toward real equality. The nation as a whole needs to feel the impulse of Presidential concern and activity. The free peoples of the world, who value the reputation of the United States, wait to see us act with fairness toward our own citizens.

Presidential action should not be so emphasized that it will blunt the drive for much needed remedial legislation. But the existing powers of the office should be used, and every governmental program ought to be administered in such ways as to move expeditiously to end discrimination and to open all careers to talent.

A new administration cannot give itself a civil rights policy, tie it together, and expect its unwinding over the years to satisfy the problems that will arise. Clarity of policy at the beginning is essential. But racial relations are human relations, and the government needs to equip itself, both organizationally and, more importantly, with inward commitment, to a steady alert, to a sensitivity for people, to a readiness for

imaginative action. More is required, therefore, than broad policy decisions; there must also be solid organizational planning.

The federal government, besides being the country's largest employer, administers many programs affected by, and influencing, racial relations. In the preceding three administrations, various committees and advisers have been employed to represent and enforce the government's interest in non-discrimination. The committees, such as the President's Committee on Government Employment and the Government Contract Committee, have been understaffed and have had a disjointed status in the administrative structure; moreover, their enforcement authority has been meagre. The race relations advisers employed by several agencies have appeared to be concessions intended to allay pressures rather than integral figures in policy making and implementation. The time has come for the government to organize itself to do a necessary task. The principal elements of the problem seem to be the following:

Internal Consistency

The federal government's own operations need to be a model of just race relations, or else the credentials of the government to lead others are weak. This means that the government must hire, fire, and promote with obvious regard for racial equity; must eradicate segregation in its offices; must administer its vast affairs in scrupulous accord with its published statements of belief. It follows that every appointee to high office, whether or not he may personally endorse the goal of immediate non-discrimination, should be informed that in his official acts he is committed to that aim.

Staff Assistance

The President should seriously consider his need for a staff adviser. These are days of tension in the South. The President will from time to time have to react to specific developments, such as a school or a sit-in controversy. He may want to interpret these events to the country and he may want to assert the national viewpoint regarding them. He ought to have an aide whose judgment and experience he trusts. Moreover, in the normal course of his duties the President will on numerous other occasions meet questions where staff help will be beneficial. He will require assistance in the framing and supervision of Executive Orders.

Coordination

Both the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice are engaged in investigations of deprival of rights by state and local governments. Even though the aim of the Commission is reporting, and that of the Division is law enforcement, there should be intimate coordination between the two. To effect this could be another duty of the President's adviser.

Administrative Supervision

There is the unavoidable task of policing. This is a function unlike and apart from policy planning and coordination. The President should seriously consider creation of a single office to supervise and investigate the execution of all programs, including federal and contractor employment, which have consequences for race relations. The office would require an adequate staff or else it would not be effective; its director would need to be a person of stature sufficient to deal with departmental and agency heads; he should have access to the President.

The general function of the office would be as a watchdog over federal programs. It should be empowered to receive reports and to prescribe their nature; to receive complaints and to investigate them; and to counsel with the agencies. The clear responsibility for enforcement of non-discriminatory policies should remain with the agencies. There are practical difficulties in the establishment of such an office, but perhaps they are no greater than have been overcome in other cases. Conceivably, the staff could be on loan from other agencies, or could be located in some agency, such as the Bureau of the Budget (as President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights recommended). The usefulness of the office would be great enough to justify the administrative ingenuity needed for its formation. Equalization of citizenship is a paramount goal which justifies an extraordinary administrative tool, for use in behalf of that decisive resolution which an old dilemma requires.

1. An adviser on race relations could perform valuable services for the President, and could also participate helpfully in the program planning of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. There is, furthermore, a strong case for establishment of an office, with adequate staff, to review the execution of all governmental programs and the expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination.

B. National Leadership

To discuss federal policies for race relations without acknowledging

the political vicissitudes surrounding energetic action is unrealistic. A declining but still formidable section of political strength, applied at both national and state levels, exists to combat any assertion of the national interest in civil rights. There are thousands of white Southerners who have shown a willingness, which may be expected to continue, to use their physical and economic strength to frustrate reform. There will be no advance without controversy, intense and sometimes bitter.

We believe we speak with knowledge of the South when we say that controversy and conflict are only worsened when there is any arguable doubt of the beliefs and intentions of the Chief Executive, when heated strife is followed by only slight and ambiguous victories for civil rights, or when the federal government and its agencies proclaim policies which are not enforced.

The President is and should be President of all the people. He has no higher duty than the maintenance and perfection of national unity. He is the representative of white men and Negroes, Northerners and Southerners, believers in equality and believers in segregation. He and his office are the focal point of the wills of all these, and it is no part of his Constitutional obligation to attack any legitimate group, interest, or body of opinion.

Yet the President of the United States in the 1960's ought carefully to decide what are the necessary conditions of national unity. We think they do not reside in the perpetuation of sectionalism. The white population of eleven Southern states is roughly 20% of the nation's total. These are people who, besides being numerous, have been a seed bed throughout our history of able statesmen, treasured writers, and valorous military men. They are not a people to be contemned or shunned. And there could be no

greater mistake than to assume that this 20% is a monolith. A large proportion would welcome, or at least have no objection to, a broadening of civil rights because, more keenly than do persons in other regions, they want to be emancipated from the heavy, age-old weight. There are state governments which have given clear indication, in the language of political maneuver, of their willingness to be silent followers of a national consensus. There is, in short, within the ranks of white Southerners practical, effective support for reform which ought not to be undervalued.

Ours is a federal government under a Constitution of limited powers. That this is so is a great national inheritance. There is no reason, however, why we should continue to struggle over long overthrown political theories and long repudiated Constitutional principles.

The South should be informed where the President stands. Statements ought to be more, and not less, frequent than in the past and ought to be genuinely helpful to public understanding. That a state of near anarchy could exist for weeks in one of our largest cities without any public remark by the Chief Executive is well nigh incredible. At the same time, an earnest, informed, and tactful effort should be made to reduce antagonisms and enlist a maximum of Southern good will and cooperation. The millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to break loose from enfeebling customs would respond with gratitude to Presidential leadership. The economic and political leaders of the South who feel they need authoritative backing in order to act as their reason and self-interest tell them they should--and there are many in this position--would welcome Presidential support.

2. <u>National unity will be served best if the President speaks forth-</u>

rightly to and of the South, and if he and his administration confine their statements of policy regarding racial discrimination to that which they are prepared to enforce. The President and his administration could specially contribute to the abatement of sectionalism by frequent conferences and consultations, publicized or not as they see fit, with Southern economic and political leaders, to the end of broadening the base of Southern support for civil rights and equal opportunities.

II. THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Broad Policy

Since slaves were first brought to our shores, and since 1865 when slavery was outlawed, Negro Americans have progressed far in material things and in social and legal status. This is not, however, the pertinent fact. What is relevant to our day is that Negroes are a disadvantaged tenth of Americans from, literally, the cradle to the grave. By American standards, the typical Negro is born without adequate prenatal care, of undereducated parents, who dwell in an unstable neighborhood permeated and surrounded by cultural and economic poverty. He is reared amid deprivation and discrimination. His schools are inferior. His contacts with influences which stimulate ambition and civility are few and infrequent. He learns early the handicaps of his color and his incentives are fashioned to fit the bleak reality. If he lives in the South he will work either in jobs white men disdain or within the limited range of the Negro community; if he lives in the North he will have to display superior skills in order to work at the same level with white men. He will be subject to slights, inequities, and ofttimes intimidation or violence. He will endure all his life the ignominy of having to wheedle, bargain, negotiate, or campaign for his elemental rights.

Unless we are recklessly to reject the findings of scientists, we must acknowledge to ourselves that these conditions are intolerable. The authoritative testimony of science is that there is no evidence of innate racial differences in intelligence; that unstable environments are an extravagance for the public economy and a menace to the public peace; that

talents are not the hereditary property of racial groups, but individual capacities nourished by education and security and incentive; that destructive internal resentments and anxieties are the predictable lot of both the systematic oppressor and oppressed.

America has no undeveloped resource comparable to the reservoir of human talent which, in our Negro population, is going to waste. We need manpower and we leave it untrained. We need brains and talents and we allow them to lie fallow. We need to restore the social health of our cities and we do little to prevent their greater infection with the virus of disorganization and spiritual deadness. We need to deepen our sense of purpose and our confidence in our country and its cause, and we allow prejudice to be institutionalized and our national values to be layered with hypocrisy. We need the friendship of the non-white peoples of Africa and Asia, and we subject our own non-white citizens to indignity.

Moreover, unless we are heedlessly to ignore the ministry offered by the near unanimous voice of our Christian and Jewish religious leaders, we must acknowledge the enormous wrong involved in our present racial relations.

The President speaks the moral tone of America. He has an imcomparable position from which to define the problems of our polity and to indicate by word and example what needs to be done.

There would be inestimable value if the President gave, simply and clearly, a declaration of national intent to move vigorously to end all discrimination and disadvantages of race, and a pledge that the federal government in the conduct of its own affairs would show the way. The ensuing sections of this memorandum will suggest some of the specific

things which the executive department can do toward this end.

3. The President, by public statement, should set as a national goal the full and free development of all our human resources, and should pledge a painstaking effort by all federal departments and agencies to administer their programs in such ways as to hasten the end of discriminations.

When a question has been before the country as long as this one of Negro discrimination, it is entitled to be treated with candor and open dealing. These same qualities should inspire our information work abroad. No one wants to "sell America short," but there is a practical value in being believed when you speak. The U. S. Information Agency should, of course, tell the story of Negro Americans' progress. But it and other officials who depict abroad American racial problems should do so with honesty, realism, and an explicit awareness of American involvement in a world-wide revolutionary movement. The peoples of Africa and Asia can understand our problems, which are very close to their own experience. We should relate them frankly, as a people mindful of its troubles and working, as are the former colonial nations themselves, to remove them. There are African and Asian countries struggling to erase caste discriminations, tribal antagonisms, and religious distrust. There are analogies here which ought to make it possible for them to understand our situation, but only if the government of the United States--far from being an agent of oppression--is and can be depicted as being the friend of equality and Negro advance.

Foreign Service officers when in Washington might well be instructed in the complexities of our racial relations and familiarized with the

President's policies, in order that they can better explain developments abroad.

4. The effort of America to establish racial harmony and justice enables our people to understand the aspirations of formerly colonial peoples, and for them to identify their hopes with ours. Those who represent America abroad should interpret our racial strife and change with truthfulness and candor.

B. Federal Employment

The Third (and most recent) Report of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy states that discrimination in federal employment unquestionably exists and that the practice is often deeply entrenched. There is little need to add to this official finding in order to conclude that the 1949 amendment to the Civil Service Act (5 U.S.C.A. sec. 1074), expressly prohibiting racial discrimination, is still being flouted. The bona fides of the federal government should not be left in doubt.

The President's Committee has operated with a hopelessly small staff. The procedures outlined by Executive Order 10590 require the filing of complaints by individuals and the investigation of these by the accused agency itself. The Committee has seen its primary task to be long range education rather than immediate compliance.

We have already stated our opinion that the Committee could well be one of the units replaced by a single office to oversee all the functions of the federal government.

While channels for receiving and investigating complaints are needful, the main enforcement effort ought to be shifted from the processing of

complaints and focused on a continuing review of agency practices. Reports from the agencies, prescribed in detail, plus adequate investigators in the office designated to oversee federal practice (see above pages 4-5), would permit a firm check on the disposition of Civil Service Commission referrals and the upgrading of employees.

With all respect for the values of education, the government could, nevertheless, take instruction from its own policy in regard to the armed services, where compliance was the order of the day,and experience with non-discrimination provided its own educational results.

Another concern of the President's watchdog office would be the prompt suppression of segregation wherever it may be practiced in federal offices. Local custom cannot regulate federal conduct.

Beyond the policing role of enforcing non-discrimination, the federal government can, if it so wills, make positive contributions toward equal employment opportunities. One would be programs of positive recruitment of qualified Negroes by personnel officers of the agencies. Those agencies, for example, which recruit on college campuses should give full coverage to the Negro colleges. Another would be the development of new techniques for the evaluation of job candidates.

Some have said that federal hiring should be "color-blind." Others have argued that the nation owes a debt to an oppressed minority, and that the government, therefore, should take to itself a considerable part of the task of quick advancement of Negroes through a deliberate program of projecting Negroes into our public life; having been systematically excluded, Negroes should, from this point of view, be systematically included.

There are several things to be said regarding these differing premises. First, we do not believe that Negroes should be favored over better

qualified white persons. Negroes do not want it; governmental efficiency would be harmed; favoritism toward any group has disturbing implications for our democracy. Because they have been the victims of exclusion, Negroes do, however, have a right that there be a systematic opening-up of opportunities for them to learn and develop skills which will enable them to compete fairly. If the powers of the federal government are squarely behind school integration and if the government is administering its educational programs with the objective of encouraging integration and equal opportunity, then the government will be doing its part.

Secondly, however, there is a considerable enough body of research by now for the employment officers of the government to take cognizance of the finding that the potential of persons from disadvantaged groups is not accurately measured by aptitude and achievement criteria derived solely from the experience of the majority groups within our society. This does not necessarily suggest that Negro applicants for federal jobs should be given, for example, a "10 point preference." But it does suggest that federal employment officers could set a valuable example for private employers by studying, in consultation with outside testing specialists, the best known means of estimating potential, and by careful trial of individuals--white and Negro--select for hire or promotion on the basis of estimated potential rather than solely past record.

Thirdly, there are certain offices which are involved closely in questions of race relations. Because of this, it is essential that they have the trust of Negro citizens. There would be good reason, therefore, to make a special effort to recruit qualified Negroes for their staffs. These offices include the U. S. Attorneys, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U. S. Marshalls, the Civil Rights Division, the Commission

on Civil Rights, and the housing agencies.

5. There should be overall review of federal employment practices, without waiting for complaints and with the aim of immediate compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. Agencies whose functions are critically related to civil rights have a pressing need for Negro staff. Mindful of the cumulative effects of past discrimination, the government could be a yardstick for private employers by careful experimentation with techniques for the measuring of job potential.

Federal service includes both the merit system and appointive positions. In regard to the latter there is real justification for a policy by the President and other appointing officers of deliberately choosing competent Negroes. There would be nothing novel in such a practice. It has always been understood that the higher level posts of any administration will reflect a geographic, an occupational, even a religious distribution. The first administration to sprinkle the higher government positions with able Negroes will establish a practice taken for granted by subsequent administrations, and self-consciousness about such appointments will quickly end. The appointment of some Negroes to top regional or district positions in the South would not only be an important symbolic act, but would help establish patterns of deepened respect. To project Negroes into public office will be good for the race, because it will strengthen morale and sense of identification with America and will sharpen Negro incentive. It will be good for the South, which needs to get used to the idea of Negro competence and recognition. It will be good for the nation's world reputation.

There is the special situation of the Negro as American representative abroad. Negroes in diplomatic or consular positions in Africa and Asia are excellent representatives of our democracy. We believe that American prestige in these continents would be far more enhanced if Negroes are also regularly sent to European and western hemisphere countries. Basically, what is to be desired is the appointment of Negroes to the Foreign Service, and their routine assignment and progression through the ranks.

6. Real advantages would accrue to the country from frequent appointment of competent Negroes to high level administrative posts. Negroes can be valuable assets in the representation of the United States abroad, but not if they are used primarily in non-white capitals.

C. Education

Pre-eminently the most compelling unfinished business is school integration. Here federal orders have been laid down and issues joined. Respect for law and federal authority requires a prompt resolution.

Six years after the Supreme Court's historic decision there are fewer than 800 Negro children in classes with whites in the states of the old Confederacy, outside of west Texas. There has been no desegregation at all in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, and in Louisiana the enrollment of four Negroes has been greeted with hysterical and virtually insurrectionary resistance. The Supreme Court declared a Constitutional right: yet throughout most of the South the entire burden of exercising that right has fallen on Negroes, while the public treasuries of Southern states are put at the service of denying it; it is an uneven

fight. The basic problem is two-fold: to re-establish a climate of respect for law; and to move quickly beyond the pitiful beginnings and steadily toward an end to segregated public education.

The United States has a sovereign interest that there be obedience to its laws. Informed legal opinion suggests that there are valid precedents* for the United States, without asserting any pecuniary or statutory interest, either to initiate action or intervene in private actions in order to take care that its laws are observed; and that the government may also intervene in school desegregation cases under 5 U.S.C.A. sec. 316, which authorizes the Attorney-General to send any officer of his Department to "attend to the interests of the United States in any suit pending" in any court, federal or state. Resistance to the Supreme Court's decision is an assault on the Constitution, and the federal executive should take all authorized measures to bring it to an end.

On the other hand, there is wisdom in counting one's blessings. After numerous law suits and painful self-struggle, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia have given grudging and minimal acquiescence to the law. Crisis is past and these three states have, at least, shown their capacity for orderly adjustment. In whatever states or localities there is now or emerges in the future a willingness to acknowledge Constitutional rights, there is an immense opportunity for the President and his administration to offer quiet, tactful urging and persuasion in behalf of whole-hearted acceptance of the principle of integration.

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*see In re Debs (158 US 564); S.E.C.v.U.S. Realty Improvement Co. (310 US 434).

The President should always be mindful of the probability that firm statements by him in advance of an initial desegregation might prevent or lessen such convulsions as those of Little Rock or New Orleans. His staff adviser could be of invaluable help in anticipating occasions when disorder threatens and Presidential influence would be useful.

The administration should also be aware that an advance in civil rights in any area tends to assist the cause of school integration. Every move which demonstrates determination to establish the principle of equality in other areas increases the feeling of inevitability of compliance with the Supreme Court's school order. Every move in recognition of Negro competence enhances in Southern eyes the acceptability of Negro children as schoolmates. While government cannot address itself directly to the erasure of the racial prejudice which exists in the hearts and minds of people, it can by its own example and efforts greatly reduce overt discrimination. The resulting respect for the law of the land will be more effective than anything else in helping us to outgrow our prejudices.

Fundamentally, school integration ought not be thought of primarily as a question of civil rights. We need to look at it in another framework as well. The nation needs better schools with higher standards, that will give every American child a training corresponding to the challenge of our times. This is a matter of vital national interest. This is the problem which the country must face, and in doing so think of the impediment of segregated schools. If the country has an interest that every one of its youth be educated to the limits of his

potential, segregated schools are an indulgence which cannot be afforded, on grounds of educational practice, social values, or economy.

Consequently, there is an opportunity and, we think, an obligation for the U. S. Office of Education to provide information and counsel to school administrators and teachers engaged in the desegregation process. Attorneys before federal courts in desegregation cases need sources of professional advice. There ought to be analyses, widely disseminated, of the plans adopted in various places, and their success; factual studies of the academic effects of integration; and professional discussion of the technical problems of school administrations during the integration process. Such a publications program would not be unlike fact-finding and advisory services already performed by the Office. In particular, there would seem to be ample authorization in the Cooperative Research in Education Act, 20 U.S.C. secs. 331, 332; activities under this law would have the added advantage of involving universities and state educational agencies.

7. We urge upon the President that he

--publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

--publicly affirm his administration's belief that segregation is an intolerable hindrance to the national goal of higher educational standards;

--direct the Attorney-General to look closely into the authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases;

--direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to assemble and disseminate, for the use of educators and the instruction of the public, educational facts related to the integration process.

Educational discrimination against Negroes is cumulative, and this affects with particular hardship the ability of Negroes to earn a living. The federal government has grant-in-aid programs for vocational (including agricultural) education, training in distributive occupations, and vocational rehabilitation; these are administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The question of federal support for unequal and segregated education is raised by these programs in a form different from that of financial aid under P.L. 815 and P.L. 874 for federally affected schools, where the government is, in a sense, assuming the burdens of a tax-payer. The vocational programs must satisfy federal criteria in order to be aided, and are subject to federal regulation. The Department could appropriately require, as it does with the rehabilitation program, that benefits be without racial favoritism, and where classes are a part of the program that they be non-segregated in order to qualify for federal aid.

There is a special question involved in on-base and off-base schooling for children of military personnel. All on-base schools are now officially integrated, even though operated by state and local school authorities; the elementary school at Fort Benning (Ga.), for example, has been integrated for more than six years. A number of on-base schools are, however, all white because there are no Negro children in residence. Usually reliable sources have reported that "gentlemen's

agreements" exist in some localities whereby Negro personnel are transferred or housed off-base when their children reach school age; there also are instances of the deeding or leasing of land for school sites to local school boards.

The federal government cannot be a party to evasion of the Constitution. Where off-base schools instruct none, or almost none, but children of military personnel the government has a special interest in seeing that they are non-segregated. In Pulaski County (Ark.), this interest was conscientiously served, even to the point of a Defense Department plan to condemn the school property and annex it to the base. The approach taken by the government in Pulaski County, and the arrangement finally worked out, set a pattern which the government can follow in similar situations.

8. The vast federal outlays for public school education need to be administered with scrupulous regard for the basic federal policy against discrimination. At the present time, the two areas of vocational training and schooling for children of military personnel merit special attention to insure racial equality and fair-dealing.

The executive department administers large grants to schools of higher education for research; the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the National Science Foundation are probably the largest grantors. In addition, sizeable grants and loans for general support and capital development are made. Where the funds are given or loaned to any institution that applies and is eligible under the statute, it

has been argued that the executive department should not, in the absence of legislation, make the award conditional upon a policy of non-discrimination. But with the huge sums distributed for research, the government has all discretion, and grants the money only to schools which it prefers. We think there can be no argument but that it is incongruous to favor any institution which denies admission to Negro students.

9. An announcement ought to be made that, at a date certain, no research funds will be granted by the federal government to any institution of higher learning (or its faculty), public or private, which refuses admission to anyone because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

D. Security of Person and Property

Discussions of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment often give little attention to the word "protection." There are good historical grounds for believing that this was a key concept in the thinking of the framers of the Amendment, and that their intent was to provide federal protection to individual Negroes of the South against inimical acts, official or officially tolerated.* Broadened to include all persons, this is still a high ideal.

*"First, despite differences of opinion concerning the scope of congressional power..., a majority of the members of the Thirty-ninth, Forty-second, and Forty-third Congresses...believed that the equal protection clause did more than condemn official or state action. They believed that it vested Congress at the very least with a primary power to set aside unequal state laws and a secondary power to afford protection to all persons in their enjoyment of constitutional rights when the states failed in their primary responsibility to do so

(cont'd next page)

Law enforcement questions are of two general types. First, there are the traditional questions of unjust police, court, or mob treatment of individual Negroes charged with crime. Instances are, happily, declining. To cope with those which still occur, we know of no remedy available to the executive department other than strict enforcement of, with all their shortcomings, secs. 241 and 242, 18 U.S.C. - the last remnants of the Civil Rights Acts passed in the 1860's and 70's for the protection of persons, and especially Negroes, against deprivation of civil rights.

Security of person and property have their severest present threat in the second problem area, which has to do with the violence, reprisals, and intimidations surrounding school desegregation and sit-in controversies, and Negro voting. There have been bombings and threats of bombings, riots, organized harassment, and threats to personal safety. Accompanying all, there has been for five or more years

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either by neglecting to enact laws or by refusal or impotence to enforce them...

"Second, a majority...regarded Congress as the primary organ for the implementation... This does not mean that the Radical Republicans intended to preclude judicial action...; they did not. ...

"A third principle that emerges from these debates is that the equal protection clause means absolute or perfect equality before the law and condemns every discrimination perpetrated by unequal laws, partial or maladministration of existing laws by courts or executives, or discriminations by quasi-public businesses or agencies possessing a peculiar status or privilege under the law, such as inns, public conveyances, and the like. With respect to whether the equal protection clause of its own force condemned antimiscegenation laws and segregation laws and customs, the evidence is inconclusive." R. J. Harris, The Quest for Equality. Louisiana State University Press, 1960. pp. 53-56.

encouragement of resistance to federal authority, delivered by high officials, the Citizens Councils, and their allies.

The number of Southerners who will resort to violence is small, but their mark is heavy on the region and the nation. When a school in the South is bombed the whole free world suffers. Congress has legislated, by Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1960, to put federal resources into the endeavor to prevent or punish bombings. The enforcement difficulties are obviously great, and appear so even to an outside agency. Nevertheless, the Department of Justice, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has a larger range within which to act for the suppression of violence.

There is value also in linking the Department closely with the states in a concerted effort. The Attorney-General might appropriately convene a conference of the attorneys-general of the Southern states for the planning of mutual programs; one desirable result of the conference might be the establishment of regular liaison between the enforcement agents of the federal and state governments.

Underlying all policies and practices must be an awareness that the Negro Southerners' campaign for equality is a revolutionary movement. It must be, and can be, contained in non-violence. To this end, a staff adviser to the President, in close touch with events and working closely with the Civil Rights Division, would be invaluable in coordination of federal action to preserve the public peace.

The suggestion has been made that the United States could intervene in, or even initiate, school desegregation cases on the principle of the old Debs case (158 US 564). That case sustained an injunction issued by a federal court, without specific reference to any statute,

against acts held to constitute a threat to the general welfare. Whether or not Debs affords a basis for federal intervention generally, the government might carefully consider, even to the point of taking a test case, the use of it as a precedent for the particular problem of threatened or actual violence. The signs of the times are not so difficult to read that an alert government could not anticipate the likelihood of disorder in a school desegregation controversy and be armed in advance to forestall it.

Similarly, the reaction to sit-ins has led to serious breakdowns in the public peace. The Department of Justice should observe local situations with the utmost vigilance for evidence of unlawful arrest, violations of Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1960, and deprivations of First Amendment liberties.

10. While the present turmoil continues, the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statutes and precedents which protect personal security, and to discharge fully the federal government's duty to preserve the public peace; in particular, every available means should be used to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly and protest.

E. Voting

Twice in three years, Congress has legislated to protect voting rights. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 have to date been the basis of six suits* brought by the Department of Justice, one of which

* Against Terrell County (Ga.), Macon County (Ala.), Bienville and Washington Parishes (La.), and Fayette and Haywood Counties (Tenn.). Two separate actions have been filed in each of the Tennessee Counties; technically, therefore, eight suits have been brought.

has been carried to the Supreme Court, and disposed of there. Acting under sec. 303 of the Act of 1960, the Department has also required from 17 counties* the production of voting records.

We think much more could be done. Since the Acts of 1957 and 1960 do not permit broad, sweeping attacks on discrimination, suits are confined to local situations. There must be, therefore, numerous investigations and, where justified, prosecutions.

In another respect, however, it is to be hoped that the new Attorney-General will continue a policy of his predecessor. The suits brought under sec. 131 against private persons and institutions in Fayette and Haywood Counties (Tenn.) show a sophisticated awareness, and a zeal for the actualization of rights, which are commendable.

The Acts of 1957 and 1960 can be enforced no more vigorously than the staffing of the Department's Civil Rights Division permits. In addition to giving immediate attention to the strengthening of this Division, the Attorney-General should look closely into the working relations between it and the U. S. District Attorneys, to the end that there be the fullest cooperation between them and the Division.

When all this has been said, there is much to add on another side. The fact is that throughout large areas of the South, registration and voting are as free as elsewhere in the country. In general, discrimination is today found mainly in the rural sections of the old Black Belt, and not everywhere there. This does not mean that the problem

*Wilcox, Montgomery, and Sumter (Ala.); Union (Fla.); Webster, Early, Fayette, and Gwinnett (Ga.); East Carroll, Ouachita, and East Feliciana (La.); McCormick, Clarendon, and Hampton (S.C.); Bolivar, LeFlore, and Forrest (Miss.).

is not serious. It does mean that it is less a regional problem, and more one local to a particular cultural area within the region. The nation ought not to be misled by loud talk: the majority of Southerners will not oppose free access to the ballot. There will consequently be minimal popular resistance to federal actions in this field.

In regard to voting, as with schools, there are values other than civil rights at stake. Our democratic faith requires that there be full and responsible exercise of the franchise. Our record is not good. In the South, about 25% of Negroes of voting age are all that are registered; but only some 60% of whites of voting age are, and though the discrepancy is great the white standard itself is low. The Bureau of the Census has estimated that 107 million Americans are of voting age; yet only about 68 million, or less than 65%, voted in the Presidential election of 1960, and this was a record turn-out.

The government might well undertake a national campaign to educate people in their voting rights and to encourage them to vote. If this were done with vigor and sustained attention, a side result would almost certainly be an upsurge in Negro registration in the South, as well as a clear revelation of those areas where the cause of non-voting by Negroes is intimidation, either private or official. There are counties of the South where Negroes will not seek to register and vote unless assured in advance and unmistakably that their temerity will go unpunished. There are, and probably not only in the South, many people--white and Negro--who need education in their voting rights and responsibilities. To help them would seem as much the proper role of the federal government as is the offering

of instruction about jobs, baby care, crop management, and a thousand other matters dealt with in government publications.

A registration drive, spurred by the prestige of the President and sustained by his subordinates, would have civic worth, especially if coupled with the printing of leaflets, disseminated through local Post Offices, on the qualifications and procedures for voting in every state.

11. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys of first quality, and the Division's working relationships with the U. S. District Attorneys should be so defined as to permit widespread enforcement of the voting provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

12. A national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President, should be launched, and supported by publications describing registration and voting qualifications and procedures in each state.

F. Armed Services

Since the issuance in 1948 of Executive Order 8891, segregation in the armed services has been virtually eradicated. This has been an advance in civil rights comparable in importance to the outlawing of the white primary and public school segregation, and has been carried through to a satisfactory conclusion by the same force which originated it; i.e., Presidential authority.

The President can in the same way end discrimination in the National Guard, and the logic for doing so is compelling. The Guard

is a part of the United States Army, and composition and organization of its units are required to be "the same as those prescribed for the Army" (32 U.S.C. sec. 104b). The state units are financed almost entirely by federal funds. Service in the Guard is a statutory substitute for service in the Army under the Selective Service Act. The President prescribes the regulations of the Guard, violations of which automatically forfeit federal support (32 U.S.C. secs. 108, 110).

National Guard units in the South are all-white. Thus, an important part of the Army is still segregated. Negro Southerners are denied an option which white Southerners have--to enlist in the Guard rather than be drafted. And, as the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has said, "In times of racial tension, if the Guard should be called out, it would be reassuring to Negro citizens to observe that members of their own race were on duty. Thereby would be implanted the justified conviction that the sole duty of the Guard is to uphold the law."

The President is authorized to make a number of appointments of cadets and midshipmen to the service academies. As most appointments are in the keeping of Congressmen, and it is a matter of common knowledge that at least a third of the members, representing areas of high Negro population, do not appoint Negroes, the President can justifiably give special attention in his own selection to the merits of Negro candidates. According to the latest reports, there are seven Negroes enrolled at Annapolis, eight at West Point, and three at the Air Force Academy.

The President is directed by law to establish and maintain ROTC units, and may likewise terminate them. There would seem to be no legitimate grounds for operating an ROTC at universities, public or private, which refuse admission on racial grounds.

13. <u>The National Guard in Southern states is the remnant of segregation in the armed services</u>;

segregation in Southern colleges and universities, and the mode of selection of academy cadets and midshipmen, restrict the opportunities for Negroes to become military officers. All of these situations are within the power of the President to remedy or ameliorate.

G. Health, Recreation

The federal government administers many and large health programs, involving hospital operation and medical research. It provides grants-in-aid to the states for mental health programs, maternal and child health service, aid to crippled children and the blind, and control of tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, and venereal disease; and for hospital construction under the Hill-Burton Act. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Veterans' Administration are the responsible agencies.

It may seem disproportionate to link recreation and health in the same discussion, except that the uses of leisure time becomes an increasingly urgent concern, with genuine effects on the well-being of the nation. The federal government provides some of the most valuable recreational opportunities people have, through the national parks, national forests, federal reservoir areas, and federal beach erosion projects. These are administered by the Department of the Interior, the Department of Agriculture, and the Army Corps of Engineers.

Most of the health and recreational activities are covered by seemingly adequate regulations against racial discrimination, although there have been instances of lack of enforcement. This is not true of the

grant-in-aid programs, and especially not of the huge Hill-Burton hospital construction program which, by statutory authorization, approves separate-but-equal facilities (42 U.S.C. sec. 291e); the statute was enacted in 1946. The federal beach erosion projects carry no specific prohibitions on discrimination but, in a most interesting proceeding, the Department of Justice has brought suit against officials of Biloxi (Miss.) on grounds that discrimination is contrary to the legal requirement of "public use."

14. Health and recreational programs, both of which bring the government into close personal touch with people, need to be constantly audited for discriminatory effects. Continued observance of the "separate, but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton Act is Constitutionally dubious, and should be authoritatively examined.

H. Transportation

Through federal court action, heartening reforms have occurred since 1941 in interstate and intra-state travel. More recently, the independent regulatory agencies have added their force to the removal of discriminations affecting the dignity and convenience of Negro passengers; the Federal Aviation Agency has refused financial aid for construction of airports which will practice segregation. The chief remaining hardship is the condition of bus, train, and air line terminals, their waiting rooms, eating arrangements, and rest rooms. A problem so near solution is ripe for a decisive push. The President could communicate this opinion to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Civil Aeronautics

Board, and the Federal Aviation Agency; and could instruct the Attorney-General to follow through on the conference held by the Department of Justice in 1956 with U. S. Attorneys in the Southern states to consider action against discrimination by common carriers.

15. Interstate travel is a field in which a final federal effort could decisively end segregation. The clearly established unconstitutionality of segregation in common carriers operated intrastate invites serious study by the Department of Justice of means to require observance of the Constitutional principle.

I. Contractor Employment

In the absence of Congressional enactment of a fair employment law, the grounds for executive imposition of an anti-discrimination clause in government contracts is the buyer's normal privilege of choosing his suppliers.

There are two fields--contractor employment and federal housing policy--where the executive department faces issues of unusual magnitude and difficulty. One aspect of the dilemma--for it is such--is that employment and housing are of basic importance, not only to Negro welfare but to American success in living up to principle; their effects ramify into every other problem of civil rights. Consequently, no fields are deserving of more imaginative, more constant attention. Another aspect, however, is that the task of opening up employment and housing consists of hard, practical difficulties so great as to make innocuous any governmental action that is not thorough and undertaken

with firm resolve. A third aspect is that the stakes are so large, and the effects of decisive governmental action would be so directly felt by the people, that strong policies would almost certainly produce sharp political and popular controversies.

The Government Contract Committee and its predecessor seem to have accomplished little to arrest discrimination in employment. The Committee has devoted a good deal of its effort to education, and has processed complaints. Some educational activity is perhaps desirable, but the government needs to remember that performance and example are its best educational means.

President Truman's Committee on Government Contract Compliance made certain recommendations prior to leaving office. These included disqualification from future contracting of suppliers whose employment practices are found discriminatory; termination of contracts upon finding of discrimination; the use of a liquidated damages clause in contracts; and provisions for injunctive relief and arbitration. These are drastic remedies. Some of them, at least, could be used without further legislation, but reliance on any or all of them would require a considerable enlargement of staff and would probably result in litigations both numerous and vexing.

Yet the present posture of the government is intolerable. Every government contract and many sub-contracts contain an anti-discrimination clause, the text of which is posted in suppliers' shops and offices. The clause is, in effect, an oath. It has become another of the non-enforced declarations of principle and policy. We think there is real danger to public morals in this practice. The people need to know that the government takes its words seriously. For the government to

lay down laws and orders which it does not intend, or is not prepared, to enforce is a practice which encourages social and individual indifference.

In the absence of a fair employment act, the executive department might well give serious exploration to other means as well as punitive sanctions for preventing discrimination. The approach described in the next two paragraphs is not intended as a blueprint or even a recommendation of a specific plan. Rather it is a suggestion intended to invite the government's consideration toward policies administratively simpler than punitive sanctions, and yet equally productive of results.

First, if there is to be any effective action the executive department must commit itself to definite and firm policies. Secondly, the executive department, in consideration of practical difficulties, might adopt as its first goal the ability to report to the people that all of the large contractors of the government practice fair employment. Thirdly, the method of attaining this goal could be certification by the Government Contract Committee (if it is continued), or by the new office proposed above on pages 4-5, that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all of its plants and offices, without discrimination. Such certification could be made a prerequisite to the award of any contract above a specified sum (perhaps $1,000,000) or of any contract which would increase the total active orders of a company and its subsidiaries beyond that amount. (For lesser contracts the non-discrimination clause could still be inserted, and procedures made available for receiving and processing complaints.) Enforcement would not require litigation, and would be administratively far simpler than either sole reliance on the processing of individual complaints, or the proposed use of sanctions.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment Security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force. These data could be taken into account in determining upon certification. The test would be the record of actual employment, including enrollment in the company's in-service training program, if it has one. The large contractors of the government would, in effect, be required to do more than pledge non-discrimination; they would be required to recruit Negroes throughout their operations.

This would be an undeniably arbitrary requirement. Its premise, however, would be clear cut; viz., that as a condition for doing business with the government above a certain amount, the company will cooperate with the government by a positive program of developing Negro talent and skills. It would be asked to assume partnership with the government in achieving a national goal.

As was stressed before, the above suggestion is not tendered as a finished proposal, but as a basis for study within the administration along the lines of non-punitive but nevertheless effective action. Another device worth evaluation is the use of an award, such as the war-time Navy "E", given to contractors whose employment practices meet governmental approval; the symbol could be displayed by the company in its advertising and elsewhere, as an indication that it is cooperating with the government in developing and utilizing our manpower resources.

Whatever methods are used, there would seem to be no reason why they should not apply both to contractors and to companies licensed to use government-held patents.

16. There needs to be more effective enforcement of the bar against discriminatory employment by government contractors. Large contractors can be appropriately charged with a special responsibility for positive recruitment of Negroes; an appropriate means of requiring this would be prior certification as a condition for award of contract.

Where the federal government's scope of action is narrow, it can still deny its services to others who discriminate. The Bureau of Apprenticeship could, upon advice from an office designated by the President, withdraw from participation in any apprenticeship program, whether under state or private auspices, which does not admit all applicants on an equal footing, and could withhold registration from apprentices in such programs. Similarly, the U. S. Employment Service could make refusal to process racially restricted job orders a condition for federal approval of a state program and financial assistance.

17. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in the apprenticeship and employment services.

J. Housing

Rapid population growth, plus a steady population shift to the cities, plus an advancing standard of living have combined to keep high the demand for new housing. The movement of middle and upper income families out of the central cities and into suburban neighborhoods, together with the emphasis of the past several decades on home building in subdivisions, have accentuated the degree of racial segregation in

American cities; this is especially pronounced in the South, where residential segregation was formerly less customary than in other regions.

The role of the federal government in relation to the spread of housing segregation has been succinctly described by the Commission on Race and Housing:

> The policies and actions of government agencies and public officials must be counted among the principal influences sustaining racial segregation in housing....
>
> The federal government, through its mortgage credit aids, public housing, and slum clearance programs, has come to exercise a large measure of control over housing. Both directly and indirectly, the federal housing programs have strongly influenced the racial patterns of residence, mainly in the direction of increasing racial segregation. During the first dozen years of its existence, the Federal Housing Administration operated explicitly on the real estate doctrine that mingling of racial groups in residence areas was socially undesirable and a threat to the financial stability of neighborhoods. Its appraisal manuals stressed the importance of protecting neighborhoods against invasion by "incompatible racial and social groups." For "surest protection" against such an eventuality, FHA recommended blanketing all land in the vicinity of a mortgage-insured housing development

with race-restrictive covenants, particularly in undeveloped or partly developed areas. It is a fair judgment that FHA's influence contributed largely to the spread of race-restrictive covenants (subsequently declared unenforceable by the Supreme Court) and hence to the exclusion of minority groups from wide areas.

...The agency now officially encourages open occupancy in housing developments, but it does not attempt to control the discriminatory practices of private builders or lenders.

The public housing program has always insisted, and in the main successfully, on minority groups' receiving an equitable share of publicly subsidized dwellings. With respect to the racial pattern, federal policy has been to leave the decision for open or segregated occupancy to local housing authorities. The latter, in all sections of the country, elected initially for segregation, with one or two notable exceptions. In the South, compulsory segregation remains, but in the North and West, many local authorities have shifted to policies of open occupancy, some by their own decision, others under court order.... Notwithstanding open occupancy policies, however, the recent trend has been running strongly toward concentration of minority groups in public housing.

Among the major factors contributing to this trend are the frequent location of projects in areas mainly occupied by minorities, the wider opportunities of whites than of non-whites to obtain housing in the private market, and statutory preference in tenant selection to families, largely minority, displaced by slum clearance operations. ...the conclusion seems justified that public housing has served, on the whole, to sustain and probably intensify racial segregation.

Beginning during World War II, the federal government has become increasingly sensitive to the housing disadvantage and needs of the minority groups. It has moved to assist these groups to obtain housing but has tried to do so without interfering with the segregation practices of the private housing industry. .... Special credit assistance has been provided through the Federal National Mortgage Association and the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program.... A high proportion of all postwar new dwellings built for minority use has been financed by mortgages purchased by the FNMA, that is, by government credit. These new houses have been built, with few exceptions, in segregated projects. The special assistance measures, ...like public housing, have been both a source of housing and a force for segregation.

> Indirectly, federal policies have stimulated segregation in two important ways. The changes in the housing industry which have so largely increased the power of private builders to determine community patterns, as described above, have been made possible by the federal mortgage insurance systems....
>
> The other indirect federal support of segregation has been the moral sanction given to the racial discrimination practices of private business.... Government, as an expression of the public will, is one of the sources of moral as well as legal authority. If the government sees nothing wrong in racial discrimination, how can private persons be censured for practicing it? ...In the housing field, the federal government, in recent years, has withdrawn from any explicit endorsement of housing segregation. Federal agencies, however, aside from verbal pronouncements for equality, continue to tolerate the discriminatory practices of those who distribute federal benefits.

Present housing trends are injurious not only to the dwellers in the vast city areas which it becomes increasingly accurate to call ghettoes. The harm is felt in at least two other ways as well. Too many middle class white families are separated from normal contacts with persons of other races and economic station. Municipal government and the cultural life of the cities are being weakened by shrinkage of revenue base and population imbalance.

A problem so largely the result of federal programs is a direct and pressing federal responsibility. It should be dealt with not specifically as a Negro, or a race relations, question, but as a task of helping disadvantaged citizens to become productive members of society and of restoring or guarding the health of our cities.

The question for the federal government to face is that of how it will direct the tremendous influence which it has through its huge involvement in the housing market. Will it use this influence, as it has in the past and as it still largely does, to strengthen and spread housing segregation?

The Supreme Court in Brown v. Topeka took judicial note of the sociological and psychological handicaps of segregation. We believe the President could well do likewise in an Executive Order which stated that the national housing policy is to encourage integration. This would be the strongest possible directive to the several housing agencies to examine meticulously the laws which they administer for opportunities to reverse present trends.

FHA policy now, as expressed through its regulations and practices, is to insure no mortgages on property whose deeds contain restrictive covenants; to rent or aell re-possessed housing on a non-segregated basis; to encourage "open occupancy" through private conferences with builders and others; and to refuse its services to any builder or developer found in violation of a state anti-discrimination law. The last could be an effective measure, except that it applies only to individuals or firms formally held against in a state proceeding--and this is extremely rare--, and it applies only in states with anti-discrimination laws and not in the others where the majority of the nation's Negroes live.

Similar orders have been issued applicable to land purchasers under urban renewal programs, and to builders under Veterans' Administration benefits. The VA has also strict regulations against restrictive covenants. Apparently no attention is given to questions of discrimination by the Army in selling or leasing utilities to housing developments in the vicinity of bases; nor by the Federal Highway Administration in the purchase of land necessitating relocation of families. The policies of PHA and FNMA are sufficiently indicated by the above quotation from the Commission on Race and Housing.

The administration of the housing and urban renewal laws is intricate and the mass of detail involved in framing and enforcing regulations affecting thousands of purchasers, builders, lending institutions, and municipal governments almost overwhelms the attempt to suggest realistic and effective methods of curbing racial inequities and segregation. The Commission on Race and Housing has made possible a better public understanding of the difficulties and the opportunities by its series of studies, and we commend them to the administration. In particular, we call attention to the Commission's Report (titled Where Shall We Live?) and the policy recommendations contained therein.

Certain general ideas have emerged from the literature on housing problems which we believe deserve sympathetic study by the administration. These are:

a) The practice of "scattering" projects. Especially with reference to public housing, this means the construction of several small projects rather than one large one, and their location in bi-racial or all-white neighborhoods, rather than in Negro or transition sections.

b) The policy of "benign quotas." We have anxious reservations about quotas in either public or private housing, from the standpoint of both good race relations and democratic values. Men live, nevertheless, in the real, and not the ideal, world. It is a fact that open occupancy frequently means, or comes to mean, Negro occupancy, and the project is an addition to segregated housing. To date, a system of "benign quotas" is virtually the only realistic suggestion made by responsible sources for combatting this condition. The housing agencies might well initiate discussions with developers, representatives of Negro organizations, and intergroup relations specialists for a thorough airing of the problem and of means for solving it.

c) The employment of Negroes on the staff of housing agencies. This, of course, is already being done, but to only a limited extent. It is not particularly important whether whites or Negroes occupy the positions of race relations advisers (if those positions are continued). What is important is that Negroes are taken on the regular staffs, and this would be especially desirable in the South. In this occupational field there is no scarcity of experienced Negro specialists, men trained in Urban League work or in Negro real estate or lending circles. To use them in the government would be to tap their insights, to leaven the thinking and attitudes of their colleagues, and to improve public confidence in the agencies.

d) A systematic analysis of the housing laws to determine what inducements are available to encourage real open occupancy housing. Here as elsewhere, preferments are better than sanctions. There undoubtedly are ways by which, for example, FHA and FNMA can give priorities to developers (including 221 developers) whose management will accord with the government's aim of integration.

e) Principal attention to the large builder. In view of the numerous home owners availing themselves of FHA or FNMA benefits, the job of enforcing a clause against discrimination in re-sale would be staggering. On the other hand, FHA could, with comparative ease, come to workable and sound agreements regarding open occupancy with large sub-dividers or apartment sponsors, prior to commitment.

Of all actions the executive department can take, the simplest administratively is the realization of open occupancy in public housing projects. This would be unquestionably desirable. Yet there is a danger in moving sternly in low-income housing, unless policies of equivalent sternness are applied across the board. There is no advantage to anyone in furthering the already existent suspicion, that integration is for the poor folks.

In 1954 and 1955, there was little realization throughout the country of the intensity of feeling in the South, and the degree to which the South would resist Court orders in the school cases. Neither the country nor its government was prepared for what followed. The

President when developing policy has an obligation far greater than that of the courts when declaring rights to be prepared to react to the consequences. A strict non-discriminatory order for FHA (including 221) and PHA housing, with obvious intent to enforce, will in all likelihood lead to a diminution of starts in the South, at least for a time, and could hamper or halt urban renewal. This would not be a completely unfortunate happening, for it would at least slow the present trend toward firmer segregated patterns. Nevertheless, the basic interest of the country is to have a well housed people. Another almost certain consequence in the South would be ingenious methods of evasion. Another possible consequence which cannot be discounted is violence.

The probability of Southern opposition should not be a deterrent. Federal policy must be the same throughout the country, and must be enforced everywhere with equal firmness. If housing starts in the South are reduced, there is every reason to believe they will not be for long: the benefits of participation in federal programs have a powerful attraction.

Administrative firmness can, however, be helpfully supplemented by another approach. There have been many calls in recent years for the President to exert "moral leadership." This implies that the President should make clear where he stands, what he believes, and how he believes that America must act to be true to itself. We think such leadership to be an indispensable part of a firm housing policy, every bit as essential as the definition of such a policy itself. We would go further and suggest that here is an occasion for a sustained exercise of Presidential leadership through persuasion, carried on

publicly or privately as seems best, both by the President and his subordinates.

The appointment of advisory committees is sometimes a substitute for acceptance of responsibility, but can also be a means for grounding new policies on strong, authoritative support. This would seem to be an occasion for utilizing a committee, composed of well-known figures representing the public and financial, building, and real estate circles; Negroes from these categories would, of course, be included. The function of the committee would be to review periodically the success of the housing programs in ameliorating the residential conditions of the disadvantaged minority of our citizens, and to report their findings to the President.

Finally, it should go without saying that the housing agencies should be headed by persons who believe in the value of integrated neighborhoods.

When all this is said, there remains the probable fact that the federal executive alone cannot reach some of the questions of land, appraisal, taxation, city and regional planning, credit, and others basic to the urban problems of the country. It would be unfortunate if executive actions or statements were to create a different impression.

The opportunities are, nevertheless, tremendous. The housing laws can be, and ought to be, administered to curb segregation. No exercise of Presidential discretion would be more beneficial.

18. <u>A declaration by the President that federal housing programs will be guided by a belief in the values of integration would be the soundest basis for an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination. Because</u>

the federal government has been a principal architect of housing segregation, there is special reason for it continuously to evaluate its success in reversing the process. Adverse reactions, especially in the South, are to be expected to firm policies; Presidential leadership can be decisive in allaying and overcoming them.

III. CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to indicate and analyze actions which the executive department can take to secure civil rights and to help in the full realization of the nation's human resources. Six premises have run through our discussion. We would like to state them again, in conclusion.

Civil rights and liberties are the dignities of free men and the essential condition of a free country. In working for their enlargement, the government and we as a people do that which is closest to the core of our national purpose.

We have disadvantaged people in this country. Both fair play and national self-interest dictate that they be helped to become useful, and that their potential for talent be put at society's service.

National unity is a primary political value, and the views of the South should be part of the national consensus. There are, however, vast and largely untapped reservoirs of popular agreement and support in the South for national leadership that would ease from the South an ancient and uncomfortable burden.

Honest dealing by the government and the public toward our non-white citizens would strengthen immeasurably the international prestige of the United States; continued discrimination will just as surely weaken our standing abroad.

The Presidency is the center of American energy. What the President says and does will mark the direction and the speed with which the country moves to perfect its racial relations.

Racial relations is our oldest domestic trouble. It has the claim of age and priority for thorough, decisive action now.

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH

The first of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities

A Report based on a survey by Art Gallaher, Jr., Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Houston

FOREWORD

The reality of unemployment for Negroes in the United States was apparent during the recent recession when twice as many Negroes as whites were without jobs. An equally important fact of our national life is the under-employment of Negroes. These twin problems have moral, social, and economic consequences. In the words of a recent Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights:

> Denial of employment because of the color of a person's skin, his faith, or his ancestry is a wrong of manifold dimensions. On the personal plane, it is an affront to human dignity. On the legal plane, in many cases, it is a violation of the Constitution, of legislation, or of national policy. On the economic and social plane, discrimination may result in a waste of human resources and an unnecessary burden to the community.

Employment discrimination against Negroes is serious throughout the nation. In the South it can be particularly harsh. This publication is a report on how this discrimination affects Negroes, and the city of which they are a part. Houston, the largest city in the South, with a fifth of its population Negro, is the first of several cities to be included in this series on *The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South.* The tone of the report is well reflected in its opening statement. The waste of Negro manpower is described as "enormous" in Houston, deriving from the educational, economic, occupational, and social deprivations of Negroes. The report raises the question: How long can this city and others like it continue to pay the price for unequal opportunities?

Interviews upon which the material in this report is based were carried out during the summer of 1961. Co-sponsor of the study is the Houston Council on Human Relations; it joins with us in acknowledging the contribution not only of Dr. Art Gallaher, Jr., and the crew of devoted interviewers in Houston who assisted him, but also that of Dr. C. H. Parrish of the University of Louisville, whose counsel and guidance were invaluable throughout the course of the study.

James A. Moss
Director of Research
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Consider the case of Lewis X, age 33. A native of Detroit, Michigan, with an engineering degree from a Michigan university, he is married to a Houston girl whom he met while in the Air Force during World War II. Just after his graduation from college his wife's father became ill, and it was necessary for the young couple to return to Houston. Lewis' attempts to find employment as an engineer in local firms failed. There were vacancies for engineers; he tried private employment agencies which listed openings and company personnel offices whenever these were known. Personnel offices seemed, in his words, to regard him as "a freak," and employment agencies offered little encouragement. He finally took a job as a garage clean-up man; he held similar positions for three years. The problem was finally resolved with the death of his wife's father, ending his obligations in Houston.

Another example is more typical. A college student lacking 18 hours of graduating with a degree in chemistry dropped out of school in order to earn tuition money. Hearing that a major oil company did not discriminate in its hiring practices, he applied for a temporary job as a laboratory assistant. In his first contact he was advised that there was such a vacancy. The personnel manager was not in, however, and he returned the following day for an interview. He was then informed that the job had been filled, and he was advised to "go into teaching."

Later, the student learned of a job, listed with an employment agency, for a young man with a background in chemistry. Telephoning the agency, he was told to "come right over." When he arrived half an hour later, he was ushered into a segregated waiting room, and then informed that the position had been filled. He called another agency which had four listings for laboratory assistants, made an appointment, and arrived at that agency "within ten minutes." The receptionist related an unusual occurrence: They had just filled all four jobs. As the student started to leave, however, she told him confidentially that the agency did not place Negroes. He called on several other agencies, receiving the same treatment. Some interviewers gave him the advice received earlier: "Go into teaching." This, everyone seemed to agree, was the best job opportunity in the city of Houston for a Negro with an education in chemistry.

The case of Miss Pauline Y illustrates several facets of racial discrimination. Pauline, now 29, was born and reared in Houston, and educated in its public schools. She was graduated from West Virginia State College in 1955 with a degree in business administration. For two years after her graduation she operated her own credit and collection agency. Deciding that she would rather do something more creative, in 1958 she entered the New York School of Interior Design, graduating two years later with a "B" average. She returned to Houston, qualified to do commercial and residential interiors, decoration "renderings" from floor plans, and various kinds of display layout work. She prefers a job as window designer in a large department store, but as a second choice would like to design office and commercial interiors. As far as she knows, she is the only Negro in the state of Texas who is a professionally trained interior decorator. She is a member of the National Society of Interior Designers and on the mailing list of the society's Texas division.

In the summer of 1960 she began to look for a position in Houston. She wrote letters to principal firms, asking for an interview and providing a profile of her education, interests, and personal background, and a list of professional references. Contacts were made with large department and furniture stores and interior design firms. She received only one reply and that from one of the city's leading furniture stores. The store had no immediate opening, she was told, but her letter would be put on file.

She then decided on a more direct approach and called on several firms to arrange interviews with their personnel directors. She obtained an interview with only one firm, the furniture store previously mentioned, but she was told that "we'll call you if we need you"; she did not hear from them. She again sought an interview with one of Houston's largest department stores. The receptionist, after trying to discourage her, finally arranged an appointment with the personnel manager. When she arrived for the appointment, he was in a meeting; this happened three times. Other firms with advertisements in local papers for interior decorators handled her case in the same way. A representative of the American Friends Service Committee appealed to a number of department stores to consider her application, since they apparently had openings. It was pointed out that she could work as a window dresser, which would involve mainly after hours work, and would therefore have no contact with white customers, but the plea was to no avail. None of the firms approached

admitted that Negroes are not considered for the type of work for which Miss Y was applying. Discouraged in Houston, she is contemplating a move to the West Coast.

No thoughtful Southerner today denies that discrimination against Negroes exists in employment throughout the South and that this is morally wrong. But how widespread is the practice? how militant? Is there change on the way? if so, in which areas?

A survey in Houston, Texas—the South's largest city and one of its most cosmopolitan—discloses a story that, while not without certain brighter spots, is undoubtedly discouraging.

The picture that emerges from this brief survey is clearly delineated. Discriminatory conditions which materially affect occupational opportunity begin early for Houston Negroes. They are barred from the city's only full-time vocational high school, and vocational courses offered in their own schools are limited to skills which the school system defines as most appropriate for them as adults. Industry, for its part, feels little obligation either to employ Negroes at jobs for which they have training or to provide in-service training.

If by considerable personal sacrifice or, perhaps, fortuitous circumstances a Houston Negro is motivated to acquire vocational skills, achieve a college education and professional status, he is likely to be rejected because of "local custom." Consequently, to be employed on equal status with whites in any capacity becomes a "major break-through."

To say that this is morally wrong and not in accord with a democratic society is to state the obvious. Furthermore, it is fallacious to justify the status quo on grounds that change will be too disruptive, either for an individual firm or the Houston business community at large. Such arguments rest on the false premise that social change of this magnitude costs too great a price—that in the interest of harmony the status quo should be maintained. This premise and the arguments which derive from it ignore the price which the community now pays by keeping one fifth of its popu-

lation at an educational, occupational, economic, and social disadvantage. The waste in Houston is enormous.

Adequately educated Negroes *should* attain better paying jobs and thereby contribute greater talent, more taxes, and greater dignity and maturity to one of the South's leading industrial cities. The question remains: How long can this city and others like it continue to pay the price for unequal opportunities?

TRAINING THE MAN FOR THE EXISTING JOB, NOT THE DREAM

The survey reveals an extremely pragmatic attitude on the part of school officials in regard to vocational training in the Houston Independent School System. The only vocational high school in the city—San Jacinto High, an all-white institute—offers full, three-year courses in air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automotive mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, printing, radio, television, and welding. None of these courses is taught in the five Negro high schools.

Officials justify the practice on the grounds that "it would be wasteful . . . to educate a student for admission to a craft or trade that is not open to him." Further, they point with some pride to the fact that Negroes are offered two years of training in floriculture, commercial cooking and baking, cleaning and pressing, and trade dressmaking, courses which are not taught in white schools.

However, at least one school board member, Mrs. Charles White, is not convinced that the policy of orienting vocational courses toward job availability in the immediate area is either just or wise.

"It is our obligation," she recently told the school board, "to provide education for Houston children, and it is not our problem to say what they will do with it."

Distributive education, an apprentice program under which students attend school part time while gaining experience and training in actual job situations, has been eminently successful for white students. In the one Negro school where offered, however, it has proved ineffective. School

officials interviewed blame this on the Negro business community which they say is uncooperative. Negro leaders say there are not enough Negro-owned businesses to support the program alone. Certainly few attempts are made by school officials to place Negroes in apprentice positions with white firms, for this would be against "local custom."

Vocational guidance counseling in both white and Negro schools is considered inadequate by many guidance specialists in the community. The counselor-student ratio in the Houston public schools is normally one counselor per 800 students. Little interest has been shown in improving the figure in order to receive federal funds, for federal aid is viewed with suspicion by the school authorities.

TAKING THE FIRST STEP IS THE MOST DIFFICULT

A Negro youth discovers in Houston that white employers place little premium on his high school diploma. Without it, he may find a job as a porter, a grocer carry-out boy, or a drugstore delivery clerk; with it, he may go to work as a truck driver or stock clerk. In either event, there is little opportunity for advancement. In view of this, Negro students often feel little incentive to finish school. "Why go to school?" one asked a vocational counselor. "You have to go through the back door anyway!"

Even with a college degree many Negroes find they must accept jobs far below their training. One vocational counselor told an interviewer that he personally knows women with several years of college who are working as housemaids.

The Texas Employment Commission appears to be seriously concerned about the Negro employment situation in Houston. It has abolished segregated waiting rooms for those seeking employment, and its staff includes Negro interviewers and clerks, as well as janitors. In the main, however, Negro interviewers and clerks work with Negro applicants only.

Recently, the Commission has begun a new program, for which it is receiving federal aid, to upgrade Negro employment. The method here is to select outstanding applicants and attempt to place them in jobs from which they are presently barred. So far, the program has not overcome any important barriers. A spokesman for the agency says that Negroes seeking

first-time jobs have usually exhausted other methods before applying, and, therefore, take whatever is available. He believes that summer jobs are the most difficult for Negroes to find, even when they have college degrees; schoolteachers, for example, must often take work as domestics or cafe waitresses during the summer.

DETOURS AND DEAD ENDS TO JOB PLACEMENT, ON-THE-JOB TRAINING, AND ADVANCEMENT

JOB PLACEMENT. An official at a major oil and gas firm expresses an attitude fairly typical of a number of Houston industrialists. He reports that his company hires Negroes "only for the type of work which they normally do in this locality," that is, menial work. There are no Negroes employed, for instance, in any clerical, supervisory, middle management, or managerial position. Significant, too, is the official's statement that "we could not do any different if we wanted to." He feels that there are not enough white employees willing to work with Negroes, conceding—which he seems inclined to do—that qualified Negro employees can be found. One recurring theme in his observations, however, and in those of other white employers interviewed, is that intelligent Negroes do not wish to train themselves for professions which, due to local prejudices, they are not allowed to practice in predominantly white industries. He believes that a young Negro, for example, asks himself, "Do I know a Negro geologist?" and the answer being "No," elects to enter some other field, such as medicine, the ministry, or teaching.

The same official illustrates what he believes to be his company's fundamentally liberal views by reference to non-segregated fountains and rest rooms. However, when queried as to eating facilities, he admits that here the company follows "local custom." Yet he points out that in the company's pipeline stations, where the number of Negroes employed is relatively small, all employees share eating facilities, rest rooms, and water fountains.

Specific jobs actually open to Negroes in the companies surveyed are, with a few notable exceptions, menial. To cite only a few representative examples:

> A large retail store hires Negroes only in such jobs as drivers, delivery boys, maids, and dishwashers. Recently, however, the store upgraded a Negro to saleswoman in the ladies ready-to-wear department.

A steel company which does government contract work employs both skilled and unskilled Negro workers, but has no Negro supervisors in either category. There are Negro office porters, but no Negro is employed in a white collar job.

An oil equipment firm employs Negroes only in service jobs, such as cleaners and porters.

A major insurance company employs no Negroes in any capacity.

Another retail store, a branch of a national chain, employs Negro "stock pullers" in its service division and Negro maids and janitors in its retail outlet.

Despite a company policy of non-discriminatory hiring practices an oil development firm reports that it employs no Negroes in any professional or clerical capacity.

Negroes and whites, in a large mail-order house, do not work together in any way. There are no Negro helpers on delivery or transport trucks, and the company will not consider hiring a Negro to repair household appliances, for fear that white housewives would not allow Negro repairmen into their homes. In short, the store assists in perpetuating local discriminatory patterns in all its employment practices.

The one contact made where considerable effort is expended to eliminate discrimination in practice as well as in theory is the Veteran's Administration hospital. Here several programs are offered, open to Negroes and whites alike. The hospital now employs or has employed in the past Negro dieticians, administrators, laboratory technicians, doctors, and nurses. The only limitation on the hiring of Negro employees, a hospital official reports, is the lack of qualified personnel. (Here it seems pertinent to recall the Houston School Board's policy of limiting vocational training to crafts and trades "open" to Negroes, and to inquire where discrimination actually begins. In many cases an employer obviously uses the lack of qualified personnel as an excuse to keep from upgrading or hiring Negroes, but from all indications the hospital official was sincere.)

A talk with a union official reveals a company policy in one petroleum firm which in principle is not discriminatory, but in practice turns out to be. Although the union contract specifies that any union man can bid for

any job for which he qualifies, regardless of race, the company policy prohibits the promotion of any employee who does not have a high school education. Since the company in fact rarely hires Negro high school graduates, this rule effectively eliminates most Negro employees from promotion consideration. To date, the union has succeeded in upgrading only one Negro. Segregation is in force on all levels at this firm, including rest rooms and eating facilities. And, with the exception of the one Negro who has been upgraded, no Negro works on an equal status with a white man.

Menial labor in Houston—and, indeed, throughout the South—is generally regarded as "Negro work." Included in this category are household domestics, yardmen, sweepers, porters, and garbage collectors. Negroes predominate as folders in laundries—hot and strenuous work paying $25.00 for a 50-hour week—and as shirt press operators, considered by laundry owners as highly skilled work.

The jobs from which Negroes are barred either explicitly or tacitly may be said generally to include any that would place them in direct competition with whites or that would lead to supervision over whites.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING. Once a Negro finds a job, however menial, what are his chances in Houston of receiving additional training to qualify him for higher level jobs or better pay? To answer this question major employers in the Houston area were questioned.

Some officials were reluctant to reply. One expressed the fear that he might one day "pick up one of those New York newspapers and find the store's name splashed all over it." However, he indicated that his store does have a training program, primarily for buyers and other store executives, from which Negroes are excluded. As for labor union activity, he says, "We just don't permit that kind of thing."

Several other firms were equally non-communicative. The local representative of a nationwide mail-order house, for example, explained that his company has a rigid policy against giving out information on employee relations; he did state, however, that the company has no in-service training programs, in either its retail or service division, for whites or Negroes.

Under a union contract signed in 1956, job classifications at a Houston steel company are no longer racially segregated. The company offers

an in-service training program, and most Negro employees have taken advantage of the opportunity it presents. Moving upward in an all-white group is probably the greatest obstacle a Negro faces in achieving promotion.

One leading oil and gas firm has intra-company training programs, but only for accounting department employees and for supervisors on the middle management level. There are, however, no Negroes employed on the supervisory level and none working in the company's accounting department.

An industrial arts specialist with some practical experience in the field of human relations believes that if Negroes press for admission into intra-company training programs many firms will accept them. He cites his experience with the local branch of a large oil company. Until 1958, the company excluded Negro service station operators from its training program, but in that year, working with Negro operators and company officials, he succeeded in integrating the company's dealer training course. It has since remained integrated, with no apparent difficulties.

ADVANCEMENT. Aside from the intra-company training programs, what are a Negro's chances of advancing to a position of more responsibility and better pay in the Houston area?

A steel firm refers to its 1956 union contract, which guarantees union employees the right to bid for any job for which they can qualify, but the company concedes that there are no Negro supervisors. It does employ Negro "lead men," a semi-supervisory position. Negroes succeed whites in these jobs, and whites succeed Negroes. Seniority rights are protected by the union contract without regard to race.

Most local industrialists apparently believe, if they think of the matter at all, that the advancement of Negroes into previously all-white positions must be approached with great caution. They fear that moving too rapidly will arouse resentment among white employees and violence "on the nature of Little Rock" will result. This in turn, they think, could frighten away prospective industries from Houston.

An official in an oil industry service company states that Negroes do hold skilled shop jobs, but none has yet advanced to a supervisory post.

The feeling that this would stir resentment among white workers appears to govern company policy in this regard.

In one large oil and gas firm, Negroes and whites are not in competition for jobs in any field. A Negro may become a supervisor of other Negroes, but in no case would he supervise whites.

A local outlet of a large national retail chain has no policy for upgrading Negro employees. Thus, there are no Negro supervisors or foremen. At one time there was an attempt to make a Negro a supervisor over other Negroes; white employees complained, and the attempt was abandoned.

One observer of the Houston labor scene believes that many—perhaps a majority of—Houston employers have adopted a "wait-and-see" attitude in regard to elevating Negroes to responsible positions on equal status with whites. It is his feeling that break-throughs are imminent in many industries and that once they are achieved "the rest will depend on the marketable skills which the Negroes possess." He feels that too many Negroes use race as an excuse for lack of promotion on the job; with the changing conditions it is his opinion that Negroes who are well qualified now have "a good chance of selling themselves."

An ex-employee of the Houston Post Office told an interviewer that the "rule of three" (by which a post is filled from the three persons making the highest scores on a given Civil Service examination) is often used to the disadvantage of Negroes. It is, in fact, remarkable how often in Houston, as throughout the country, the "rule of three" is alleged by Negroes to be manipulated for a discriminatory purpose. One case in particular was cited in Houston. There was a supervisory opening in a division in which two Negroes had top seniority. Ordinarily, seniority is the determining factor in filling openings, but in this instance it was decided that an examination should be given. As a result, a white man was promoted; scores of the examination were never released.

Data from a number of sources reveal that in seeking transfers to more desirable jobs, Negroes are frequently the victims of subtle discrimination. In the post office, there are many jobs which, when openings occur, presumably go to the best qualified senior employee who bids for the position. However, it is alleged that some administrators, anticipating openings in preferred jobs, informally transfer a white employee into the position in order to prepare him by experience and qualification for permanent appointment.

THE TWO FACES OF THE UNION

In the role of organized labor in Houston's Negro employment scene contradictory patterns seem intertwined. One local denies Negroes membership altogether; a second accepts them on terms of total equality; and a third grants only provisional status. It is also quite apparent that union leadership is much more liberal on race issues than is the rank and file. Organized labor is weaker in Houston and other southern cities than in midwestern and northeastern cities of comparable size. In general, unions with an earlier CIO affiliation seem more inclined toward a liberal policy than those identified with the old AFL. The county labor council is integrated, and Negro and white members sit together in Labor Hall.

Some of the unions interviewed which admit Negro members on an integrated basis are seamen, telephone workers, roofers, cement masons, city firemen, clerks, drivers, and steelworkers. Those that admit Negroes only in separate units are machinists, longshoremen, railway carmen, and railway clerks. Some of those which ban Negro membership under all circumstances are plumbers, house painters, millwrights, sheet-metal workers, lathers, carpenters, bricklayers, boilermakers, and printers.

One union official told an interviewer that practically all residential construction in the city is done by non-union contractors. This, he feels, benefits Negro labor, for Negroes are denied admission into most of the building trades unions. Yet he concedes that most house construction is performed by whites, and work crews are seldom integrated.

In the unions which are integrated few white members seem greatly resentful toward Negro members. A white officer of a seaman's union, in fact, expressed pride in his union's policy of non-discrimination. Pointing to Negroes and whites in the hiring hall, playing cards, eating, and talking amicably, he told the interviewer, "Color doesn't rub off. We hire and fire Negroes without regard to color."

In the segregated musicians' union some white members resent the union's refusal to admit competent Negro musicians. Pay scales in both units are approximately the same, and relations between the two are good. White musicians play in clubs over which the Negro union has jurisdiction, just as Negro musicians—who are more in demand for jazz, spirituals, swing, and rock and roll—play in clubs over which the white union has jurisdiction. The fact that Negro musicians are strictly limited to the field of popular music and thus are barred from the Houston Symphony Orchestra is a condition about which members of both groups complain.

EMERGING OPPORTUNITIES IN PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

Is employment by local and federal governments equally available to Negroes and whites?

On the local level, Negroes feel that the situation is improving—not much, but improving nevertheless. Only a few years ago, there were no Negroes with white collar jobs in the Houston city government. While there is only a negligible number now holding such jobs, an effort is being made to increase that amount. In addition, other job opportunities are gradually developing. This fall, for example, for the first time, two Negro school policemen have been hired; heretofore, all policemen at school crossings were white.

Recently, the city for the first time in its history hired Negro process servers. Out of 34 posts, four were filled by Negroes. Also recently, a Negro woman was hired in the mayor's office as a secretary-clerk. The city's first Negro school board member was elected a few years ago.

In October, 1961 a Negro was appointed as an Assistant Attorney on the U. S. District Attorney's staff, an appointment representing the most notable break-through thus far for the Negro legal community in Houston.

THE DILEMMA OF WHERE TO TRAIN FOR NEW JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Investigation of opportunities in Houston for Negroes to learn new jobs reveals a pattern of inconsistency. Of ten business schools interviewed, five are open only to white students and two to Negroes only. One school, which specializes in business machine operations, indicates that "all qualified applicants would be considered," but no Negroes have sought admission. A school engaged in training medical secretaries reports a similar situation: One of its classes voted to accept a Negro, should one apply; however, the only prospective Negro student to consider the school ultimately decided not to enroll. The only business school in the city which admits students of all races has an approximate enrollment of two Negroes to one white.

One floral design school has a policy of non-discrimination, and stu-

dents of both races are freely accepted. The same is true of the one school of mortuary science queried. This school offers training in embalming, funeral direction, medical technology, and X-ray technology. Approximately one fourth of its enrollment is Negro.

In other vocational areas, opportunities for training are more restricted. Interviews with four modeling schools reveal that no Negroes are admitted as students. Of seven technical schools offering courses in electronics, air conditioning, refrigeration, and drafting, five admit white students only; one will "consider" students of all races; and another will set up a special class for Negroes, if a sufficient number of applications are received. One of two commercial art schools interviewed admits white students only, and in the other a home study course is the only work offered for Negroes.

Barber and beauty schools in Houston are segregated. Of the three barber schools visited, two admit only whites, and one admits Negroes only. Eleven beauty schools were investigated; of this number eight restrict admission to whites, and three accept Negroes only.

All five hospitals offering nurses training state unequivocally that they admit no Negroes; one does train nurses' aides on an integrated basis, however. Discrimination in hospital training is apparent in areas other than that of nursing. Interviewers talked with representatives from six hospitals which offer courses in medical technology, histology, clinical pathology, and X-ray technology. Four of these institutions bar Negroes; one offers training in advanced medical technology, for which all qualified applicants are considered; the sixth indicates that it admits all qualified students to an X-ray training course and, in addition, has one opening a year for a Negro student in medical technology.

Directors of three vocational nursing agencies state that they list Negroes as well as whites. The experience of one agency indicates, however, that Negro nurses are discouraged because for them employment opportunities in this field are limited, due to a greater demand for white registrants.

BREAKING THROUGH THE BARRIERS TO NEW JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Interviewers found some "unusual" jobs held by Negroes, unusual in the sense that they represent recent break-throughs. In the sales field there are several examples. A bakery, two automobile dealers, and a brewing company have hired Negro salesmen to work with their Negro customers. An office machine and business supply house has a Negro sales representative who works in the Negro community.

A large department store not only recently desegregated its lunch counter but has, quietly, upgraded a Negro woman from a menial job to salesclerk. She serves Negro and white customers alike; there have been no complaints from white employees or customers.

Another department store transferred a Negro girl from "marker" to salesclerk without incident, and yet another has hired a Negro secretary.

A leading daily paper employs a young Negro woman (a graduate of Texas Southern University) in its editorial department. Her duties consist mainly of reading, clipping, and filing editorials.

An official of a national food processing firm reports that his company now has more Negroes in key positions than at any other time in the firm's history; these include foremen, supervisors, and coffee processors. Moreover, the taster in the coffee-blending department, a prestige position, is a Negro with long seniority. There are, however, few Negroes in office or clerical work.

Two large Houston supermarket chains, one a national affiliate, employ Negro checkers in stores in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. That this is "unusual" employment is a sign of the distance yet to be traveled.

EDUCATION MAY GET YOU NOWHERE

Of all the situations encountered, none seems more wasteful or illogical than the fact that Negroes trained in industrial skills and even in professional categories often work in jobs far below their capabilities. Negroes

with college degrees drive trucks and work as deliverymen. The likelihood that their training will be put to practical use is slight; in most cases the Negroes are working for firms in fields not even related to their training.

There is a cliché in the segregationist's creed to the effect that a Negro must "earn" equality. It is an argument that many, even moderate Southerners, accept as a basic premise. When this "earning" process is complete, so the reasoning goes, the problem of racial discrimination will be solved. There is thus no need "to push the issue now." The limitations now placed on Negro professional men and women in Houston (who, one supposes, have now "earned" their right to equal opportunity) establish a less optimistic but far sounder premise: Few industries voluntarily remove discriminatory barriers in the local employment of Negroes, even of those well qualified.

One observer in a position to know about Negro employment in Houston concludes that a college degree gives a Negro some competitive advantage over Negro high school graduates on the level, say, of stock clerk, but that it gives him little, if any, advantage over a white boy with a high school diploma competing for the same job.

Some white employers are suspicious of Negroes who have been to college, and refuse to hire them. This has caused Negroes with college degrees in chemistry, mathematics, and the liberal arts to admit, when questioned by a prospective employer as to educational background, to having only a high school diploma.

A large supermarket recently hired as a checker a Negro girl with a degree from Texas Southern University. This example of a Negro's working in a job for which she is overtrained merits comment, for her employment in this capacity is generally regarded as a *break-through* in the Negro employment picture.

The under-utilization of Negro ability begins in the classroom and reaches out into all other areas of work experience.

Two representatives from the Dallas Civil Service Regional Office visited Texas Southern University last year to explain civil service opportunities to the students. One area of federal employment which they emphasized was the post office department. A student posed the question

of discrimination in the postal service. Could a Negro really be promoted to a level commensurate with his ability? The speaker admitted that no such guarantee could be made other than in formal regulations. There are, he said, procedural devices which can be used to discriminate. After the speaker made this admission, many of the students rose from their seats and quietly filed out of the room.

Of 3,412 employees in the Houston Post Office, 1,387 are Negroes. Of 765 Negro employees whose educational backgrounds were examined, 169 had high school education only; 81 had one year of college, 92 had two, and 83 had three; 138 were college graduates; four had master's degrees; and 41 had business administration diplomas.

A postal union official told a researcher that 98% of all Negro employees are at grade four or below. Less than ten are at level six; level seven—held by one Negro—is the highest grade attained by a Negro in the Houston post office. The official estimated that 85% of all Negro employees are carriers. Furthermore, Negroes have found it difficult to advance into positions as clerks; at first, those who succeeded worked only on night shifts where they would have no contact with white customers. This policy has since been changed.

There are 48 Negroes in the supervisory registry, with seniorities ranging from ~~31~~ to six years. Their previous employment includes such fields as journalism, welding, teaching, accounting, photo-engraving, radio and television repair, bookkeeping, and personnel management.

A survey of jobs currently held by 65 of last year's graduates at Texas Southern University, about half the class, discloses that three are practicing pharmacists, 12 are teachers, four are medical technicians, two are supermarket cashiers, two are working in the federal civil service, 16 are doing postgraduate work, and 18 are still unemployed. There is one each in the fields of barbering, journalism, photography, secretarial work, domestic service, and state civil service; one replied that she is a housewife. The 65 queried are now living in nine states and the District of Columbia. At least 23 are employed at levels considerably below their educational attainments. One out of three of those reporting is holding a job which would be classified as menial or little better.

There are many small firms and businesses in Houston which commonly exploit Negro training and ability. An employment counselor points

to the case of a Houston firm which ostensibly employs a Negro as a janitor—but insists that he be able to use a typewriter! Smaller dress shops, too, employ as maids Negro women who double as salesladies, "if," as one employer candidly states it, "they aren't too obtrusive." Again, Negro handymen in service stations often are skilled mechanics and do a mechanic's work. In none of these instances does extra pay or status accompany the extra duty.

In the Houston school system, janitorial jobs for Negroes are limited to Negro schools. Negro maids, on the other hand, work in white schools, where they work under the supervision of white janitors. Negro women work as helpers in lunchrooms in white schools but are employed as lunchroom managers only in Negro schools. The school system employs no Negro plumbers, electricians, carpenters, or painters.

DISCRIMINATION KNOWS NO BOUNDS

Negroes in professional vocations in Houston have firsthand exposure to racial discrimination. The Houston Bar Association, for example, does not admit Negroes, and there are no Negroes in the city legal department. A Negro lawyer in the community finds little recognition of his potential by white colleagues; consequently, members of his own race do not feel that he would be as successful in handling their cases as would a white lawyer.

In none of the city's hospitals—including the City-County Charity Hospital—can a Negro physician intern or practice medicine. This is true even where Negro patients are admitted to special, segregated wards.

Nurses fare somewhat better. They work in a staff capacity in all but one of Houston's hospitals—in each situation shifts and patient loads are integrated—and in three hospitals they can advance to head nurse. The hospitals hire Negroes as aides and vocational nurses; many employ or will consider Negroes as laboratory and X-ray technicians, medical technologists, and in other technical capacities. Except for one hospital, these allied medical fields represent one of the prominent areas of occupational break-through for Houston Negroes.

A Negro girl in Houston who wishes to become a nurse attends

Prairie View State College. Although the college program is affiliated with the City-County Hospital in Houston, courses, with a few exceptions, are segregated, as are all social functions.

No local training facilities are provided for Negro dental technicians, but Negroes do attend the state dental college. Negro dental students are admitted to internships and residencies in Houston, although Negro dentists are excluded from membership in local dental associations and, automatically, state and national affiliates.

There are four Negro Certified Public Accountants in Houston. Three who applied for membership in the Texas Society of Certified Public Accountants were rejected under a by-law requiring the recommendation of three society members; the Negro applicants are unable to acquire the mandatory three signatures. One of the group, however, is a member of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants and the American Accountancy Association.

Of the 75 people on an administrative level in the Houston public school system, only three are Negroes. These are supervisors assigned exclusively to Negro schools.

A Negro college professor expresses the view of many Negro professional men: There is no professional group in Houston which is "really integrated." True, the membership rolls and business meetings of some are bi-racial, but professional and social interaction stops at this formal level. At dinner meetings of many such groups, for example, Negroes are requested to arrive after the meal has been served. Furthermore, communication between Negro and white educators, at the high school or college level, is slight.

THE LAST TO BE HIRED; THE FIRST TO BE FIRED

Discrimination against Negroes in regard to layoffs and job termination is a subject which Houston employers interviewed do not wish to discuss. However, interviews with Negro laborers indicate that they are the first to be laid off and the last to be rehired. However, what skilled Negro workers there are are not laid off, as a rule, because of business slumps, but tend to be laid off only upon termination of a specific job.

The attitudes of Houston industry are revealed in many instances. An oil development company states categorically that it practices a policy of equal job security for Negroes and whites in similar employment and that "tenure provisions are equally protective of Negroes and whites." This is no great problem for the company, however, as few Negroes and whites work at the same jobs.

Another firm, a major steel company, cites its union contract which guarantees job security without regard to race or color.

The representative of one large oil company avoided a specific answer to an interviewer's questions. Another such firm, however, readily admitted that since it employs no Negroes in competition with whites, the question of discrimination in job tenure and layoffs is not an issue. The official interviewed at this company is convinced that his firm's hiring and termination policies are "just" in regard to both races, and that industry must move cautiously in upgrading Negroes into previously established white jobs. (This man frequently felt it necessary to make known his agreement with his church's "liberal" stand on racial matters, but at the same time felt he had to defend the industry that he represents, even though the two positions were not always consistent.) He thinks that it will take several generations of greatly improved education for Negro youth before any long strides can be made; as the "home atmosphere" of Negro children is not conducive to intellectual attainment and advanced education, at least one generation of educated parents is needed to lay the proper groundwork. He recoils from the suggestion that his firm, which stresses its leadership responsibilities to the community, assume an active role in improving conditions for Negroes; he feels that it should conform to local custom, changing only after other segments of the community have undergone change.

The conclusions of this survey raise again the question: How long can a major city of the United States continue to undertrain a sizable segment of its young people, limit their opportunities for entry into the labor market, hamper and restrict their employment advance, underutilize their professional skills, deprive them of job security, without serious consequences to the city's own economic and social advance?

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THIS I BELIEVE

by

HAYWOOD N. HILL, M.D.

I AM A SOUTHERNER. I was bred in the South where my forefathers were slave holders and Confederate soldiers. I was born and raised in Southern towns with their rigid racial patterns and their typical Southern prejudice. I was away from the South for a few years, but I returned to live in the South by choice and intend to remain here for the rest of my life. I love the South and its people.

I like to have two black arms in my kitchen and two black legs pushing my lawn mower, to help take the drudgery out of living for myself and my family, and I like having them at a very minimum of cost to me.

I like choosing my own friends and associates, and I like eating in pleasant places with well bred people of my own race, class, and status.

A message given before an adult church school class at Trinity Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, on January 1, 1961. Dr. Hill is teacher of the class and an elder of the church.

I like to worship in a church which is composed of my friends and equals where I will be among my own group, racially, socially, and intellectually.

I like for my children to go to school with their own kind and with other children of their own racial, social, and intellectual level. I like for them to be shielded against poverty, ignorance, dirt, and disease.

I like to practice medicine among intelligent, cooperative people who understand what I am trying to do for them, who are friends as well as patients, and who pay their bills.

I like to live in a neighborhood composed of people of my own group who have pleasant, well kept homes, and where there is no conflict or strife.

I do not want my daughter to marry a Negro.

I like the racial status quo. I am a Southerner.

But, I am also a Christian. As a Christian I must believe that God created all men and that all men are equal in the sight of God. I must believe that all men are my brothers and are children of God, and that I am my brother's keeper. I must believe that Jesus meant what He said when He commanded me to love my neighbor as myself and when He commanded me to do unto others as I would have them do unto me. I must believe that the church is God's house and that it does not belong to me, to the congregation of Trinity Presbyterian Church, or to the Southern Presbyterian Church. I must believe in the fellowship of all believers.

I am also a scientist and have devoted my life to the pursuit of objective truth. Therefore, I must know that while there are individual differences among people that there is no such thing as racial inferiority. I must know that within every group there are individuals with different potentialities, and that I cannot arbitrarily classify anyone on the basis of his race or color. I must know that poverty and ignorance and isolation, call it segregation if you will, breed feelings of inferiority, frustration, resentment, and despair and that these feelings in turn lead to misery, to immorality, and to crime which, in turn, not only depress the people and the communities involved but the community as a whole and the whole country.

Therefore, as a Christian and as a scientist I am obligated to act on the basis of what I know and what I believe and not on the basis of what I like. I must live by conviction and by conscience rather than by preference and by prejudice.

I must, therefore, regard every man, rich or poor, black or white, as a child of God and as a person, not as some kind of subhuman being or animal or even as an inferior. I must try to see to it that every individual gets equal rights under the law and in politics. This applies particularly to the right of equal justice in the courts and to the right of the exercise of political privilege; that is, the right to vote. If I fear the effects of bloc voting and voting from ignorance, then I must try to see to it that every man is educated to the point where he votes intelligently.

I am obligated to pay a living wage to every man who works for me and to do my best to see that others do the same. I must accord to every man the right to rise to the limit of his abilities in any job or profession, and I must make every attempt to see that no man is blocked because of his race or his social status. If any individual of any race rises to a position equal to mine, then I must accord to him the same privileges that I have and welcome him as an equal.

I must see to it that everyone has an opportunity for an education as good as my own children have. If this means, as the social scientists, the courts, and the Negroes themselves believe, that that education must be the same education as my children have, then I must accept it and encourage it.

I must try to see to it that no man be humiliated and rejected because of his color. If this means that the Negro eats where I eat, sits next to me in the theatre, or rides next to me in public transportation, then I am obligated to accept it.

I must see to it that every man has an opportunity for a decent home and decent surroundings, and if this means that he will live in my neighborhood or in the house next to mine, then that is the way it must be.

If a Negro wants to worship in my church or join my church, then I am obligated to see to it that he is not only accepted but welcomed into that church, even if it be Trinity Presbyterian Church. I must not be led by false pride to try to judge his motives for coming into that church, and I must welcome him on the same basis that I would welcome any other individual.

I must try to overlook the selfish politicians who use the Negro for their own ends; the Communist agitators who delight in stirring up racial strife; the noisy, aggressive Negro who abuses his privileges and who makes life unpleasant for me; and even the Negroes who exploit their own race. I must ignore such irrelevant questions as which race settled this country, which

race pays the most taxes, etc., and remember the basic principles on which I am trying to act and in which I believe.

I must not only accept the efforts of the Negro to achieve his legitimate aspirations, but I must try to help him achieve them, and I believe that the church must do the same if it is a truly Christian church. I must do this, even though it goes against my deepest prejudices and even though it threatens my superior and isolated position in the community and even though it entails the risk of intermarriage.

Basically, the problem is not one of what I like but of what I know to be right. I must not let my wishes determine my attitude toward my associates, my school, my church, or even my own family, but if I am true to the principles which I profess, then I must act according to those principles. This, I believe.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
1961

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ★

THIS ADDRESS is Dr. Thompson's side of a debate on integration with Attorney Felix LaPeyre of the Citizens Council of South Louisiana held in August, 1960, at St. Louis Cathedral School in New Orleans. College students of the school arranged the debate which attracted a big audience of both segregation and integration partisans and extensive publicity. The Southern Regional Council regards Dr. Thompson's "The Case for Integration" as a clear and explicit statement of Negro aims and an excellent expression by a man long and fervently attached to American ideals.

THE CASE FOR INTEGRATION

by

DANIEL C. THOMPSON

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INTRODUCTION

THE FOUNDERS of our Republic attempted to translate the principles of personal freedom and equality, as enunciated by our Judaeo-Christian tradition, into practical, political reality. According to them the ultimate reason for the institution of a state is to secure the equal rights of every citizen. They would have regarded as unChristian and undemocratic any attempt on the part of a government to guarantee any group of citizens rights and privileges withheld from any other group.

Because equal citizenship is the most essential element of our Republic

and the most sacred tradition in American society, leaders in American life have always recognized the fundamental importance of equal educational opportunities. This is so because it is a long established fact that whenever any group has access to superior educational opportunities, that group will also have the best opportunities to achieve high economic, social, and political status. Consequently, in order to keep a race or nation perpetually enslaved or oppressed, the oppressor must withhold from them educational equality. This is such a well known principle that Negro and white liberals have always argued that equal educational opportunities are absolutely essential if we are to achieve the democratic goals to which our nation is dedicated.

THE INTEGRATIONISTS' ARGUMENT

The segregationists use many arguments in order to rationalize the inequalities which have always existed in the educational opportunities in the United States. I shall point up several of their fallacies and attempt to give what seems to me to be the integrationists' point of view.

The Question of States Rights The main argument of the states righters is legalistic. According to them, the 10th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States upholds the right of every state to set up any educational system it sees fit or to abolish at will any system it has.

Several things about the state righters' argument render it untenable. In the first place, segregationists who do most of the talking about states rights never mention them except when they try to find some legal justification for racial discrimination. The truth is, they are often precisely those who would depend heavily upon the federal government for economic support. They never invoke the states rights position when money is needed for highways, bridges, dams, price support, drought relief, or welfare.

Second, it overlooks entirely the fact that every American citizen, no matter in which state he resides, is first and foremost a citizen of the United States and as such is guaranteed by our federal government all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto. Moreover, the federal courts have persistently held that it is illegal for a local or state government to withhold from any citizen rights and privileges accorded by it to other citizens of equal qualification. This is a logical requirement, because the federal government recognizes equal citizenship responsibilities. Thus, during times of war or any other national crisis any citizen, in any state, may be called upon to perform whatever duty the federal government sees fit to impose upon him.

A third fallacy inherent in the states righters' argument is the tendency to overlook the fact that each state is an integral part of the union. This has

been a well established legal fact since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States which required every commonwealth, or state, to give up its individual sovereignty to the federal government. Consequently, no state can make any law that is in contradiction to federal constitutional law. This principle was dramatically validated by our Civil War, bitterly fought to establish the facts that a state may not secede from the Union and that sovereignty in the United States is centered in the federal government. Recently, on March 20, 1961 the United States Supreme Court held that the "Doctrine of Interposition" is "without substance."

To deny the supremacy of the federal government is a shortsighted and dangerous teaching. It overlooks years of fruitful cooperation among the several states which has made the United States the most prosperous, powerful, and respected nation in the world. This could not have been done if every state had remained sovereign.

The Question of Southern Tradition A second frequently heard argument on the part of the segregationists is that racial integration will destroy "sacred southern traditions." It might be pointed out that all traditions are not necessarily sacred. One could hardly call scalping, cannibalism, slavery, lynching, the disfranchisement of women, polygamy, the lily-white primary, sutteeism, and war "sacred"; yet each of these has been regarded as "sacred" at some time in history.

All thinking people know that when any tradition becomes outworn and inimical to the welfare of a race or nation, that tradition must be set aside and relegated to the memoirs of the passing generations and to the pages of history. Racial segregation is such a tradition. Respected Americans from every walk of life have borne testimony to the fact that racial segregation, as it exists in the United States, and particularly in the South, causes domestic disunity and endangers our international strength and prestige. This is so because throughout the world racism is a thoroughly discredited political ideology. Therefore, either the United States must give substance to its avowed belief in the principles of democracy or risk alienating its traditional allies and incurring the distrust of freedom-seeking emergent nations.

The Question of Time There are those who readily agree that segregation is an evil that sooner or later must be removed from our national life, but they insist that the time is not yet right.

First, some insist that Negroes are not yet ready for freedom and the responsibilities of full citizenship. Fair-minded people know that this is an overstatement; yet they will agree that no race, nation, or people can ever be altogether *ready* for freedom until they have first *received* freedom. The

integrationists would like to remind the South that for almost 100 years the segregationists have argued that Negroes are not yet ready to receive the benefits of first-class citizenship. Yet these same segregationists have done everything in their power, legally, extra-legally, and often illegally, to prevent Negroes from attaining the education which they know to be the prerequisite of effective citizenship. Thus, even now in some southern states, such as Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi, there is not a single school in which Negro physicians, engineers or administrative experts may be trained. These are precisely the areas in which we will need a much larger number of highly trained persons, if we are to continue our leadership in the world of nations. There are in the whole South not more than 500 Negro engineers instead of the 30,000 or more this section of the United States should, in fact, produce.

Furthermore, it is regrettable that in the South where we have had recurring racial crisis for almost 100 years the political, economic and social leaders of the South flatly refuse, over and over again, to draw upon the leadership resources in the Negro community, even when the problem in question primarily affects Negroes. Thus, insofar as community, state and national affairs are concerned, segregationists would prevent Negroes from ever getting ready to participate fully in the citizenship process.

It must be pointed out, however, that despite limited opportunities and all kinds of legal barriers, Negro leaders are proud of the fact that among them some have managed to become as well prepared to assume even the most exacting demands of full citizenship as have any other people. Therefore, all but the blind, the misguided or the grossly uninformed must realize by now that unless Negroes are given the opportunity to enjoy equal freedom and assume responsibilities of citizenship incumbent upon every other citizen, our Republic "cannot long endure."

Are Negroes, then, ready for the integration for which they fight? The answer is twofold. Many are ready; many must be made ready. This is the real challenge to our educational system.

Second, some insist that white people are not yet ready. To some extent this could be true, because segregationists have done everything in their power to prevent white people from coming to know Negro people. They have confiscated books, ostracized leading citizens who dared to tell the truth about Negroes, passed numerous laws designed to prevent Negro and white people from getting to know one another and have brought pressure to bear upon all forms of mass media in an effort to prevent them from presenting Negroes in any role except that of servant or criminal. As a result, Negroes and whites tend to see each other in terms of stereotypes that foster suspicion, fear, distrust and hate. Therefore, whites, like Negroes, will never be ready for the

assumption of full, responsible citizenship until they, too, are allowed freedom of human association unrestricted by laws and so-called "sacred" traditions.

The Question of Communist Inspiration One of the most objectionable suggestions made by segregationists is that the Negro's fight for freedom and equality is Communist inspired. They tend to overlook the fact that the very foundation of our government presupposes freedom and equality for all people. To deny this borders on treason, because every one of our legal documents, from the Mayflower Compact to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States, has as its central theme the essential equality of all citizens. Not only that, but America's defense of individual dignity and freedom has been the bulwark by which we have distinguished our country from every other nation in history. It would take hours, perhaps days, to quote all of the statements in defense of freedom and equality made by outstanding Americans from Thomas Jefferson to John F. Kennedy. The fact is, all leading American citizens, even the segregationists, have expressed a willingness to sacrifice everything on the altar of freedom and equality. Why then must an American citizen read Karl Marx or the speeches of Nikita Khrushchev in order to get the idea that freedom is a good thing and equality essential to human dignity!

The Question of Necessity Most segregationists would escape the challenge of a democratic education by pointing out that the only responsibility a society has is to provide "equal" education. They insist that this equality can take place on a segregated basis. They overlook the fact that even in 1896, when we were predominantly agrarian and when distance separated us from most other nations, there were leading Americans who said that the doctrine of "separate but equal" was undemocratic and an evil. Now that we are predominantly urban, and playing with intercontinental ballistic missiles with the same ease with which children play with toys, such a doctrine is not only unworkable domestically, but is unrealistic and dangerous in the world of nations.

There are many serious objections to the "separate but equal" doctrine. We need cite only three:

First, the South has made little or no attempt to make educational opportunities for Negroes equal to that provided for whites. The truth is, segregationists did not even give lip service to this doctrine until the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision was imminent.

Second, segregation, which presupposes inferiority, often has caused it, Negro children brought up in a segregated system of education have great

difficulty in overcoming the "badge" of inferiority implied by such a system.

Third, it gives a false sense of superiority to the segregating group. Psychologists and psychiatrists are still not sure which group of children is most damaged by the system of segregation perpetuated in the South. Where Negro children are likely to develop feelings of inferiority, white children are often infected with delusions of grandeur. This feeling gives rise to the unmodest, unreligious ond undemocratic statements that otherwise intelligent white people frequently make when they say unashamedly that they belong to a "superior race."

The Question of Mental Ability It has never been proven that any one race is inherently superior to any other race. Of course, there have been many "logical" arguments for and against the superior race theory. Some segregationists still feign a belief in this pseudo-scientific racist "doctrine" in order to justify their prejudices and validate their anti-Negro, anti-democratic contentions. They have parroted this "doctrine" for so long and their arguments for white supremacy are worn so thin that they hardly convince even their most loyal and emotionally disturbed followers. In fact, the Negroes' achievements over the past two decades in many fields—including the most mentally exacting occupations—have been so notable that even the arch segregationist, Herman Talmadge of Georgia, admitted on a nationwide broadcast that *he* no longer believed that Negroes, as a race, are mentally inferior to whites.

It is generally agreed among reputable psychologists and sociologists that at the present time there is no "culture free" intelligence test in use. This means that "intelligence" tests measure not only "native" ability, but also learning. Examples of this are legion. The following are typical:

Rural children consistently make lower scores on "intelligence" tests than do children reared in cities.

Children selected at random from higher income or professional families as a rule make a considerably better showing on "intelligence" tests than do children who are economically and culturally deprived.

United States children, who have been trained to compete, always make higher scores than children from relatively non-competitive cultures such as we find in non-industrial societies.

Among twins, even identical twins, who are reared apart, we find that those reared in culturally "favorable" homes score much higher on "intelligence" tests than their counterparts who are reared in culturally "unfavorable" homes.

Northern whites consistently make higher "intelligence" scores than do southern whites.

Northern Negroes have always done markedly better on "intelligence" tests than have southern Negroes.

Negro soldiers from New York made higher average scores on the Army Alpha test than did white soldiers from certain southern states.

Perhaps the soundest conclusion on this issue was that of Dr. Otto Klineberg of Columbia University, one of the most respected psychologists in the world. He says that "there can be no doubt that an improvement in environment, with everything that this implies, can do a great deal to raise the intelligence-test scores."

Negroes, then, who have the largest proportion of their people in impoverished social and cultural environments, can be expected to make considerably lower scores, as a group, than members of the white race. Yet in both races we have both idiots and geniuses.

The Question of Academic Standards Because the South has traditionally provided inferior academic opportunities for Negro children, some Negro children are behind white children in academic development. Nobody denies this. As a matter of fact, this is the main reason why segregated education must go. The great fallacy in the segregationists' argument is this: They insist that because some Negro children do not measure up to the level of achievement of some white children, Negro children must continue to be subjected to lower educational standards. This is, of course, circular reasoning. There will always be inferior academic products so long as we tolerate inferior or segregated educational systems.

The basic consideration should not be a question of race, but of academic planning, because Negro parents are as anxious as are white parents that their children receive the best education available. This might mean the setting up of three school systems: one for superior students, one for mediocre or average students and one for slow learners. Or it might mean three different groupings within a single grade within the same school. But, whatever the system, it should have nothing to do with race.

Evidence bears out one definite fact: segregationists are not primarily interested in preserving academic standards. For example, if that were so, then they would have no objections to the enrollment of the several Negro students now qaulified for the Benjamin Franklin School for superior students in New Orleans.

The Question of Moral Standards Some segregationists attempt to frighten white parents by predicting that, when Negro children are permitted to attend schools with white children, moral standards will be lowered as a result. Negro leaders readily admit that juvenile delinquency is a serious problem in the Negro community, but they resent the suggestion that Negro youth have a monopoly in this regard. Every informed citizen knows that juvenile delinquency is a national problem of the first magnitude. It is not confined

to any one section of the United States or to any one race. "Blackboard jungles" are not peculiar to the Negro community.

The Question of Health Standards It is likely that children who are born and reared in impoverished homes may have, on the whole, more days of sickness than do children from more fortunate environments. If this is so, then the problem of health should not be confused with that of segregation, because illness is a ubiquitous problem not confined to any racial group.

No parent wants his child to be exposed to contagious diseases. When children become infected with contagious diseases, we must necessarily find some way to isolate them, whether they are Negro or white. It is just as unfair to allow a Negro student to become infected by a Negro student as it is to allow a white student to become infected by Negro students. The problem is not one of race but of health regulations. These two issues must not be confused. Negro parents, therefore, join wholeheartedly with white parents in encouraging school officials to take every necessary precaution to prevent any child, regardless of race, from needless exposure to contagious diseases.

The Question of Negro-White Student Ratio One vocal member of the Orleans Parish School Board insists that, if integration of the public schools of New Orleans becomes a reality, every school in the city will eventually have more Negro students than white students enrolled. This statement is obviously intended to frighten white parents into believing that eventually they will have to send their children to "Negro schools."

I am sure that this distinguished citizen knows that this is a gross exaggeration. However, if this eventuality does become a reality, integrationists insist that the principle of equal educational opportunities not be compromised, and that white students who attend a school where the majority are Negroes not suffer academically. Besides, there is every reason to believe that white students have as much ability to adjust to new social situations as do Negro students. And, over the years, Negro students have attended, without noticeable ill effects, schools where they have often been outnumbered by white students a thousand to one. So, if we sincerely desire to equalize educational opportunities for our youth, it will make little difference whether the majority in a given school is made up of whites or Negroes.

The Question of Violence Segregationists seem to delight in frightening parents into believing that racial integration in our schools must necessarily lead to violence. This has been their most unfair and demagogic argument. This argument has been used to discourage desegregation in interstate transportation, street cars and buses, recreational facilities and even professional

societies. *The truth is, violence has never occurred except when a few white segregationists have deliberately inspired it.* This was certainly the case when public schools were desegregated in New Orleans on November 14, 1960.

In the first place, five- and six-year olds hardly feel so strongly about "sacred" southern traditions that they are willing to become bloody about them.

In the second place, this argument is unfair to the ethical and moral teachings of our churches and parents. It suggests that little real effort has been made to instill in our youth the love for fellow men and the impracticality of violence which Jesus Christ demonstrated in both His teachings and death.

A third indication that this argument is fallacious is that one of the most heroic pages in the history of our country is the story of the bravery, courage and tolerance manifested by Negro children in their fight for freedom during the last six years. Some of them have been spit upon, insulted, beaten and jailed, but they did not retaliate. There is reason to believe that there is the same potential courage, tolerance and morality among white youth.

The Question of the Legality of the May 17, 1954 United States Supreme Court Decision On May 17, 1954 the United States Supreme Court in *Brown v. Topeka* unanimously decided that segregation in public education deprives Negroes of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. Furthermore, the Justices quoted with approval a lower court holding:

> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the education and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.

Segregationists are loud in denunciation of this decision. Most of them insist that it is not the "Law of the Land." Some even advocate open defiance. Public officials have been known to encourage white people to defy all court orders designed to implement this decision. They have lauded the "character and courage" of those who participate in riots calculated to frustrate federal court integration orders. Even the most "liberal" elected officials representing the South advocate the use of all "legal" means to circumvent this decision. Indeed, this was the intent of the "Southern Manifesto," signed by 96 southern congressmen, and has been the theme, in recent years, in all southern legislatures, where hundreds of anti-integration laws have been passed.

Segregationists give many reasons for defying the 1954 decision. Some of their denunciations are pretty farfetched. They claim that the 14th Amendment itself is unconstitutional because it has not been properly ratified; that *Brown v. Topeka* was a "political decision"; that it was more legislative than judicial; that it was Communist-inspired and, above all, that psychological and sociological interpretations overshadowed strictly legal precedents.

The integrationists do not minimize the "psychological and sociological" overtones of this decision. Indeed, they contend that *all* laws should be based upon such facts, that when any law is devoid of humanistic and scientific considerations it is likely to be unjust or, at best, sterile. All laws in a democratic society should reflect the enlightened national social consciousness. Only in this way can a government ensure the psychic health of individual citizens and the general welfare. This is precisely the basis upon which new laws are justified and old laws are modified or repealed. This is the genius of the flexible constitution under which our government operates: Orderly changes can be made when they are deemed necessary and right without total revolution.

The cardinal principle of Americanism is this: *Laws in themselves are not sacred, but are designed to protect sacred principles—freedom, equality and individual dignity*. Therefore, laws may be repealed when necessary, but these principles must be preserved at all costs.

Although segregationists deny the propriety of the court's consideration of psychological and sociological principles when civil rights of Negroes are concerned, they quickly invoke them when their own privileges are challenged. For example, in each of the questions raised in this paper, except the question of "states rights," the basic arguments against racial integration presented by the white supremacists are inherently psychological and sociological. The segregationists are caught in a strange dilemma, dramatically highlighted in a statement made by Attorney Wade Heaton. In his argument begging the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to preserve segregation in the public schools of East Baton Rouge and St. Helena Parishes and in the six Louisiana trade schools, he pleaded that the court should "take into consideration psychological and sociological" factors.

The Question of Interracial Marriage It is not easy to understand or analyze the emotional content which the concept of interracial marriage has for white supremacists. There are, however, some suggestive explanations:

1. Some scholars hold that there are white people who actually believe in the myths of "racial purity" and "racial superiority." These beliefs persist despite the fact that racial "mixing" has been going on for thousands of years, and all races are "mixed." There is no "pure" race. Furthermore, there is no

scientific evidence that biological or cultural ill effects have accrued from it.

2. Another plausible explanation is that white supremacists have ironically "over-advertised" the virility of the Negro man. Their own fabricated image of a super-sexed Negro male has been so thoroughly propagandized that, like a Frankenstein monster, it functions to threaten the security of its white creators. Thus, it is not uncommon for apparently logical white men to fall victims to an obviously illogical system of contradictions. On the one hand, they argue that the "big, black, burly Negro" is little more than a "beast," and completely undesirable. On the other hand, they hold, just as strongly, that if white women are allowed to come into social contact with Negro men, a dangerously large number of them will willingly choose Negro mates in preference to white mates.

3. Because southern white men have historically exploited the Negro female, some scholars have suggested that white males have developed an unconscious sense of guilt. They reason that this guilt feeling has become the center of a fear complex in which some white men actually imagine that somehow the Negro male will get revenge by marrying their daughters.

Whatever may be the explanation, white supremacists tend to react violently and illogically when interracial marriage is discussed. All of the unfounded fears associated with race relations come to focus in this concept. Their avowed fear that there will be wholesale marriages between Negro men and white women is so real to them that it is used to defend the most drastic measures to keep Negroes in their so-called "place." It is the basis upon which they justify economic discrimination, inadequate housing, the barring of Negroes from public-supported facilities, discrimination in public transportation, inequalities in educational opportunities, disfranchisement and the withholding of the right to equal communication facilities.

Perhaps the basic fact overlooked is this: according to Western tradition, particularly in the United States, every individual is free to choose his own mate. Therefore, when an individual is willing to risk the inconveniences and social ostracism that may be attendant upon interracial marriage, he has the right to do so. Nevertheless, this fact is clear: So long as race is regarded as an important value, as it is today in our society, there will continue to be very little cause for alarm over the number of interracial marriages that will take place. Conversely, when race ceases to have this enhanced social value or to carry special privileges and special disadvantages, then it will really make little difference whether one marries a Negro or white person of his own choosing.

WHAT, THEREFORE, IS THE CASE FOR INTEGRATION? Stated simply, it is this: *No people, regardless of race, can develop their fullest potentials in social isolation.* All great civilizations, all rich cultures and all

truly great men have achieved their greatness as a result of maximum exposure to the cultures and achievements of other peoples and individuals. They have developed at the "crossroads" of history, where varied traditions, customs and ideas are blended.

The system of racial segregation in American society is specifically designed to isolate Negroes from contacts with other racial groups. This racial apartheid restricts the social, cultural and psychological development of Negroes. Yet even a superficial knowledge of southern history reveals that white people also suffer. Their humanistic outlook and psychological development have been blunted by the doctrine and practices of social separation. This is convincingly evidenced by southern traditions that condone oppressive legislation, differential administration of justice and outright mob rule.

CONCLUSION

The Negro realizes that if he is to develop to full measure his several talents, it is necessary that he, like members of other racial groups, have an opportunity to grow in all directions, unrestricted by so-called "sacred" southern traditions, "black codes" or psychological restraints. In other words, he must be able to enter the main stream of world culture with the same protection, opportunities and incentives as other free individuals with whom he must inevitably compete. He knows full well that with the transcendence of geographical barriers, he is, whether he desires it or not, a citizen of the world. He claims, therefore, the heritage bequeathed to men everywhere—the right to "LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." Not only does the Negro need freedom in order to develop his fullest potential, but his talents are desperately needed by our country today in its struggle for political, economic and ideological leadership in the world of nations. The fact was given focus in 1954 when the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously held that education "is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the Armed Forces . . . . It is the very foundation of good citizenship."

When, therefore, is the time to end oppression, degradation, segregation, discrimination and the withholding of inalienable rights? History, sound government and conscience all testify that *THE TIME IS NOW*. Justice is not a commodity whose attainment can be postponed. Right cannot be silenced by expediency. Evil cannot be given the sanction of legitimacy. And, finally, one sure fact of history should guide the United States and each individual citizen in whatever deliberations are undertaken: "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

1961, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia

A STATUS STUDY

OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

IN FOUR SOUTHERN CITIES

(HOUSTON, ATLANTA, CHATTANOOGA, AND MIAMI)

A Research Project of the Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 16, 1961

PART I.

INSTRUCTIONS AND GUIDES FOR USE BY STUDY GROUPS IN THE EMPLOYMENT SURVEY OF FOUR SOUTHERN CITIES

PURPOSE: To discover the nature and extent of racial discrimination in job opportunities, in access to training facilities (including apprenticeships), in chances for promotions, and in wages or salary paid for the same or comparable service.*

General Instructions

Although this is not to be a study in depth, in the academic sense, there is no reason why the findings should not be well documented and arrived at with all the objectivity it is possible to command. The fact that the responsibility for making the study will be in the hands of dedicated volunteers is an advantage provided there is good teamwork in the study group, and provided also that the distinction between fact-finding and advocacy is scrupulously maintained. The desire to eliminate discriminatory practices needs to be subordinated here to the effort to find out exactly what the practices are.

Information will be secured chiefly from existing records and from interviews with key persons. Careful planning by the local study committee will minimize the possibility of overlapping and wasted motion. In arranging the interview schedule it is important to select for each appointment the interviewer most likely to get the desired information with the least resistance. It would also be helpful to avoid the necessity of a second interview with the same person.

The questions are supposed to direct attention to the critical areas in which discrimination may occur. They also will serve as a basis for a point by point comparison of the four communities involved in the study. The resourcefulness of the local interviewer may be depended upon to devise additional probe questions in order to ferret out the desired information, if it is available. The complete interview report should always include an evaluation of the reliability of the materials collected.

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* Within this broad objective, two areas of particular importance are: 1) the job opportunities available to high school graduates who do not plan to go to college; and 2) discriminatory practices in agencies of the Federal Government and in plants with government contracts.

The case studies suggested need not be elaborate in order to provide valuable insights into the kinds of problems encountered by Negro workers. They would be illustrative of the factual information, not documentation for it.

The members of the local committee will have helpful suggestions about sources of information and possible subjects for case histories. Whenever it is necessary, informants should be reminded that their names will not be used unless specific permission to do so is given. Many times this assurance of anonymity will make it possible to get leads not otherwise obtainable.

The importance of planning sessions cannot be over-emphasized. One procedure would be to provide members of the study group with copies of the guide questions prior to the first briefing, with a request that each person prepare a list of names of likely informants to be interviewed. Specific dates should be set for subsequent progress reports and for the resolution of problems that may have arisen.

Instructions for Use of Interview Guide

Section 1 seeks background information on the labor force characteristics in the South as a region and in the four cities under survey. This section of the research is the responsibility of the research staff of the Council. Information as compiled for the four cities will be forwarded to the study groups as completed.

Section 2 states the underlying assumptions that provide the basic orientation for the employment study. These assumptions are not intended to serve as undisputed truths, but rather to provide guidelines for the series of questions that follow in the interviewing outline. It may well be that some of the assumptions which we have made will, in the course of the study, need revision, and perhaps at the conclusion of the survey require complete reformulation.

Section 3 of the outline seeks information on employment practices with regard to Negro youth. In addition to the questions raised in the interviewing guide, this section of the questionnaire focuses on the following questions:

> What is the situation with respect to guidance and counseling among Negro high school students? Here it is important to find out the ratio of pupils to guidance teachers or counselors in White and Negro schools; also, it is important to know the training of guidance teachers for the job they are expected to do.
>
> Are there careers which are usually ignored in the advice given by counselors to Negro pupils? Is counseling in Negro schools based primarily on the kind of jobs now available to Negroes in the community? To what extent does this policy operate to keep Negro pupils from knowing about the possibilities in a variety of careers?

Some additional questions related to Section 3 on initial hiring difficulties experienced by Negroes at all educational levels might include:

What are the referral practices of both public and private employment agencies with respect to Negro job applicants? Are requests from employers separated by race--that is, are Negroes denied the opportunity to qualify for placement for some jobs which are available? Over the past years, what does the record show in regard to Negro placement?

What are the "Negro" jobs in the community--that is, for what kind of work are request made for Negroes only, never for Whites?

In reverse, what kinds of jobs are specifically reserved for qualified White persons?

Also under Section 3, particularly with respect to policies of both private and public employment agencies, some important considerations raised are:

Public employment may be at the federal, state or local level. At the federal level it is important to know whether civil service examinations are adequately advertised in the Negro community and whether any systematic effort is made to get Negroes to take examinations on the state and local level. It is important to know whether the state or the municipality has a merit system for certain kinds of positions, whether applicants for such jobs have to indicate race on the application blank, and whether there is an avowed policy of non-discrimination in the area.

In this connection it is important to examine very closely the practices in regard to federal employment where by law discrimination is forbidden. In the post office, for example, are there any Negroes in supervisory jobs? Have any Negroes taken examinations for such positions and been rejected on the basis of the "rule of 3" (the appointing officer has the right to select one of the first three qualifying applicants and if none are suitable he may select from the next three, etc.).

With respect to skilled and unskilled workers, treated also in Section 3, background for information sought in this section involves the following considerations:

Normally the main categories of people seeking employment are as follows: 1) young people who have dropped out of school; 2) high school graduates who do not go to college; 3) college graduates and those who have attended but are not college graduates; 4) others who are transferring from one job to another and have been employed before; 5) young people seeking summer employment.

For each of these categories the question will be raised:

what are the chances in the community for this person getting a job for which he is qualified? In one community approximately three-fourth of the Negro high school graduates do not go on to college. What kinds of jobs do they get, or can they get, in the local community? Perhaps information on this point may be secured from the principals of local high schools and from guidance teachers and counselors. Perhaps a few case studies of a few recent high school graduates might be made in order to get a picture of the difficulties encountered in finding a job. The principals of the high schools will undoubtedly know several young people who finished high school within the last two years but could not go to college from whom this kind of information may be secured. They, the principals, also are likely to be used as references by the recent graduates who are seeking jobs. This becomes a valuable source of information about the job outlook for such persons.

A study of employment practices in Pennsylvania, reported by John Hope, suggests that chances of discrimination increase "substantially with the level of training obtained by Negro applicants." A corollary of this will be that many Negroes seeking jobs will have to accept a job at a lower level than that for which they are qualified. This leads to underemployment. It is important to discover the extent to which Negroes employed for the first time are forced to accept jobs which do not utilize fully the training they have received. Here again a few case studies will illustrate the point.

In a few selected establishments where Negroes are employed, inquiry might be made concerning the opportunity they have within the plant to prepare themselves for better positions. This is a sometimes concealed area of discrimination.

In regard to upgrading and transfer, the two rules which seem to operate in the American industry in the South are: 1) a Negro must not supervise White workers regardless of his qualifications for such a job; and 2) White workers will not knowingly work with Negroes on terms of equal status. Therefore, the points of inquiry here should center around the opportunity available to move up within the plant and whether or not the jobs which Negroes hold are dead-end jobs.

Is there a limit beyond which they cannot aspire within the plants which have been selected? Even where Negro and White workers have what appears to be equal status, a difference in job classification may place the Negro worker at a disadvantage. The reverse of this is also true and the question should be asked: are Negroes in this plant doing the work appropriate to a higher job classification than they have (e.g., a Negro maid in a department store may arrange the display window. Another approach in order to find out about upgrading is to search for Negro workers who have been in one job classification for a number of years and find out from them why they have never advanced.

The same kind of questions with regard to discrimination and upgrading may also be applied to opportunities to transfer to better paying jobs. The whole matter of seniority rights may be examined here because a transfer may be discriminatory in that a worker may lose his seniority in the job category in which he has long experience.

Section 4 deals with employment practices in regard to terminations, demotions, and lay-offs. The background against which data collected in this section will be analyzed is discussed below:

It has been said repeatedly that the Negro is the last hired and first fired. Is there any evidence of the truth or falsity of this statement in your community? Of course, discrimination in lay-off is easily discernible if the plant organization is a segregated one: that is, if there are separate Negro and White units doing the same kind of job. In this way segregation therefore facilitates the discriminatory practices.

For nearly all of the foregoing items the situation differs with the kind of employment. For example, upgrading and transfer may be a quite different problem among teachers than among industrial workers. Consequently, it is important to give special consideration to occupations which do not conform to the normal industrial pattern. In a segregated school system, for example, a Negro school teacher may become a principal or possibly, if the system is large enough, a Negro supervisor--but may never aspire to an administrative position which applies to the whole school system. This practice is likely to continue after the schools are desegregated.

The material in Section 5 poses some additional questions of interest in the study:

What unusual or pilot positions do Negroes hold in your community? For example, in most communities jobs in which a Negro supervises White workers is considered unusual. Are there such positions held by Negroes in your community? It might be of interest to secure interviews with such persons and also with their employers in order to illustrate the differences in making a break-away from the traditional pattern.

Are there many jobs over which Negroes hold a monopoly? (For example, domestic service, bell boys, waiters, maids in department stores, janitorial work, garbage collectors and the like).

Section 6, comprising case studies in employment practices, may be sharpened considerably with these suggestions:

1) Select an illustration that best represents, not the exceptional instance of employment discrimination, but those instances which involve the problems faced by a broad group of people.

2. Secure the facts in the case study from the most authentic sources: the age, sex, training; type of job sought; role persons involved; condensed account (including a factual time sequence) of the employment sought by the individual involved in the case; the decision made with respect to the employment; and what follow-up action, if any, was taken. An illustration follows:

> John X, male, 19 years of age, high school graduate, sought job as meter reader with the municipal public utilities corporation. Application first made as a result of announcement sent to high school, February 1961. Counselor reviewed the qualifications of John X, noting that he was in the top 5% of his class, exhibited high leadership potential, limited family resources for college education. Suggested that he formally make application. March 7, John X is interviewed by the director of personnel in the utilities corporation office and is given a series of tests and other required forms to complete. Two weeks later, March 14, John X receives notification of his rejection, giving no reason why he is not hired. Since an appointment of a Negro to this job would constitute a break-through in employment at this level, the guidance counselor, the local president of the NAACP, and the human relations counsel in the city are interested in following up the reasons for his rejection.

3. If at all possible, secure at least one case study for each of the points cited under Section 6.

In Section 7 it is most desirable that local study groups make their own summaries and interpretations of facts collected in the study, but it is strongly urged that all of the raw materials, as well as the summaries be submitted to the research department of SRC for its analysis and writing of the report.

PART II.

AIDS IN GETTING THE INTERVIEW

1. Carefully select a key respondent(s) and alternative to be interviewed under each section of the outline--i.e., is this the most knowledgeable, most articulate, most reliable person to provide information in the area under survey?

2. Unless the respondent is personally known to the interviewer, a letter should be sent, on the letterhead of the sponsoring organization, indicating the objectives of the interview, the desired information from the person to be interviewed, the time limits of the study, and a request for cooperation. This letter should be followed up with a telephone call, within a few days after the letter is sent, to fix the time for the interview and make any other arrangements which might be necessary for securing information useful in the study.

3. Promptness in keeping the appointment for the interview is stressed. Ask only those key questions included in the interviewing guide. Record as quickly as you can the comments being made but maintaining, if possible, facial communication with the respondent. If the respondent expresses a preference for your not taking notes, acceed to his wishes but immediately after the interview record as accurately as possible the substance of the interview.

   Please do not seek to "educate" the respondent; you are his guest and there to secure information from him.

   At the conclusion of the interview, thank him for his time and his cooperation and, if your organization plans to do so, indicate that you would be glad to send him a copy of the finished report of the survey.

   A good closing question might be: is there anyone else whom you might suggest that we talk to? is there anything else you would like to discuss that might be of help to us?

4. Please type the report of the interview as soon after its conclusion as possible, with one carbon copy for yourself and the original to be sent to the Southern Regional Council.

PART III

EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES IN FOUR SOUTHERN CITIES

1. Characteristics of the Labor Force in the South.

1.1. Characteristics of the Non-White labor force

1.1.1. A comparison of Non-White labor force characteristics in four Southern cities (Houston, Atlanta, Chattanooga, Miami)

1.1.1.1. Age, Sex, Marital status, Educational levels, Occupational categories, Income, Type of industry, Nature of Employment (permanent, temporary; part-time, fulltime)

SOURCES: Monthly Report on the Labor Force
United States Department of Labor
Current Population Survey, unpublished Data, Troutman file Non-White data on occupation, education, employment, income
Employment and Earnings, Annual Supplement U.S. Department of Labor, May 1960

2. Some Tentative Assumptions with Respect to Employment of Non-Whites in the South.

2.1. Negro young people 18 years of age and under, particularly those who have not completed high school, find it especially difficult to secure employment at a competitive level with Whites of their own age.

2.2. Difficulty in securing employment in the younger age brackets of the labor force has its sources in:

a. prevailing attitudes of both Whites and Negroes towards vocational training for Negro young people;

b. the extent of facilities for vocational preparation and the quality of training offered;

c. the adequacy and quality of vocational counseling services;

d. types of work experiences open to Negro young people.

e. the recruitment and employment practices of both public and private employment agencies.

2.3. Non-White workers in the unskilled and skilled categories, experience employment difficulties in the areas of job tenure, on-the-job training programs, apprenticeship programs, union affiliation, upgrading, promotions, job transfer, and in the use of in-plant facilities such as restrooms, cafeterias, recreation, hospitalization, and other fringe benefits.

2.4. Negro college students experience fewer opportunities for Summer employment in their areas of training and internships than do White students, providing the latter with an edge on experience when the two groups compete for jobs on an equal level.

2.5. Negro college graduates without professional training experience increasing difficulties in securing permanent employment in their local areas, thereby necessitating migration to other states in search of employment, or are under-utilized with respect to their training.

2.6. With training in the professions, the Negro is still less assured of equal opportunities with Whites to practice his profession, to be promoted and advanced on merit, and to share the advantages with his White professional colleagues of membership in professional associations and societies.

SOURCES:

3. <u>Information to be Collected on Employment Practices in Four Southern Cities.</u>

3.1. Negro youth and employment practices

3.1.1. Vocational Guidance, Counseling, and training in public schools.

3.1.1.1. WHAT FACILITIES FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING ARE PROVIDED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS? (Specify availability by race)

<u>Subsidiary Questions</u>: How many vocational high schools are there? What vocations are taught in them? What are the vocations for which training is available in regular, unspecialized high schools? To what extent are vocational courses offered to Negro young people to upgrade job aspirations? May Negro students avail themselves of these facilities? What arrangements exist between the schools and labor unions or industry for the operation of these vocational courses? Do any of these arrangements exclude Negroes or limit their participation? For example: Is is possible for a Negro boy to use his last year of high school to begin apprenticeship for a trade? Or can a Negro girl get sales experience in downtown stores during the summer or the Christmas rush period? To what extent are vocational courses offered to Negro young people limited only to those fields in which there is an established practice of employing Negroes? [1]

3.1.2. WHAT DIFFERENCES, IF ANY, EXIST IN THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING SERVICES PROVIDED FOR WHITE AND NEGRO PUPILS?

3.1.3. WHAT ARE THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY A NEGRO WHO IS SEEKING HIS FIRST JOB?

<u>Subsidiary Questions</u>: <u>The young person who has quit school.</u>

Aside from unskilled labor or domestic service, what jobs are available for such persons? For what trades do they have a chance to qualify? To what extent do bellboys,

waitresses, elevator operators, etc. come from this category? What jobs can white youngsters in this category get from which Negroes are excluded?

Negro high school graduates who do not attend college.

Year in, year out, what proportion of Negro high school graduates fall in this category? What kinds of jobs do they get? Is there a significant difference between the opportunities available to these high school graduates and those open to youngsters who have dropped out of school? Is there really any incentive for the youngster to finish high school? In comparison with white high school graduates, what is the nature and extent of the disadvantage in employment opportunities from which Negro youngsters suffer? Ascertain, if possible, the extent to which Negro young people are forced to accept jobs considerably below the level of their qualifications. Is there any way to find out about what proportion of Negro high school graduates of a city seek jobs elsewhere?

3.1.4. The Recruitment and Employment Practices of both public and Private Employment Agencies with respect to Youth.

3.2. Skilled and Unskilled Workers and Employment Practices

3.2.1. WHAT BARRIERS, IF ANY, ARE FACED BY NEGROES IN INDUSTRY IN THEIR EFFORTS TO GET TRAINING WITHIN THE PLANT THAT WOULD QUALIFY THEM FOR HIGHER LEVEL JOBS OR BETTER PAY?

Subsidiary Questions: Are Negroes placed in categories which automatically preclude their participation in training programs? Explain. To what extent do Negroes take advantage of the opportunities for training available to them? In what ways are they discouraged from doing so? What part, if any, do labor unions play in on-the-job training?[2]

3.2.2. IN THE SELECTED PLANTS, IN WHAT CATEGORIES -- JOB CLASSIFICATIONS -- ARE NEGROES NOW WORKING, OR NONE WORKING AT ALL?

Subsidiary Questions: Are Negroes employed in some divisions of the plant but not in others? Specify. To what extent is there segregation within the plant? What about rest rooms and cafeterias? In what capacities are Negro women employed? If this is a government contract plant operation, are all of the requirements being met? Which ones are being violated? Are Negro jobs "blind alleys"? Explain.[3]

3.2.3. IN COMPARISON WITH WHITE WORKERS IN THE SAME PLANT AND WORKING AT SIMILAR JOBS, WHAT ARE THE CHANCES FOR NEGRO WORKERS TO BE UPGRADED OR TRANSFERRED TO BETTER JOBS -- EITHER TO OTHER PLANTS OF SAME COMPANY OR WITHIN SAME PLANT?

Subsidiary Questions: What are the chances of a Negro becoming a foreman or supervisor? Are these opportunities limited to all-Negro units? In what kinds of situations do Negroes supervise White workers? In what situations, if any, are the seniority rights of Negro workers violated? Explain.[4]

3.2.4. TO WHAT EXTENT AREDENIAL OR RESTRICTION OF UNION MEMBERSHIP AND FULL CONTRACT BENEFITS BARRIERS TO THE EMPLOYMENT AND UPGRADING OF NEGRO WORKERS? WHAT LIMITATIONS OPERATE AGAINST EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO PROMOTION AND UPGRADING?

Subsidiary Questions: What unions, if any, bar Negro membership on any basis? What unions have separate Negro units? Which ones are fully integrated? In the matter of discrimination against Negroes, does there remain any distinction between the old trade unions (AFL) and the newer industrial (CIO) unions? Explain. What unions, if any, are dominated by Negroes? In these cases, is there any evidence of discrimination in reverse? What difficulties, if any, are encountered by the skilled Negro migrant in his effort to affiliate with the appropriate local? (e.g., high initiation fees) To what extent do Negro skilled workers, barred from unions, ply their trades without benefit of union affiliation? To what extent does union policy in assignment to jobs operate to the disadvantage of Negro union members? [4]

3.2.5. WHAT OPPORTUNITIES ARE AVAIALBLE TO THE NEGRO ADULT WHO SEEKS TO LEARN A NEW VOCATION? (opportunities for vocational training outside the public schools)

Subsidiary Questions: What schools of the vocational type are listed in the yellow pages of the telephone book? Which admit Negroes? What are the vocational training courses not available to Negroes even on a segregated basis? (e.g., check the following: comptometer, diesel engine, radio, electronics, automation, radar, flourescent engineering, television) [5]

3.2.6. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE NEGROES EMPLOYED AT JOBS CONSIDERABLY BELOW THEIR QUALIFICATIONS? (Take a look at federal civil service)

Subsidiary Questions: What evidence is there that Negroes are systematically relegated to "dead end" jobs? Are there instances that can be documented in which White supervisors are less qualified in training and length of service than Negroes they supervise?

ARE THERE DOCUMENTED INSTANCES IN WHICH NEGROES ARE ACTUALLY DOING WORK AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN THE JOB CLASSIFICATION TO WHICH THEY ARE ASSIGNED?

Subsidiary Questions: For example, are there any Negro maids in department stores who also dress the store window? [7]

IN WHAT SKILLED OCCUPATIONS, IF ANY, ARE NEGROES NOW LOSING OUT WHICH AT ONE TIME THEY DOMINATED?

Subsidiary Questions: Are there any instances paralleling that of the locomotive firemen? (In Louisville, for example, a Negro firm dominated the moving and packing business for a long time and its skilled workmen were the best in town. Now that the old timers have died, there are few, if any, Negroes employed as skilled movers and packers.) [8]

3.2.7. WHAT PRACTICES, IF ANY, IN THE OPERATION OF THE STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE LIMIT OR CURTAIL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF NEGROES? PROMOTION AND UP-GRADING?

Subsidiary Questions: Is there a Negro division of the State Employment Service? If so, how are requests channelled to the Negro office? (If there is one unified office, what jobs are available to Negroes in the office itself?) Other questions on page 1 in "Materials." [9]

TO WHAT EXTENT ARE PUBLIC JOBS AT THE FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL LEVELS EQUALLY AVAILABLE TO NEGROES AND WHITES?

Subsidiary Questions: Is there any sort of merit system applying to city jobs? What about jobs with state agencies located in the city? Check police and fire departments, city and state welfare services. What are the recruitment and referral policies and procedures for these and other public jobs? Are clerks and stenographers recruited on a non-discriminatory basis? See "Materials," p. 2.

SOURCES:

1. School officials (Supervisors of industrial arts, principals of technical high schools, vocational guidance teachers); Trade unions and industry (those responsible for apprentice training or education).

2,3,4. Interview personnel managers in plants selected from the top ten operations in the city. (A list may be obtained from the local chamber of commerce.)

5,6,7. Telephone call; interview technique -- has any Negro applied and been turned down?

8. Find survivors of the "old days" and get their story.

9. Director and staff members of State Employment Service.

10. Public officials, civil service examiners, official manuals, etc.

3.3. College Trained Youth and Employment Practices

3.3.1. Negro young people who are "drop-outs" from college.

3.3.1.1. What are the kinds of job opportunities open to Negro youth who have completed some college training, but have not continued on to graduation? Are the avenues of employment open to them substantially different from those open to White young people or to Negroes who have only completed education up through high school?

3.3.2. College graduates without professional training.

Aside from teaching in public schools, what are the first jobs of Negro college graduates? What evidence is there that the difficulty in obtaining a job "increases substantially with the level of training attained by Negro applicants?" Here again the question posed above is in point: within the last few years, what proportion of the college graduates, educated in local high schools, are now employed elsewhere?

3.3.3. Students seeking summer jobs.

Sometimes summer jobs are internships for future careers. Are any cpportunities of this sort available to Negro college students? If not, what do they do during the summer? Do they have to seek jobs out of town? To what extent does the Negro business community absorb these students? [1]

SOURCES: School people, key people in the Negro community, graduate chapters of Negro sororities and fraternities, Urban League branches, AFSC. Caution: careful selection and documentation.

3.4. Negro Professionals and Employment Practices

3.4.1. WHAT LIMITATIONS ARE PLACED UPON THE NEGRO PROFESSIONAL PERSON IN THE PRACTICE OF HIS PROFESSION AND HIS ADVANCEMENT IN IT?

Subsidiary Questions: In a segregated school system what is the highest attainable position for Negro teachers? How many, if any, internships and residencies are available to the Negro physician? What difficulties are encountered by the Negro physician in entering special fields of medicine? Is he excluded from membership in professional societies? Explain. What discrimination, if any, handicaps the Negro lawyer? Is membership in the local bar association open to him? Can a qualified Negro become a CPA? Under what conditions? What level can the Negro social worker reach? In public agencies? In private agencies? What are the opportunities for advancement in the nursing field?

SOURCES: Negroes in the professions cited.

4. Employment Practices with Respect to Termination, Demotion, and Lay-offs.

4.1. WHAT EVIDENCE IS THERE OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST NEGROES IN THE MATTER OF LAY-OFFS AND JOB TERMINATION?

Subsidiary Questions: Where Negro and white are in separate units in the same plant, is there evidence that the all-Negro units are laid off first? Do plans for school desegregation call for the closing of some Negro schools and the release of Negro teachers? Is there equality in the matter of job security for Negroes with Whites in similar employment? Are tenure provisions equally protective of Negroes and Whites?

SOURCES: Only clear, well-documented cases of discrimination should be cited.

5. Breakthroughs in Employment for Negroes.

5.1. WHAT ARE THE UNUSUAL JOBS HELD BY NEGROES IN THE COMMUNITY?

Subsidiary Questions: Find out from several informants in the Negro community what these unusual jobs are. Why is the job considered unusual? Is it merely that it is the first time such a job has been held by a Negro? Is the job unusual because it violates one or both of the basic rules of Negro employment? (i.e., (1) A Negro must not supervise White workers; (2) White workers will not knowingly work with Negroes on terms of equal status.)

5.2. WHAT ARE THE JOBS IN WHICH ONLY NEGROES ARE EMPLOYED IN THE COMMUNITY?

5.3. WHAT ARE THE JOBS IN WHICH NO NEGROES ARE EMPLOYED IN THE COMMUNITY?

SOURCES:

6. Case Studies in Employment Practices.

6.1. What case studies other than those suggested below will throw light on the employment situation?

6.1.1. Suggestions for case studies:

6.1.1.1. High School or college graduates who have become successful elsewhere after trying to get a job at home.

6.1.1.2. Young people who have sought to get into a trade or occupation for which they were qualified but have been turned down.

6.1.1.3. Negroes who have been forced to accept jobs considerably below their training and abilities.

6.1.1.4. Negroes in "dead end" jobs.

6.1.1.5. Negroes in unusual jobs.

6.2. Summaries and interpretations of case studies

7. Summary and recommendations: Employment practices of four southern cities.

SOURCES:

SECTION IV

RESOURCE MATERIALS

BOOKS

I. The following deal in general with the PROFESSIONS and indicate what has been accomplished in various fields.

Bardolph, Richard The Negro Vanguard, Rinehart & Co., 1959

A study of leadership. An excellent bibliography of the professions as well as a biographical source of professional people.

Chambers, Lucille Arcola America's Tenth Man, Twayne Publishers, 1957

The extent of the Negro's participation in the everyday life of the United States. Traces the rise of organizations representing him in the legal, political, economic struggle.

Edwards, G. Franklin The Negro Professional Class, The Free Press of Glencoe, Ill., 1959

A study of the problems encountered by the Negro in becoming a professional worker and in advancing in his occupational career. Very good.

Johnson, Charles S. The Negro College Graduate, University of North Carolina Press, 1938

Pictures the opportunities open to college trained young people. The study was completed in 1936

Reitzes, Dietrich C. Negroes and Medicine, Harvard University Press, 1958

Describes the opportunity for Negroes in medicine, the status of medical care for and by Negroes. Traces the factors blocking or facilitating integration in the profession. Findings are based on a study of 14 communities, one of which is Atlanta.

II. The following deal with the progress made through the LEGISLATIVE process.

Berger, Monroe Equality by Statute, Columbia University Press, 1950

The thesis of the book is that legislation can reduce discrimination and indirectly diminish prejudice; it is documented by findings from social studies as well as from legal data. The author suggests that the law can affect our acts and through them our beliefs.

Greenberg, Jack Race Relations and American Law, Columbia University Press, 1959

Describes the legal doctrines that govern race relations in the United States: how they have worked or failed to work in education, employment, etc. Appendices list relevant laws.

Murray, Pauli States' Laws on Race and Color, Women's Division of Christian Service, 1950

_____ Supplement, 1955

Up-to-date listing, annotated, by states.

Nelson, Bernard H. The 14th Amendment and the Negro since 1920, Catholic University of America Press, 1946

Gives background, covering years from 1920 to 1943. Interpretive.

III. The following deal with the ECONOMICS of discrimination and include materials on FAIR EMPLOYMENT, LABOR, VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND GUIDANCE.

Becker, Gary S. The Economics of Discrimination, University of Chicago Press, 1957

Presents the subject in terms of wage rates and income, showing how they vary by region, by urban and rural location, by professions and occupation, etc. Good resource.

Bond, Horace Mann The Search for Talent, Inglis Lectures, Harvard University Press, 1955

An evaluation of the National Merit Scholarships in their relation to Negro vocational training and Negro occupations and professions.

Ginzberg, Eli The Nation's Children, White House Conference on Children and Youth, Parts I, II, III; Columbia University Press, 1960

Three essays in this report are of particular value: In Part I: "The Changing Negro Family" by Hylan Lewis; in Part II: "Wasted Talent" (intellectual achievement and ability) by Horace Mann Bond; and in Part III: "Negro Youth in the South" by Lewis W. Jones.

_____ The Negro Potential, Columbia University Press, 1956

Describes the gains made by Negroes since 1940 by getting more and better jobs in the urban economy of the South and

North. The chapter on education points up how far Negroes lag behind their fellow citizens; the final chapter suggests what the Negro and white communities must do to ensure steady progress.

Hope, John II Equality of Opportunity, Public Affairs Press, 1956

This is the story of the efforts of one union - the United Packinghouse Workers of America - to study and improve human relations in plants, union hall, and community. An excellent guide in exploring the labor union relationships in your community.

Kephart, William M. Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957

The book explores the interaction between white officers and Negro offenders, between Negro officers and Negro offenders, and between Negro and white police. Valuable tables of statistics and organization by race, verbatim accounts of interviews with high-ranking police officials are included.

MacIver, R. M., Ed. Discrimination and National Welfare, Harper, 1949

Includes chapters on "The Price Business Pays" by Elmo Roper, "Educational Costs" by Theodore Brameld, "Discrimination and the Law" by Milton R. Konvitz, and "Discrimination and the Trade Unions" by Herbert R. Northrup.

National Manpower Council A Policy for Skilled Manpower, Columbia University Press, 1954

The second part of this book indicates the trends in the demand for skilled manpower, the education and training employers seek for their skilled workers, how workers become skilled, the opportunities and incentives for acquiring skills, etc. Also includes chapters on vocational education and guidance.

Norgren, Webster, Borgeson, Patten Employing the Negro in American Industry (Industrial Relations Monograph, No. 17), Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., N. Y., 1959

What has been the experience of companies with the employment of Negroes in occupations requiring skill and educational background. Given are depth interviews with management people in 44 establishments. The companies surveyed now employ Negroes in jobs for which they had not been traditionally considered. Excellent.

Oak, Visknu V. The Negro's Adventure in General Business, Antioch Press, 1949

Valuable for its historical background of progress. Delineates business opportunities open to Negroes, new fields of business ventures, organization for business advancement, case histories of successful business ventures. Tables in Appendix include lists of Negro corporations, private, Negro-owned Schools of Business, etc.

Southall, Sara E. Industry's Unfinished Business, Harper, 1950

An assessment of top management's responsibilities. The experience of International Harvester and others in fitting Negroes into effective employment relations. Gives methods which have been successfully employed to make possible the inclusion of Negro employees on industrial staffs. Good chapters: An Experiment in the Training of Supervisors; Procedure in Introducing a Fair Employment Policy; Guides to Successful Integration.

Vance, Rupert B. and Demereth, Nicholas J., Eds. The Urban South, University of North Carolina Press, 1954

See Chapter Ten, "Urbanism and Race Relations," by Henry Allen Bullock.

Weaver, Robert C. Negro Labor, a National Problem, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946

What happened to the Negro in the war years and what racial problems will face workers and management in the post-war period. Valuable because of the present position of the author.

Woodward, C. Vann The Strange Career of Jim Crow, Oxford University Press, 1955

Part III, "The Man on the Cliff," contains an account of development along all lines. Somewhat out of date, but may contain facts new to some.

IV. The following deal with the SURVEY PROCESS itself.

Colcord, Joanna C. Your Community, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947

How to investigate a community's resources.

Karon, Bertram P. The Negro Personality, Springer Publishing Co., 1958

A description of the American caste system and the psychology of the Negro. Has value as background study for those making survey or interpreting data.

Loomis, Clarence B. An Experience in Community Development and the Principles of Community Organization, The Rabun Press, Clayton, Ga., 1944

A community development experiment in Greenville County, South Carolina, in 1936. Report to the Foundation which gave a grant to the Greenville County Council for Community Development.

Ogden, Jean and Jess These Things We Tried, University of Virginia Extension, 1947

How to help a community help itself. A report on three counties in Virginia. An excellent guide.

Tumin, Melvin M. Desegregation - Resistance and Readiness, Princeton University Press, 1958

This is a field study of white adult male citizens of Guilford County, North Carolina, "to show. . .what attitudes. . . exist and what actions they would take when faced with situations." The responses are grouped according to respondent's educational level, exposure to mass media, occupation, income, etc.

Wormser, Margot Haas and Claire Selltiz How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights, Association Press, 1951

Invaluable as a resource book. Contains sections on Information Which Might Be Gathered, Organizing and Planning a Self-Survey, The Tasks of a Self-Survey, The Follow-Up Program, Work Materials, etc.

V. The following deal with GENERAL BACKGROUND.

Nicholls, William H. Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, University of North Carolina Press, 1960

Published in 1960, this gives up-to-date background and trends. Contains a good chapter on "If the South Wants Economic Development."

Peters, William The Southern Temper, Doubleday, 1958

This book, though very general in nature, contains a few pertinent chapters. Takes a look at the progress of desegregation and particularly at the groups working to bring about a harmonious end. Contains facts, figures, and interpretation.

Ruchames, Louis Race, Jobs and Politics -- The Story of the FEPC, Columbia University Press, 1953

Self-explanatory!

REPORTS, ETC.

County and City Data Book, 1952, Bureau of the Census

Miami Metro, Reinhold P. Wolff, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Miami, 1960; Area Development Series, # 9

Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South, National Planning Association, Washington D.C., 1955 (Includes a chapter on "Negro Employment Practices in the Chattanooga Area")

Hearings Before the Sub-Committee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, April 12, 13, 1961
Sections relating specifically to Florida and Texas

Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1959, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington

_____ Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education, 1960

Reports of the State Advisory Committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959

This Changing South

Integration: North and South, Progress Memorandum, David Loth and Harold Fleming, Meridian Books, 1956

Working Papers sent to Delegates to the White House Conference on Youth and Children, 1960

Contains information on vocational guidance.

Negro Membership in American Labor Unions, National Urban League, 1930

PAMPHLETS, ARTICLES, ETC.

"Proposed Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity," June, 1961

"Equal Job Opportunity," 3rd Annual Report, The President's Committee on Government Contract, 1955-1956

Commission on Employment Report: "Toward Equality in Employment"; NAIRO, Sixth Annual Conference, 1952

"Negro Employment; A Progress Report" John A. Davis, 1952

"Notes on the Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States," U. S. Department of Labor, Revised August, 1959

"The Negro in Our Economy," W. Hardin Hughes; S.R.C.

"Negroes in the United States: Their Employment and Economic Status," Bulletin No. 1119; U. S. Department of Labor, 1952

"Recent Effects of Racial Conflict on Southern Industrial Development," Herbert Hill, Phylon, Winter, 1959

"Income in the South Since 1929," Frank A. Hanna, Inter-University Committee for Economic Research on the South, 1960

"The Negro Market," Advertisers Guide to Marketing for 1958

"Discriminatory Aspect of the Labor Market of the 60's," pp. 75-78, Interracial Review, March, 1961

"Discrimination in Industry: Extravagant Injustice," Elmo Roper, Industrial and Labor Relations Review, July, 1952.

"American Negroes -- A Wasted Resource," J. J. Morrow, Harvard Business Review, Jan.-Feb., 1957

"The Employment of Negroes in the United States by Major Occupation and Industry," John Hope II; The Journal of Negro Education, Summer Issue, 1953

"Negroes in the Work Group," Jacob Seidenberg; Research Bulletin No. 6, Feb., 1950; New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University

"Negro Employment in Southern Industry," Donald Dewey, The Journal of Political Economy, August, 1952

"Negro Firefighters in Selected Southern and Border Cities," National Urban League, 1951

"The Negro Municipal Worker in Richmond and in Eighteen Selected Southern Cities," Richmond Urban League

"The Negro in Administration," pp. 35-37, Overview, June, 1961

"Factors Which Block or Facilitate Integration in the Field of Medicine," pp. 198-200, Interracial Review, September, 1960

"The Utilization of Negro Teachers in the Colleges of New York State," James A. Moss, Phylon, Spring, 1960

"Current Minority Policies and Their Implementation in International Unions," John Hope II; The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, pp. 371-388, 1952

"Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro: An Analysis," New York State Commission Against Discrimination, April, 1960

"The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs," NAACP, 1960

"Development of Training Incentives for the Youth of Minority Groups," The President's Committee on Government Contracts, April, 1957

"From School to Job: Guidance for Minority Youth," Ann Tanneyhill; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 200, 1953

"Education for Opportunity, Opportunity for Education," State of Michigan, FEPC, February, 1961

"Questions and Answers About Employment on Merit," American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 1951

"Will Negroes Get Jobs Now?" Herbert R. Northrup, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 110, 1945

"Handbook of Florida Employment Statistics, 1939-1954." Florida Industrial Commission

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The Annealing of the South

By

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH

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Anneal: to subject to high heat, with subsequent cooling, for the purpose of softening thoroughly and rendering less brittle. In some cases, as for glass and steel, the cooling must be gradual; in others, as for copper and brass, it may be sudden. It is believed that annealing reduces brittleness by removing strains that have been induced in the material by some previous treatment. (*Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd edition.*)

NOW the land of fitful somnolence and passion nears the trap of reason. Even while it lashes at its captor, an air of anticipation courses pleasurably through the South at the prospect of the end of the long chase. The South is about to go down again in defeat, and can hardly wait.

The region has been the place where American error and excess go to retire. The most enormous of all, Negro enslavement and peonage, came here to live out its suffering. But this was not the only one. That part of the old frontier spirit which was crude and violent settled and, in some measure, still endures here. Obstinate localism, which is the other side of responsible local self-government, flourished like a tough weed. Wastefulness of the soil, its minerals and trees, always and everywhere an American sin, was most acute here where nature had given so lavishly. A late convert to laissez-faire economics, the South is slowest, perhaps, of all American regions to relinquish it emotionally. That Puritanism should have been received by Southerners seems almost implausible; but even before the chastening of the Civil War it had been, and it is still strong. The American dislike of theory which so impressed de Tocqueville is probably more virulent in the South than anywhere else.

This land of cast-offs has been a maligned society and has, in truth, deserved most of its infamy. Yet it has been and is a beloved society as well, and from its punishing accumulation of hardship and error has somehow woven a life for its people which has not been without richness, and has not bereft men of self-respect. Possibly, just because Southerners are the only Americans who have known the agony of defeat and who have lived constantly with the reminder of their own moral guilt, there may be within them reservoirs of maturity and compassion that are not second in depth. Whites and Negroes, astonishingly like each other in beliefs and manners and attitudes, in sins and in virtues, have created, through the fires of history which have burned away much that is not essential beastliness and goodness in human nature, a society

loved deeply by those who live within it.

The South has numerous definitions. It is best thought of as the states of the old Confederacy. In what Americans call the border states there are, however, sections where Southern characteristics and problems are as strong as anywhere, and one non-seceding state in particular—Kentucky—has a general resemblance. Moreover, there are parts of the South as here defined which bear little of the Southern stamp: western Texas is a land to itself, and southern Florida and northern Virginia are rapidly migrating northward in attitude and appearances. In fact, the South has never been all of one piece. There have been variations and fundamental differences of outlook. Nevertheless, there was a unity and it endures, though creakily. There has been the common remembrance of defeat and humiliation and economic inferiority, the common problem of a bi-racial population. There is a resulting sense of history which is more omnipresent than elsewhere in America; there is, as well, a common consent in the misreading of certain lessons and, worst of all, facts of history. And because of their history, and because they live close to it, Southerners have an awareness of their land and of the sanctity of "places" which is rare in this country. The land is as varied as nature could make it, and yet it and its imagery are a single strand in Southern self-consciousness: mountain ridges blend with moss-draped bayous, the heat-laden pine woods with undulating sand hills, the cotton manors fuse with the green valleys where yeomen make their crops, all in a single picture that has haunted and inspirited the Southerner for generations.

In the years following the Civil War, Henry Grady, a Georgian, proclaimed the "New South"; about every decade since, someone has again announced its coming. It comes; but then, of course, so does change everywhere and at all times. It has come but slowly, though now (did it seem so to Grady also?) it seems ready to burst in. That which has delayed change, while at the same time strengthening self-identity, has been the centrality of the racial issue. It has been the tether, limiting the distance which the region could move toward a political, economic, or social similarity with the rest of the nation. After the Civil War, white Southerners united in the conviction that the pre-eminent task was to maintain racial separateness and white superiority. So necessary was this seen to be, that all other concerns of society had to support it, and be subordinated to it. And so it has been. Political, economic, religious, educational institutions—all had to make their contributions to the dominating racial policy, and shape their own development in its interest.

Furthermore, though the tether had varying lengths in the differing sections of the South, at every time of crisis it tended to the marginal—the shortest—length, that of the so-called Black Belt. This is the old plantation country, descending in a great arc from southside Virginia, through eastern North Carolina, most of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, northern Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana, western Tennessee, and east Arkansas and Texas. Rural, heavily Negro in population ratios, increasingly poor—this flat belt gripped political power long after the cotton which had once made it powerful had fallen from the economic throne. The area in which racial prejudice and cultural backwardness are most pronounced still holds political sway, and, unhappily, provides the South with its typical spokesmen. It has been able to do so because of grossly inequitable representation in the state legislatures, concurred in by the moneyed interests of the region's cities, which have been grateful for the Black Belt's ingrained conservatism. Whenever, before and since the Civil War, there has been crisis, it is this area which has decided what the South will do; the other sections of the South—the prosperous, easy-going Piedmont, the mountains, the tolerant coastal fringe, the Catholic parishes of Louisiana, the upland valleys which never knew plantations—have been brought into line. That power of decision is today in jeopardy, and that is good news for the South, and, indeed, for the nation and the whole Atlantic community.

Old ways die hard. Because Southern society was organized on a racial division, all white men were in a sense comrades. Paradoxical strains of social and political equalitarianism wind through what is, nevertheless, an élitist structure. An occasional Huey Long has risen from the masses to combat the economic oppressors, but this has been the exception. William Faulkner's distrusted Snopeses have largely displaced the old aristocracy, but by now several generations of them have held the reins and assumed the mantle of command, and their racial brothers tend to look upon them as the doers of the family business. There is among white Southerners a feeling of mutual inheritance, of a common sharing in the manners, the style, and the advantages of being a white man; and men have quite naturally grown accustomed to these and have come, also naturally, to regard them as values worthy of defense.

Learned persons have sometimes analyzed Southern racial attitudes and found at their roots dark and vital sexual motives. Perhaps this is correct. Certainly, the cult of woman exaltation was about all that Southern whites could possibly salvage from the chivalrous notions toppled by the Civil War,

and to have retained and rebuilt upon that cult would have been a psychological expectancy. However this may be, white Southerners, living in what is a relatively advanced industrial society, have shown a remarkably intense resistance toward change in these racial relations which are their fraternal links. At the same time, there is almost no white Southerner who, by the time he emerges from adolescence, does not feel that he shares complicity in a social and moral decision which he can only hope is right, or, at worst, a venial wrong: yet one which he may very well suspect, or know, is neither. I have never met a white Southerner, not even the most determined of segregationists, who did not betray some moral uncertainty; and in that fact he differs and is set apart from the majority of his fellow Americans.

This is possibly a part of the reason why he will, often after the staunchest resistance, adapt so comfortably to new racial practices. Once the fight is decisively lost (the verdict has to be decisive), once the Negro has secured the right to vote, has gained admittance to the public library, has fought his way into a desegrated public school, has been permitted to sup at a lunch counter, the typical white Southerner will shrug his shoulders, resume his stride, and go on. He has, after all, shared a land with his black neighbors for a long while; he can manage well enough, even if the patterns change. There is now one fewer fight which history requires of him. He has done his ancestral duty. He is free of part of his load, he can relax a bit more. He has been annealed.

But, of course, neither can the typical white man give up without a fight, for that would not be dutiful to the past or to the intricate web of society which he, consciously or unconsciously, feels a need to sustain. So he will not be a leader in the reform of racial practice. What the Negro Southerner has won in the way of equality, therefore, he owes chiefly to himself and the federal courts. (Merely to credit the federal courts is too simple. They have been the instruments of the the Constitution, and the racial reforms of recent years are a striking exhibition of the power of the concept of a fundamental law, undergirding and disciplining and guiding a nation.) By a series of judicial decisions, commencing in 1944, the right to vote is being secured. Decisions since 1948 have rendered housing segregation legally impossible (though social barriers are still high). A notable string of cases since 1938 has firmly established the right of Negroes to enter tax-supported colleges and universities. The epochal decision of 1954, in the case of *Brown v. Topeka,* declared the right of Negro children to a non-segregated education in the public schools.

It was the 1954 decision which produced the South's current rebellion. The South is again in siege, and the final days draw close. The environs have already been penetrated, the stores of the defenders have run low, the will to continue an unequal contest has dimmed. There is a widespread, and inexact, saying in America that the South lost the Civil War, but won the peace. In the manner of world politics, and with a similar regard for the costs, something like a cold war has been substituted these past seven years for armed combat. It will go on for a few years more; some of its bitterest, ugliest episodes, even more appalling than Little Rock, New Orleans, and Montgomery, probably lie ahead. But the South—the South, that is, of racial oppression and of enervating tradition—will lose again. And *that* South will not win the peace.

Leave for a time that assertion unjustified. What lies behind this upsurge of interest in and agitation of an old dilemma, to the point where racial relations and civil rights in the South have been America's principal domestic issue these late years? Consider first why the Negro people, who had ineffectually protested their lot for decades, suddenly became, after 1940, increasingly successful. Nothing is more impressively explanatory than the fact that the Negroes of America, in this generation, achieved a quantity of talent sufficient to lead and man a campaign. The arduous, persevering educational efforts, by churches, philanthropies, and public bodies, had finally borne fruit. There were *enough* Negro lawyers and organizers and educated ministers and businessmen and teachers and students, enough talent finally to be heard. With but few and unimportant exceptions, these men have conducted the campaign for equal rights not only skillfully but with a clear intuition of responsibility. Especially among Southern Negroes, there has been comprehension that the objective was not to punish the South, but to make it acknowledge human rights and to do that in such a way as not to engender new or make permanent old bitterness.

But there is impatience as well as responsibility, and the tension between the two has so far been a creative one. The most spectacular display of the former is the student protest movement, begun February 1, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, keyed to the device of the "sit-in," and spontaneously spread throughout the region. One student leader put it well: "We are not only entitled to service, but we want it." And that states concisely the meaning of the sit-ins. They represent a demand that white Southerners move now, without the compulsion of judicial decrees, to open communities for joint enjoyment and participation.

This came as quite a surprise to the South. The sit-ins were like the longbows of Crecy. That kind of an attack hadn't been expected, and it was disconcerting. It said to the white South, "Do this now, and do it of your own design, because we are all one community, for which you are, at the moment, the caretaker." Puzzled, yet dimly persuaded, the white South responded. And so, within a year, about one hundred cities and towns allowed integration at lunch counters and restaurants; it was as surprising as the movement itself. The students brought a renewal of hope—for courage and willingness to suffer for right are always a cause for rekindling hopes. The white Southerners who in scores of places assented to the students' demands laid a basis for a new hope—that the white South might at last be ready to take its destiny in its own hands and, without compulsion of the federal government and its courts, move to build a true community of persons.

The sit-ins were an expression of impatience, but with almost unbelievably few lapses they have been conducted under canons of responsibility. A large part of the credit for this is owed to the example and teaching of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His commitment to the philosophy of Gandhi has magnetized the students toward the complementary poles of non-compromise and non-violence.

The Freedom Ride has been a more contrived and less indigenous protest than the earlier sit-ins. National public opinion is a phantom, eluding both measurement and intuition, and perhaps too much a vagrant to be ever addressed. One may, nevertheless, venture the guess that it is uneasy about the Ride. If so, the Negro campaign for equal rights and privileges has, for the first time in a long while, adopted a method disliked by national opinion.

Yet there is general approval of the Ride's objective, and there has been further advance toward a great accomplishment: i.e., the strengthening of communication between the races of the South. Friction and struggle have not, as so often has been alleged, broken down communication. The truth is that in recent years Negro Southerners, for the first time, have been communicating their true feelings and desires and beliefs and the white South has been hearing, and has been learning.

The student movement inevitably yielded proclamations of the advent of the "New Negro," who has, in fact, been announced almost as often, since the Civil War, as the "New South." There has also been great interest in the question of whether Negro Americans feel an identity with the emerging nationalism of Africa. A long and brilliant article by Harold

R. Isaac in Phylon last year, "Five Writers and Their African Ancestors," suggests this answer: formally, yes; but essentially, only at the edges of their concern. Yet historians will surely want to probe and reflect on the coincidence of the surge forward in America and Africa, and the material and spiritual conditions of our time which drove both.

Among the material factors operative here, the expansion of the ranks of Negro talent has been already mentioned. Of equal, if not greater, importance have been the streaming exodus, since 1940, of Negro Southerners from the farm and their movement to cities of the South and North. This has not been an unalloyed blessing: it has thrust formerly stable, rural families into the solvent of city slums, involved Negroes in crime and juvenile delinquency to sickening degrees, and added to the already crushing problems of America's cities. But what was a cancer is now only a fever. The Black Belt has been a cancer eating into America's strength, draining it economically and morally, and frustrating its political policies through the terrific influence which inequitable representation has allowed this section to exert all the way to Congress. The practical interests of the men who hold power within it have been, usually, opposed to racial justice. There are certain ameliorative measures possible and therefore necessary; but there is little prospect of basic improvement in racial relations in the rural Black Belt until all the Negroes who are now marginal producers—and that includes most of them—move. In the cities, large and small, where the winds of impersonal democracy and commerce incline men and policies toward change and solutions rather than defense of status, fevers may run high, but can be, and usually are, cured in time.

1960 census reports reveal the vastness of the Negro migration. New York has the largest Negro population among American cities. Of the first fifteen cities, in numbers of Negroes, only three—Houston, Dallas, and New Orleans—are Southern, and they rank seventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth respectively. Final data are not yet available, but when they are they will show an extraordinary shift of Negroes from the farms of the South to cities, both Northern and Southern. In ratio of Negro to white the Southern cities are still highest, although the first in the South—Atlanta—is far lower than Washington, whose population is now 54 per cent Negro; Atlanta's is 38 per cent. State returns show that New York is now first in Negro residents, having been sixth in 1950. Five other states have more than 1,000,000 Negro inhabitants: they are, in order, Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Illinois. The proportion of the nation's Ne-

groes who live in the South declined from 81 per cent in 1910, to 60 per cent in 1950, to 52 per cent in 1960. Negroes have remained a fairly steady 10 to 11 per cent of the American population through several decades.

The white side of the Southern picture is equally fluid. For over a century—after about 1820—the South was not an integral part of the American economy. It is now. Still well below national levels of income and capital accumulation, it has nevertheless been incorporated within the general economy so that it prospers and it declines with the country as a whole. More pertinently, the income of urban whites in the South now approximates national levels. They are the servants of American industry and commerce, and they tend to think and conduct themselves like their fellow-servants in Northern and Western cities; indeed, they work for many of the same employers, for industrialization has been carried to the South principally through branch plants of national firms. Moreover, these plants have brought with them many non-Southerners, to fill managerial and technical positions. The commercial and industrial class, particularly those among it who wear white collars, has largely lost interest in defending the South's racial customs, has been the vanguard of every retreat, and comprises the people who said "yes" to the demands of the Negro students.

Yet there is more to the Southern struggle with itself than surrender to the ethos of commerce. The South's intellectuals have deserted her. Academic scholars have been mostly silent, and the universities politically sterile; at least, however, they have not given succor to tradition. Indeed, almost no one has, and can any institution live without intellectual defense? A distinguished group of editors, on the other hand, has not been silent: the idea of a free, responsible press has never had finer exemplars than men such as Ralph McGill, Lenoir Chambers, Harry Ashmore, Sylvan Meyer, A. M. Secrest, and others like them who have cajoled and driven the South toward national unity. Nor has the Southern ministry been quiet, and as a consequence there has developed for the first time in the region's history a rift between pew and pulpit. It is altogether possible, however, that neither the editors nor the clergy have had an influence on Southern readiness to leave their hallowed cocoon equal to that of the immensely gifted Southern novelists of the period since 1920.

Auden said of Yeats that

> . . . mad Ireland hurt you into poetry.
> Now Ireland has her madness and her weather still,
> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives. . . .

The Southern writers were also "hurt into" their poetry (for such it has typically been, even though in prose form), loving the South so tenaciously that they could write of nothing else, singing, as Auden also put it, "of human unsuccess / In a rapture of distress." They have probed the South's treasured myths, laid bare its agony of spirit and often meanness of motive, chastised its cultural timidity, and exposed its grotesqueries. They sobered for many of the South's brightest people the fun and pride of being a "Southerner," and cast abroad a picture of the South which was believed and which sensitive Southerners have ever since been wishful of changing. By surviving, their poetry *has* made things happen.

Change has been accompanied by, has been in part both cause and effect of, a decline in Southern political power. This has several facets. Presidents are chosen through a system of electoral votes that enhances the importance of populous states. With the single exception of Texas, the largest American states are characterized by close division of strength between Democrats and Republicans, and by growing Negro populations. The consequence is that the non-Southern Negro vote, which has the potential of tipping all of New York's or California's or Illinois' electoral votes one way or the other, has become more sought after in Presidential elections than Southern support. Presidents, therefore, beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been heavily committed to the strengthening of Negro rights and opportunities, though President Eisenhower successfully adhered in this as in other fields to his aversion for governmental action. President Kennedy, on the other hand, is using the powers of his office constructively. The order he has issued to enforce the ban against discrimination in employment by federal agencies and governmental contractors is thoroughly serious, and is being vigorously administered. His Attorney-General has placed the weight of the government in civil rights cases now before the courts. The President has realized both symbolic and practical effects by appointments of Negroes to high posts: those of Mr. Weaver as head of all housing agencies and of Mr. Wharton as Ambassador to Norway are especially noteworthy. (No Southerner has been nominated or elected President since 1848, unless Woodrow Wilson is counted. No Southerner has served since Johnson, and he was a Tennessean who had refused to secede. Of the ten men elected to the Presidency before 1848, six were from the South and a seventh had lived there until well into manhood.)

The bastion of Southern political influence has been Congress. Aided by the seniority system which determines com-

mittee chairmanships, Southerners have often monopolized the leadership of both Houses. Their power is still disproportionately great. It is not, however, what it once was; the passage in 1957 and again in 1960 of the first civil-rights laws in eighty years was evidence of the decline.

The federal government once before—from 1861 to 1877—had taken an active interest in the South's handling of its racial practices. That endeavor ended in confusion and ignoble compromise, and the result was that Negroes passed from slavery in a relatively rich society to unprotected peonage in a miserably poor one. The present period of national concern, buttressed by world-wide attention and prodded by alert Negro leaders, will not have the same ending.

The strength and adroitness of Southern resistance is measured by the mere eight hundred Negro children who, seven years after the Supreme Court's decision, are all that have been accepted into schools with white children in the South, outside of west Texas. But eight hundred is double what there were last year, and the corner has been turned. Georgia desegrates some schools in the city of Atlanta this September, and will evidently do so peacefully. Louisiana will, most likely, continue its tawdry show of racism, but an entering wedge has been driven in New Orleans. Only Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina will be left, and their day of reckoning comes closer. It is not likely to be a pleasant day either, for reckless, passionate men are in strong positions in all three states. The sit-ins have produced some desegregation of eating places in every state except these three and Louisiana.

The old tether has been snapped. No longer does the Black Belt control the rest of the South. The Black Belt has been seceded from.

The South has been, like Spain, Ireland, or southern Italy, one of the cultural anomalies of the Atlantic community. Pulled forward by Negroes, including its own, and pushed along by the federal government and national opinion, the South is about to take on a new character. Not yet for a while, however, will it disappear as a culture. There is here too much history, too flavorsome a life, too ingrained a style. But if the South does in time disappear and blend itself indistinguishably with the larger nation, it has still ahead an opportunity that it can fulfill better than any place or people anywhere.

I believe that the South will, out of its travail and sadness and requited passion, give the world its first grand example of two races of men living together in equality and with mutual respect. The South's heroic age is with us now.

Some facts about

THE NEGRO CITIZEN IN ALEXANDRIA

EDUCATION

EMPLOYMENT

HOUSING

PUBLIC SERVICE

RECREATION

Alexandria Council on Human Relations

A meeting ground for Virginians sincerely concerned with finding reasonable and democratic solutions to the race problems now troubling our society

affiliated with the Virginia Council on Human Relations founded 1955

and the Southern Regional Council founded 1944 (successor to Commission on Interracial Cooperation founded 1919)

April 1961

EDUCATION

Negro youth in Alexandria have an opportunity for formal education in public schools from first grade through high school,

BUT . . . .

There is no Diversified Occupation program at Parker-Gray High School to provide an opportunity for combining regular work with regular school attendance.

The shop equipment for Negro high school students is very inferior to that for white students.

No assignments of Negro students to previously white schools have been made without ~~except as the result of court decrees.~~ recourse to court action. Therefore, Negro parents have had to bear the costs and efforts of law-suits in order to obtain the academic advantages which admittedly the white schools offer.

In some areas they pass two or three schools en route to the all-Negro schools downtown.

EMPLOYMENT

Negroes hold a few professional positions under the city government, such as social workers (3), recreation workers (3), and as school teachers in the Negro schools,

BUT . . . .

Unskilled and semi-skilled jobs are the only ones open to them for the most part, and those are mainly in the Department of Public Works. There are no Negro policemen or firemen, although no city laws require discrimination in city employment.

A recent survey reveals that 36 private employers employ 175 Negroes above the unskilled level in jobs such as sales girl, tailor, stenographer, grocery clerk, chemist, engineer – many of whom directly serve the public.

BUT . . . .

Employers seldom request employment agencies to fill jobs solely on a basis of merit hiring.

Unions in the construction trades do not have Negro members or apprentices.

The Alexandria Hospital employs several Negro technicians in various departments and has one Negro nurse supervisor. The medical staff includes at least one Negro doctor.

HOUSING

Alexandrians of both races have long lived in homes side by side. There are no segregation laws concerning residence; restrictive racial covenants are legally unenforceable,

BUT . . . .

90% of the Negro teachers . . .
6 of the 7 Negro doctors . . .
7 of the 8 Negro lawyers . . .
15 of the 19 Negro ministers . . .
live outside Alexandria because "custom does not permit" Negroes to buy or rent in the open market.

In the last 15 years only 100 homes have been built for Negro residence. Young couples find it almost impossible to obtain a suitable place to live.

600 Negro families are on a waiting list for public housing because they live in substandard houses.

PUBLIC SERVICE

Negro citizens comprise 10% of the population, belong to civic associations, and are voters and taxpayers,

BUT . . .

No Negro is, or ever has been, a member of an official policy-making board or commission, such as the School Board, Planning Commission, Housing Hygiene or Health Boards.

None has ever been appointed a judge or clerk of an election.

RECREATION

Negro youth in Alexandria have an opportunity for recreation in public playgrounds and in a Negro swimming pool and recreation center,

BUT . . . .

Commercial recreation facilities – bowling, pony rides, miniature golf – do not serve Negroes. They may not attend any movie theatre except the downtown Carver. (The law requiring segregated seating in places of public assemblage or entertainment was not passed until 1926 and its constitutionality is now doubtful.)

The Young Men's Christian Association, the Boys' Club and Police Boys' Camp are closed to Negro youth. The Young Women's Christian Association has a separate building and program. The Salvation Army offers the only summer camping for Negro children but has no program open in the city.

A SIGN OF CHANGE

A year ago no Negro could sit down and eat anywhere in the King Street or other major shopping areas.

In July 1960 a number of drug and variety stores and some restaurants began to serve all on the same basis.

The change was accepted by the public without incident and without loss of revenue by the stores.

TWO QUESTIONS:

WHAT DOES ALEXANDRIA gain by depriving one-tenth of its citizens of full participation in community life?

WHAT CAN YOU DO, both as an individual citizen and as a member of religious and civic groups, to open the doors of opportunity to all citizens of our city?

For additional copies, further information, materials or help in planning meetings on this subject:

Alexandria Council on Human Relations
Mrs. George A. Eddy, *President*
5151 Polk Avenue

Vice-President, Major Marion I. Johnson; *Secretary*, Mrs. Ernest Stewart; *Treasurer*, Mrs. George Turner; *Directors*, Rev. John C. Davis, Mrs. Lorraine Funn, Mr. R. J. Dwyer, Jr., Mr. Nelson Greene, Rev. T. J. Quinlan, Rev. Wm. J. Hough, Mrs. John L. Keddy, Mr. Robert S. Young, Mr. Ferdinand Day, Mrs. Wilson Hodgin.

A Virginia View of "Race and Reason"

By Benjamin Muse

SOME OF THE misinformation and scientific error which we have to combat in Virginia and the South I find gathered together in handy form in a book which descended upon us last summer entitled *Race and Reason.* This book is written in a scholarly style; it is redolent with erudition and crowded with impressive allusions. But in substance it is like the exhortation of a Ku Klux Kleagle who has exchanged his bed sheet for an academic cap and gown. If the reader has abundant patience and a strong stomach, it can serve a useful purpose as a compendium of current misinformation on the subject of race.

A casual reader who is new to the subject, or whose reading has been confined to the Citizens Council type of commentary, might guess from the text that the author had devoted a long career to scientific studies related to the races of man. But the author is Mr. Carleton Putnam, a former airlines executive, who retired six years ago and turned first to writing biography — a biography of Theodore Roosevelt. His career as an anthropologist started three years ago, and that more or less by accident.

Mr. Putnam is a Northerner, a "Yankee,' as the cover of his book proclaims—which lends a flavor of generous comradeship and dramatic emphasis to his message. He was seized with a feeling that the segregationists of the South were getting the runaround in the national controversy, and he resolved to bring his superior talents to their rescue. "I could not but believe," he explained in his book, "that so far as it lay within my powers my purpose should be to embolden their anthropologists and relieve their consciences."

It was an article by our own Virginius Dabney and an editorial rebuttal, which appeared in *Life Magazine* in September, 1958, which kindled the flame in Mr. Putnam's bosom. He rallied to the segregationist cause in a letter to *Life,* then a longer one to President Eisenhower and one to Attorney General Rogers. The first two of these letters received only perfunctory acknowledgment and the third was not acknowledged. But copies of the so-called "Putnam letters" were widely circulated and published in the South. A committee in Birmingham, Alabama, raised upwards of $40,000 and had the letter to the President reprinted as advertising in various Northern newspapers. Though the letters and their author were thunderously ignored in the rest of the nation, Carleton Putnam was hailed in the South as a "Daniel come to judgment." He was "overwhelmed," to use his own words, "with courtly expressions of gratitude."

The demand for a more extensive expression of Mr. Putnam's views was obvious; hence *Race and Reason.* The author worked with a celerity which

(Author, journalist, politician and traveler, Mr. Muse is now director of SRC's Southern Leadership Project)

Reprinted from New South, December 1961

was remarkable. By the following August the book was practically written; on August 3 he addressed a manuscript to various persons, among whom I had the honor of being included, for possible comment. Where lesser men had spent a lifetime in laborious pursuit of anthropological truth, Mr. Putnam in ten months had exhausted the accumulation of pertinent scientific knowledge and found the answers. He came down from the mountain with the final peremptory truth locked in his handsome brief case.

I met the author at a dinner while the book was incubating, and let me say that Mr. Putnam is a gentleman of distinguished presence and impeccable courtesy. He is sincere, I think, in his belief that he has uncovered a transcendental truth that others who have dabbled in anthropology have been unable to grasp. I was surprised, however, when he asked me to recommend some books on the race problem, as he hadn't read much in this field.

In our brief conversation, Mr. Putnam was obsessed with what he calls "equalitarianism." He argued from the unshakable premise that the opponents of segregation are trying to make all men equal.

In a brief correspondence which we had, I wrote to Mr. Putnam:

"I might go farther than you in advocating discrimination, in the sense of selectivity, in education. I submit that your basic error lies in using race as a criterion."

It seems as simple as that. But the "equalitarianism" confusion runs all the way through *Race and Reason,* and its segregationist readers are given a long new word to apply to their opponents. "Equalitarians" are denounced with monotonous redundancy.

I don't know any equalitarians; none of us seeks to make all men equal in personal attainment, or imagines that such a thing would be possible. But, though "equalitarianism" may be a new word to some, the idea which it vaguely suggests is familiar to all of us, and it is one of the major stumbling blocks on the road to interracial understanding. Mr. Putnam's confusion is the confusion of thousands of even well-meaning Southerners. Integration is envisioned as a process of bringing poor, ignorant and uncouth Negroes in to have dinner with educated white people, or into the Country Club. Many a white person is afraid that his expensive restaurant will be invaded by Negro janitors; it never seems to occur to him that white share-croppers never visit his restaurant.

All of us believe in deference to intellect and ability. No one wants to see an unskilled laborer, whether white or colored, accorded the same respect, rewards and privileges as the president of Harvard University, for instance — or the president of Howard University. The monstrous error lies, of course, in judging any individual by his race.

Mr. Putnam is apparently prepared to stand or fall on the proposition that Negroes are inferior in innate ability to whites, but he has gathered together in *Race and Reason* a few odds and ends not directly related to his anthropological thesis. He doesn't raise this unpleasant subject himself, but when a correspondent asks the question, he says: "The Communists have made the integration movement a part of their conspiracy."

We have heard that smear *ad nauseum,* and we have found that those who throw it around are rarely capable of rational cogitation. But one comment occurs to me in passing. The Communists *do* pose as enemies of race discrimination, and, by the apparent rule-of-thumb, we should be against

anything the Communists are for and for anything the Communists are against. Now I read that the Communists are taking measures against alcoholism and that they are sternly in favor of sexual morality. It seems obvious that those who are completely hostile to Communism should go on an alcoholic binge. And, if sexual morality is a part of the Communist conspiracy, where does that leave the red-blooded superpatriot?

Another one of the simple-minded people who provided Mr. Putnam with questions asked:

"It makes my blood boil every time I see a Southerner bully, humiliate or exploit a Negro. How can anyone take sides with such people?"

The thought doesn't make Mr. Putnam's blood boil. His answer:

"Two wrongs don't make a right. The fact that it is wrong to bully, humiliate or exploit a Negro does not make it right to integrate him. . . ."

It is obvious that the white man who bullies a Negro is not on the point of integrating him, and we are left with the essential answer: "Two wrongs don't make a right."

That would not be the Ku Klux Klan answer; it is a cut above that. The Klansman views bullying Negroes as a wholly righteous exercise and, if the Negro doesn't resist, he sees no wrong on either side. The two-wrongs comment is an apt illustration of the attitude of the more decorous Citizens Councils and of a shockingly large element of the white public. It is evidenced in the common practice of arresting Negro victims and allowing white bullies to go free. After interracial violence, however orderly and passive and irreproachable the behavior of the Negro victims may have been in the face of white aggression, we hear the unctuous comment: "There are two sides to the question." — or: "Both sides were at fault."

When a white man bullies a Negro, it is not one wrong but two. The Negro is also wrong. He is wrong just by being a Negro, and, when he is unhappy with segregation his sin is compounded.

Mr. Putnam probably didn't mean to be as blunt as that. A strain of lofty benevolence runs through most of his book. Following a familiar practice of racist propagandists, he calls great and good men to the witness stand however remote in time or place their range of vision may have been from the situation to which his argument is addressed. The author quotes voluminously from Lincoln's reflections on the situation which he observed over a century ago, and to be perfectly fair he quotes also from Lincoln's debating contemporary, Stephen A. Douglas; he cites the comment of Lord Bryce on conditions existing in 1880; he brings in observations of the saintly Albert Schweitzer on the savages of Lambaréné as if that great humanitarian were talking about the Negro American; he even invokes the noble eloquence of William Ewart Gladstone. The English statesman made no reference whatever to the subject of race, but it was nice to have him associated with Mr. Putnam and his book.

At the same time other famous names are withered with the Putnam frown. Arnold Toynbee is demolished with a wisecrack. Franz Boas is browbeaten without mercy; the world had a high opinion of Boas as an authority on the races of man, but the retired airlines executive met him in his own field and laid him low.

The thesis which Mr. Putnam pursues with such devastating vigor is the notion, once widely held among schol-

ars, that the Negro is limited by his racial origin and is innately inferior to the white man. That notion is still widely held, admittedly or subconsciously, by an enormous element of the white public. It is the very essence of race prejudice in so far as race prejudice has a rational basis. In recent years that theory has been blasted in many quarters by the sheer demonstration of Negro capability, and I think in not many more years the weight of such evidence against the theory of Negro inferiority will be overwhelming. As educational and employment opportunities are opened to him, the Negro American is rushing forward in intellectual, cultural and economic achievement.

In the entire 19th Century fewer than 2,500 Negroes graduated from college in the United States. In 1930, 27,141 Negro Americans were in college, and in 1956, 196,000. With increasing integration, accurate estimates are no longer available but the number must now have gone over 200,000. The image of the Negro American is changing all the time and it will change mightily with each new class of Negro college graduates which enters the stream of our national life.

Scientists have long since repudiated the theory of innate inferiority. Dr. Oscar Handlin, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and Harvard professor, who traced the rise and collapse of the racist theory in his *Race and Nationality in American Life,* said: "By 1940 it was difficult to find a serious, reputable exponent of the racist views once so widely held."

That, of course, was written in 1957, before Mr. Putnam turned his attention to anthropology. Other reputable exponents seem to have come forward. Dr. Wesley Critz George, a retired professor of zoology, anatomy, etc. at the University of North Carolina, 73 years of age, spent last summer in a study of "what science has revealed with regard to racial differences," and will shortly publish his report. What science revealed to Dr. George has not been publicly stated, but, as he was paid $3,000 for the undertaking from the emergency fund of Governor John Patterson of Alabama, there is little doubt as to the kind of revelations which were ordered.

Mr. Putnam recommended a reading of an article by Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk, which appeared in *United States News and World Report* in 1956. But he neglected to recommend the reading of a public statement from eighteen of the nation's leading anthropologists and psychologists which followed the McGurk article. In the latter statement it was noted that the American Anthropological Association and the division of the American Psychological Association concerned with social issues, among others, had placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics. Then these 18 scientists from the nation's leading universities stated flatly that "any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

Mr. Putnam states that Southerners "talk of states' rights when they should be talking anthropology." Perhaps he is right. Ten days ago the anthropologists of the United States issued a resounding statement. It is pertinent to note that this was not the expression of a few eccentrics, of a "leftist" faction, or any faction. The resolution was adopted by the American Anthropolog-

ical Association by a vote of 192 to 0, and it read:

"The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

"The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

Bearing witness to the truth is basic to all that we do in the movement for equality of all Southerners and Americans. All that we do to eliminate discrimination in its practical manifestations is an expression of the truth, a reconciliation of the American ideal with truth, in the matter of race. And just as widespread error has clouded the controversy and produced a degree of intellectual debasement in many quarters, it is the truth which ultimately will make us free.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE*

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

I do not need to tell an assembly of college students that the question of whether disobedience to law is ever allowable is an old issue in our civilization's political and intellectual history. You have encountered it in the Old Testament story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and their refusal to bow down before King Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol. You have met it again in Sophocles's great play, Antigone. You have, I trust, read and pondered the Crito, and sat beside Socrates as he debated whether an Athenian citizen could rightfully escape from the commands of his city. You have found the controversy in the heat of the politics and political theory of the late Middle Ages and of the Reformation period as well, when momentous problems of church-state relationships and religious toleration shook our Western culture. You have seen the question posed anew by Abolitionists in this country prior to the Civil War, and given literary definition by Thoreau. You have come across it once more in the history of Gandhi's campaign of passive resistance against British rule in India. You have seen its shadow lie across the present day church-state conflicts in the Communist satellite countries. In short, whenever political power and moral values have crossed, and have found each other unyielding, the question of civil disobedience has come to the forefront. When it becomes hard for men to know how to obey the Biblical order--Render unto Ceasar the things that are Ceasar's, and unto God the things that are God's--, when men come to think that they cannot obey God without disobeying Ceasar, then they must re-examine their loyalty to the state.

It was inevitable that Negro Americans' fight for civil rights should, sooner or later, embroil them in the old dilemma. As long as Negroes fought through the courts or through the halls

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* Convocation address at Earlham College, February 7, 1961

of legislatures, obedience to law was not questioned. When, in the Winter of 1960, the sit-in movement began, there quickly emerged the ancient issue, the right of an individual to disobey the law. Negro youth have knowingly and openly violated trespass and other laws, and have persisted in their violation; they have been convicted and have gone to jail. They have done this deliberately, because they believed the law to be unworthy.

The intellectual and spiritual mentor of these students has been, more than any other living person, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr. King has written:

> We will take direct action against injustice without waiting for other agencies to act. We will not obey unjust laws or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully because our aim is to persuade. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail, we will try to persuade with out acts. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it.
>
> The way of nonviolence means a willingness to suffer and sacrifice. It may mean going to jail. If such is the case the resister must be willing to fill the jail houses of the South. It may even mean physical death. But if physical death is the price that a man must pay to free his children and his white brethren from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing could be more redemptive.[1]

Dr. King has recognized that Civil disobedience will cause community discord, but he believes that as long as those who disobey do so non-violently that there will be built-in controls which will prevent mutual destruction.[2] He has derived the right to resist and to disobey from what he usually speaks of as the moral law of the universe. "I say obey the law when the law is right, when the law is just and when the law is in line with the moral law of the universe. When conscience tells someone

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1. M. L. King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (Harper & Bros.: N.Y.), 1958, p. 216. For an enlargement of this idea that civil disobedience is a form of persuasion, see the address by Harris Wofford, "Civil Disobedience," reproduced in mimeograph form by the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.
2. M. L. King, Jr., "The Burning Truth in the South," The Progressive, May, 1960.

that a law is unjust, then I think a righteous man has no alternative but to conscientiously disobey that law. ...The individual who disobeys the law in a loving spirit and accepts the consequences is dignifying the law."[3]

I believe no feeling person can fail in sympathy and admiration for the pluck and the vitality of these ideals, as they have been carried into practice by thousands of Negro (joined by a few white) students engaged in sit-ins or other protests. Dr. King has exposed himself to the law's punishment, as have other Negro adults in various southern places. This magnificent surge of the human spirit, thrusting outward for liberty, has attracted interest and respect throughout the world. But to applaud the students has meant giving approval to their frequent practice of civil disobedience. We are a civilization too jealous of its dignity, too much aware of how necessary is respect for law, to give this approval lightly.

That approval has been granted, however, and by a number of altogether staid organizations. Student associations also have, as one would expect and hope, been quick to support the sit-in movement. Several of these have discussed and passed resolutions regarding the propriety of disobedience. I talk to you, therefore, about a subject to which American students have already addressed themselves.

Among the organizations which have recently taken stands is the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., meeting last May at Cleveland in its 172nd General Assembly. The Presbyterians, as a body of believers whose faith was nurtured in controversies over the rights of conscience, acted appropriately. The resolution which they passed is thoughtful and complete; it raises most of the questions, and gives us a basis for thinking about them. It seemed to me, therefore, that one way of approaching this subject

3. M. L. King, Jr., quoted by Claude Sitton, "Dr. King, Symbol of the Segregation Struggle," New York Times Magazine, January 22, 1961.

would be by reading this resolution and commenting on it as I do so.

The resolution begins this way:

> Acknowledging that Christians have historically upheld the just authority of the state as being constituted by God for His own glory and the public good so long as the state has not commanded anything contrary to the law of God;

Here we have stated what I would assume is the orthodox Christian view: the state and its authority are ordained by God. There have been many references lately to Thoreau, and the thought seems to be that he is the intellectual father or grandfather of the idea of civil disobedience. I think this is questionable. On the whole, Thoreau regarded the state as a great nuisance, perhaps needful but certainly of no positive benefit. When he taught civil disobedience, he was simply exhorting his compatriots to refuse to tolerate the state when it became unbearably obnoxious. He had none of the profound respect for the state which is evidenced in the Presbyterians' statement. And yet the fact is that civil disobedience has, throughout Western history, been far oftener advocated and practiced by persons wedded to their view, than by those who, like Thoreau, have been contemptuous of the state. Moreover, Thoreau was neither a teacher of nor a believer in non-violence, and this makes it all the harder to understand why he has been adopted as a sort of patron of the sit-in movement.

We can note, therefore, that civil disobedience has historically been taught by the churches, which at the same time have taught that the state is an expression of God's will. I will not go so far as to agree that the state is divinely established. I do agree, however, that the state and the community of men and women and institutions which it represents is a great good for all of us. By keeping us together, by educating us and enabling us to find fields of growth and service, the state is the means whereby we can become civilized persons. You will remember Socrates's final decision: he owed a debt to Athens which he must pay. I think, and I would say to you, that we ought to be mindful as he

was of the goodness inherent in the state, and that we ought to be as reluctant as he to set an example to others of disobeying its laws.

The resolution of the Presbyterians goes on:

> Affirming that some laws and customs requiring racial discrimination are, in our judgment, such serious violations of the law of God as to justify peaceful and orderly disobedience or disregard of these laws;

I must confess that I don't know what this means. Are there some violations of the law of God which are serious enough to justify violent disobedience? Is racial discrimination a lesser sort of immorality, against which only peaceful resistance is allowable? Or does the statement imply that peaceful disobedience is the only kind ever permissible, whatever the wrong may be? These are not mere quibbles, for they suggest some of the real--and unresolved--ideological questions of the sit-in movement. Always, Dr. King and some others have insisted that non-violence is more than a technique, more than a method of combatting a specific evil. "Non-violence is not," said the National Student Conference last April, "just a lack of violence but the requirement that one respect the dignity of all men and stand up for that dignity within himself. It is a movement of human beings against injustice." One theology student, writing in the Student Voice,[4] has said the sit-in movement will not be true to itself unless the participants see that they have a responsibility for all exploited and all exploiters everywhere. Not even the most practical minded of men disputes the importance which the sit-ins have already attained. If the movement does spread the philosophy of non-violence as a way of life, it will indeed have been a giant among social movements. On the other hand, there have been those who have said that non-violence is simply the most useful weapon for this particular fight and some have advocated the slogan "Jail, Not Bail" because jail is costly to the state, and bail (or fines)

4. Brewster Kneen, "Nonviolence and Vision," Student Voice, October 1960.

would be costly to the students. I mention this because it is worth remembering that the sit-in movement is made up both of persons who may disobey the law because they refuse to cooperate with what they regard as evil in any form; and of others who may disobey because they are fighting one particular battle, that against racial injustice.

But to return to the Presbyterian resolution:

> Believing that current student demonstrations against racial segregation, while in some cases conflicting with local laws or customs, seem to be consistent with our Christian heritage, the Federal Constitution, and the moral consensus of our nation;

I think this indicates the basic practical problem. Does approval extend to disobedience of the federal Constitution, or doesn't it? Suppose the legality of the trespass laws which inhibit and punish sit-ins is upheld by the Supreme Court? Will the students still disobey those laws, and will their actions be approved? Dr. King was asked this question on a recent television program, and replied that the situation would be the same: that whatever the Supreme Court said, the moral law of the universe would have to be followed. But this raises the question of the right of segregationists to resist the Supreme Court's ruling that segregated public schools are discriminatory and unconstitutional. For nearly seven long years, we have called on the southern states to comply with the law, to bow to the Constitution. Should not the same obligation be urged on the Negro students?

These are, of course, hypothetical questions; the Supreme Court has not ruled, and when it does may decide in favor of the students' right to sit-in and otherwise demonstrate. Nevertheless, the questions are important because they inquire about the seriousness of the motives and the language of the leaders and participants of the movement. The Presbyterians happily find that Christianity, the Constitution, and the moral consensus of the nation are all in agreement. I think this is what most of us, in our present society, like to assume. Are we really prepared for the possibility that Christianity and the Constitution, as

interpreted by the Courts, may be on opposite sides; or, beyond that, that Christianity rightly understood may not be the same as the moral consensus of the nation? Let me remind you that some have faced these questions. Some years ago, for example, the Supreme Court said that religious instruction during the school day, and on the property of the public school, was unconstitutional. Yet such instruction continues to be given (most widely, I understand, in the mid-West); evidently there are many persons who think the Court has violated the moral consensus of the nation, and choose therefore to disobey it.

Now, of course, neither of the comparisons I have made--the resistance of southern statesor the continued offering of religious instruction--exactly fits the case of the Negro demonstrators. Indeed, they differ greatly. The southern resistance has been under the umbrella of state power, and has resembled rebellion--or, at least, organized defiance--more than civil disobedience. The school boards who violate the Constitutional barriers between church and state do so, probably invariably, with community acquiescence. The conduct of the Negroes, on the other hand, is characterized by other qualities. They act openly, with no attempt at concealment. They accept the consequences, by peacefully submitting to arrest. They act in dissent from the prevailing opinion, official and lay, of their localities.

And yet what these differences amount to is only this, that they put the case of civil disobedieance on its true grounds. If, in other words, the question be raised as to the possible propriety of Senator Byrd's or Governor Patterson's resistance, one never has to meet the philosophical problem of civil disobedience. Theirs is too cheap a performance, and is exposed for what it is without need to consider the honorable issue of positive law vs. higher loyalties.

But, nevertheless, the students cannot rely on their honesty and dignity alone. If disobedience is <u>never</u> permissible, as some have followed Hobbes[5] in thinking, then it makes no difference

5. Hobbes did allow the right of disobedience in one situation, viz., when to obey would endanger one's own life.

how manly is the act. Nor does it, if the argument against disobedience is the widely held belief that it is illegitimate in a political order such as ours, where political and judicial means exist to work for the change of laws. The case for civil disobedience has to be an ethical one. Because of this, those who choose to believe in it must act ethically and openly; i.e., must conduct themselves as the segregation fighters have. But wrong ends can never be justified by attractive means; nor can differences in means wholly distinguish actions whose ends are similar. The basic issue raised by civil disobedience is the effect which it has on men's always tenuous commitment to the rule of law; and on their habit of trust in other men's intentions, which is the only alternative to a police state.

There is another argument advanced against the Negroes' actions which goes this way: "When one is in opposition to the whole political order of which he is a part, then civil disobedience is justified as a tactic. When, on the other hand, a person is in basic assent with his political order, then it is unconscionable for him to pick and choose what he will and will not obey." The immediate rebuttal is that, under the complications of the American federal system, southern Negroes can be at the same time loyal to the national system without acknowledging allegiance to their states, and that it is the laws of the latter which they resist. I believe this is a valid contention. Federalism makes the states, in some particulars, our legal masters, and thus requires of us loyalties to them as well as to Washington. Assuming that civil disobedience is sometimes justified, there is no reason why it is not against a federal unit, in areas where it and not the national government is in control.

On the other hand, what if--to return to the question--the Supreme Court may affirm the Constitutionality of the trespass laws? I am hopeful that enough momentum toward desegregation now exists so that the movement will not be slowed by such a ruling. But if the issue does arise, and the laws of declared Constitutionality are regularly disobeyed, then I believe the Negro spokesmen will have to do more to reassure the country than to invoke simply

the "moral law of the universe." They shall need, I think, to explain carefully to their countrymen how their position is essentially akin to that of the conscientious objector, which the morality of the country has traditionally respected. The conscientious objector refuses personally to obey a legal summons; he does not interfere with or hinder other people, nor does he precipitate the law's wrath. Those who combat segregation must explain to the country that in this area conscience may sometimes require doing, as well as refusal to do.

After these statements of belief, the Presbyterians' resolution concludes:

> The 172nd General Assembly ...
>
> Assures students of our common cause with those who for the sake of conscience participate in such responsible non-violent demonstrations;
>
> Urges them to continue to recognize the dangers to the civil order enherent in conflict with established authority.

This is, I think, the sum of the matter. Here is the age-old Christian tension between loyalty to God and loyalty to the social order. Nothing more need have been said. Nor is it only a Christian tension, for it was present in Western civilization before the Gospels.

The idea of civil disobedience was born when men began to feel that they possessed and were possessed by souls to which they had to be true. From this realization came the theory which we call natural law, and came also the idea of the free, responsible individual and his natural rights. This has brought its hardships as well as its glories, its pains and burdens as well as its satisfactions. For if the old idea of the free, responsible individual means anything, it means this: that each of us, every day, when confronted by the commands of the law, asks "will I" or "won't I" obey. It is a daily plebiscite. This is an awful weight, a crushing responsibility if we take it seriously. And we have seen men flee from that responsibility, seekescape from that freedom, yearn desperately to give it up, and to find security in the comfortable, protective embrace of a social and political order

which fashions all one's values.

Nor is there any aid for the individual. There are no doctrines which justify civil disobedience. If there were, we would have a contradiction in terms. For the responsibility is solely the individual's, and the only authority to which he can turn is his own conscience. It is he[6] who must decide that his conscience directs so clearly and forcefully that he can presume to speak for God before other men. You have all heard a minister say that he had received "the call." Even though "the call" may seem, to some of us, to have reached occasionally an unlikely pair of ears, there is still a deep wisdom behind the conviction that only a man called--chosen--by God is entitled to speak His words to other men. And with the same seriousness, those who violate man made law in order to obey conscience have the responsibility, first, to understand what a weighty responsibility it is to appear as God's interpreter and, second, to see clearly that they are constrained to act.

I cannot, therefore, justify the acts of southern students in disobeying the law, for I think no man can. I think no man can, for even to attempt to do so is an invasion of the autonomy of the individual, who himself has the choice to make. It is he who must undergo the tension, weighing in the scales the legitimate claims of the social order and the directives of his own conscience. All that another can do is give material aid and comradely comfort.

I read recently a poem, brief and anonymous, which I would like to speak to you:

For no man escapes
When freedom fails,
The best of men rot
In filthy jails;
And they who cried
"Appease, Appease"
Are hanged by men
They tried to please.

6. For suggesting this thought, I am indebted to my friend John Yungblut, director of Quaker House, Atlanta.

This much one man can say to another. If he cannot advise him when to obey and when not to obey the law, if he cannot even endorse his decision when it is acted on, he can at least say to him this: The civilization that we have and enjoy and boast of, with its freedom, its gentleness, its richness of knowledge, rests on the shoulders of an amazingly few individuals who, in their time, saw what there was to do and chose to do it. That when freedom fails, no man does escape. That those of us who live today in freedom do so because some men--some few men--have interposed their lives and their security for the rest of us, and have been the atonement of humanity.

Finally, I would like to tell you that I came across the little poem which I recited a few minutes ago in the monthly newspaper of the Citizens Council,[7] which some of you I am sure know of as the organization of white southerners dedicated to fight against racial equality. In reading it to you, I meant to be neither cute nor critical. I like what the poem says, even if my adversary writes it. Indeed, I like it all the better on that account. We ought never to forget that political controversies take place among human beings--on both sides. I think we need to do more than love the souls of our enemies. This is not so hard. More difficult is it to respect our enemies, and yet that is what we need to do. I believe with Camus that we are not free to judge. We need to accept our brothers, even though to do so is harder than to love them, or to be their keepers. We need to try to stand in their shoes for a few moments, and to see through their eyes. We need to accept their right to be what they are. If a man resists what other men want, if he even go so far as to disobey their laws, he will weaken the human community if he does it in the spirit of judgment. He ought not to say, "I act, I disobey because my brothers are wrong to command as they do;" he ought rather to say, in the spirit of Martin Luther, "I disobey because I--this I which possesses me and directs me--cannot do otherwise. God help me."

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7. Citizens Council, September 1960

And when he has taken this step, he will, with, as a hallowed text puts it, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, be zealous to re-assure his fellow countrymen of his cause and his motives.

The sit-in participants are not the only ones today who practice civil disobedience. There are people who on principle refuse to answer some questions of the census takers; biology instructors in Tennessee who teach the theories of evolution despite state law; Amish folk and some other sectarians who refuse in various states to observe compulsory school attendance laws; a gentleman in Tacoma who disbelieves in parking meters and after 23 arrests and 34 days in jails continues to withhold his nickel. Moreover, there are visible the first signs of what may become a new, prevalent mood of disobedience. For, besides the sit-ins, we see here and abroad people--brave people--violating the law by sailing into a nuclear weapons test area, by hindering the construction of new submarines, and by other means. These are small pin pricks on the back of Leviathan. But they are expressive of the horror shared by many throughout the world over the radical immorality of our political situation. Power, like fire, is a good and necessary servant but a dangerous master. But national power, which ought to be the servant of our societies, has become that to which everything must be subordinated. The nations sacrifice all, if need be, to make their power great. This is mad; this is stupid; this is degrading of humanity. To some extent, this lust of power has always dominated. But today the game is more serious, and the absurdity of the probable outcome more apparent. And so a few have attempted to persuade us of this absurdity by sailing into forbidden seas, or by interfering with armaments construction. Their civil disobedience has been interposed between us and our folly; they are gadflies for our times, as Socrates was for his. Perhaps in years to come, men may look back on them, and on the sit-in demonstrators of the South, as ones among those lonely few whose shoulders have held up the freedom of all of us. And thus, while I have sought to warn you against presumption, I end by reminding you that the line is thin and shadowy between, on the one hand, presumption and moral conceit, and, on the other, courage and moral leadership.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE

Negro Policemen in the South

By Elliott M. Rudwick

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga.
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The interest of the Southern Regional Council in the employment of Negroes as policemen in southern towns and cities extends over a period of fifteen years. Indeed, for almost ten of these fifteen years, annual surveys were conducted in southern cities and the results reported in *New South* (in 1948, 1951, 1952, and 1953). In the publication of the present study by Professor Elliott Rudwick,* we are provided with a timely review and assessment of progress in a singularly important area of law enforcement. At the time that Professor Rudwick did this research he was on the faculty of the University of Florida. Currently, Dr. Rudwick is Associate Professor of Sociology at Southern Illinois University.

JAMES A. MOSS
Director of Research

**Sections of this report are drawn from materials which the author published originally in the July-August, 1960 issue of the* Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, *the Spring, 1961 issue of the* Journal of Negro Education, *and the Fall, 1961 issue of the* Journal of Negro Education.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

FOR MANY YEARS, there was hardly a handful of Negroes working in the South as police officers. Prior to 1921, Negroes were employed on the police forces of approximately ten southern cities—among them Baltimore, Knoxville, Memphis, Wheeling, Tampa, and Houston.[1] By 1924, Washington, Louisville, and Beaumont were added.[2] As the years passed, a small number of other communities joined the ranks, but by 1940 the number of Negro policemen in the entire region was probably not much over fifty. This figure was minute, considering that according to the 1940 census, over three-fourths of the nearly thirteen million Negro Americans lived in the South. Furthermore, among the states with the largest Negro populations—Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama—there was not even one Negro policeman.

THE WHITE POLICEMAN IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

Negro neighborhoods were inadequately patrolled by whites, whose methods were often harsh and, not infrequently, brutal. If their presence was on occasion intolerable, their absence was sometimes worse; and many a neighborhood was left practically without police protection. Negro leaders were resentful and made polite requests for the employment of policemen from their own race. They were not only motivated by a desire to see their lives and property protected, but they were also humiliated by the implication that Negroes had not yet reached a cultural stage of being able to bear responsibility for at least part of their law enforcement needs.

However, many white politicians were convinced that it "just wouldn't work." For example, among reasons given in Greensboro (N.C.) and Atlanta were that the morale of white police officers would be impaired and many would quit, that local Negroes did not seem intellectually or morally capable, and that the fabric of "southern tradition" should not be torn away.[3]

NEGRO POLITICAL ACTION AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

As long as Negro Southerners possessed no political influence, they had little bargaining power. In 1940, there were probably not more than 250,000 in the South allowed to vote, and most of these could cast their ballots only in meaningless general elections. However, as a result of wartime democratic idealism, improved economic conditions, the increase in urbanization, and other factors, the number of registered Negroes in 12 southern states grew to about 650,000 in 1947 and an estimated one million by 1950.

The Negroes' emerging political participation was probably the most important factor which led to the increased use of Negro police during World War II and in the postwar period. For the first time, local Negro leaders, pointing to expanding registration lists, gained attention and sympathetic consideration from city officials. In city after city, Negro organizations such as the Panhellenic Council of Charleston, the Tallahassee Civic League, and the West Palm Beach Voters League wrote letters and signed petitions. Frequently, they allied themselves with liberal whites who were interested in harmonious race relations and had formed local interracial committees. Not only did these groups work together, but they often broadened their base of influence by seeking the endorsement of prominent white organizations, such as the Chamber of Commerce (as in Atlanta), the Woman's Auxiliary of the Protestant Episcopal Church (as in Charleston),[4] and the local newspaper (e.g., the *Palm Beach Post*).

EARLY STUDIES IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

Each year during the period 1945-1954, the Southern Regional Council surveyed the region and compiled reports on the number of cities employing Negro policemen, the manner in which campaigns were conducted locally to bring about this change, and testimonials of leading city officials concerning the effectiveness of the new law enforcement officers. Gradually, the regional surveys began to indicate some degree of success. In 1945, *New South* reported 134 Negro men and women working for police departments; in 1950, the number increased to over 425, and by 1954, over 800 (a figure which included 87 women schoolguards). *See Table I* (Appendix).

The Southern Regional Council did not make annual surveys after 1954. That last report was based on a questionnaire sent to communities in Alabama, Arkan-

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1 Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1921-22*, Tuskegee, 1922, p. 47.

2 Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1925-26*, Tuskegee, 1925, p. 58.

3 "Race and Law Enforcement," *New South*, February, 1952, pp. 12-13; *Changing Patterns in the New South*, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, 1955, p. 29.

4 John A. Harris, "How Charleston Got Negro Policemen," *New South*, September-October, 1950, pp. 7-8.

sas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Replies were received from 143 municipal police departments and 22 county sheriff's offices. In late 1959, the present writer attempted to provide recent data on the use of Negro police in the South and sent a questionnaire to the 165 respondents of the 1954 survey. Over 88% cooperated.[5] In the fall of 1961, a second survey was made.

CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN: 1954-1961

The writer was interested in knowing what had happened to the number of Negro law enforcement officers after 1954. Had white opposition to the Supreme Court school desegregation decisions snuffed out newly-won gains of Negroes in the police field? Or had these men and women, who had previously received fulsome praise from many city officials, become a permanent and increasingly important part of the southern scene?

THE OVERVIEW. The data (see Table A) seem to indicate that Negroes did not lose ground, but they did not gain much either. In 1954, these 165 localities employed 536 Negro *uniformed* policemen, and in 1959 there were 646. The modest increases seem even smaller when it is recalled that Negro urban Southerners increased during 1954-1959. During these five years, most of the net growth can be attributed to just five of the larger southern cities: Jacksonville (from 14 officers to 27), Miami (from 55 to 76), Atlanta (16 to 27), New Orleans (6 to 28), and Mobile (2 to 12). The rest of the cities were generally stationary (although the number of communities which added Negro uniformed police exceeded the number which dropped them). Often, not more than one officer was added or dropped, although a sharp decline was registered by Montgomery (Ala.), which in 1954 had employed four Negro policemen and three Negro policewomen. In 1959, there were none in that city of racial strife.

A similarly static picture is provided by an examination of the use of Negro plain-clothes men and detectives. Between 1954 and 1959, there was a net increase in the 13 states of only 31 men, and most of these were added in New Orleans, Miami, Atlanta, and Dallas. Several cities, such as Tampa, West Palm Beach, and Oklahoma City, actually dropped some or all of their colored plain-clothes men but at the same time enlarged the number of Negro uniformed policemen. In police circles, non-uniformed investigators have higher status than the uniformed patrolmen. The former often receive higher pay and have more mobility and independence. Few Negroes are placed in these positions, even though their usefulness is beyond question in the larger southern cities.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES AS SCHOOLGUARDS. While the sheriff's deputies made slight gains (13) between 1954 and 1959, the number of Negro policewomen decreased from 25 to 14. However, some of the cities which cut the number of policewomen hired a larger corps of Negro schoolguards (e.g., Greenville, Miss.; San Antonio, and Norfolk). Actually, the five years following 1954 may be considered as The Years of the Negro Schoolguards, since their ranks increased fourfold in the reporting cities, from 82 to 338. *See Table A.* This last figure might be even larger, since in some communities the schoolguards may be employed by an agency other than the police department. The majority of cities using schoolguards in 1954 expanded their number in the later period. Furthermore, nearly 50 of the cities which had hired them by 1959 did not employ them in 1954.

While the increases in the Negro schoolguards are impressive, it must be remembered that in 1954 there had been only 82. Furthermore, although they make valuable contributions, they do not function as law enforcement officers: they are actually traffic monitors. They have only part time, circumscribed duties and limited powers. For these reasons, their expansion, while desirable, is not as important as gains among the *Negro police*. Quite possibly in some communities, the schoolguards were hired to avoid employing Negro patrolmen.

In the 1959 survey, 146 law enforcement agencies had responded. Of these, 98 cooperated in the 1961 survey and the results also appear in Table A. The 1961 data confirm the conclusions which were drawn previously—there have been only small increases in the number of Negro police personnel used by the southern agencies. From 1959 to 1961, the 98 law enforcement departments reported gains in the following categories: Uniformed, from 538 to 560; Detectives, from 79 to 101; Sheriff's Deputies, from 44 to 51; Policewomen, from 12 to 20; Schoolguards, from 303 to 371. During this two-year period, nearly one-half of the communities showed no change, while about one-third reported small additions in the number of Negro police who were employed. Fairly large increases were shown in Atlanta (from 31 to 40), and Mobile (from 12 to 24—due to annexation of additional territory which included large Negro neighborhoods). On the other hand, substantial declines appeared in Miami (from 85 to 76) and New Orleans (from 43 to 36).

A TEN-YEAR ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS. Of the southern police departments employing Negro police in 1959,

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[5] Fort Pierce, Florida; Burlington, Clinton, Goldsboro, and Lenoir, North Carolina; Muskogee, Oklahoma; Clover, Darlington, Hartsville, Horry County, Mullins, Orangeburg, Rock Hill, and Spartanburg, South Carolina; Memphis, Tennessee; Fort Worth, Galveston County, Lubbock, and Orange, Texas. In 1954, these communities had reported that Negro personnel consisted of 62 uniformed policemen, six sheriff's deputies, and seven school guards.

57 also were reported in the Southern Regional Council's 1949 survey, and these data permit a ten-year comparison which is presented in Table B. Since these communities have had at least a decade of experience with Negro officers, ample time should have elapsed for overcoming the whites' initial fears. Caution might have dictated that few appointments be made in the early period in order to allow white and Negro citizens to accommodate themselves to this departure from tradition. However, the later period (1954-59) should have been one of substantial growth. Instead, Table B presents a static tableau of many southern cities having years of experience with Negro policemen, but little inclined to see them grow in number.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Policewomen			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Dothan, Ala.	1	2	NR												
Mobile, Ala.	2	12	24										0	1	4
Montgomery, Ala.	4	0	0							3	0	0			
Talladega, Ala.	2	0	NR												
Fort Smith, Ark.	2	2	NR							0	1	NR			
Hot Springs, Ark.	2	2	2												
Jefferson County, Ark.							2	2	NR						
Little Rock, Ark.	4	3	4	0	2	0									
Alachua County, Fla.							2	3	2						
Belle Glade, Fla.	2	2	2							0	0	1	0	1	0
Broward County, Fla.							2	4	7						
Clearwater, Fla.	3	3	3												
Cocoa, Fla.	2	2	2												
Coral Gables, Fla.	1	1	1										0	1	0
Dade County, Fla.							2	5	10				1	7	0
Dania, Fla.	1	2	3										0	1	2
Daytona Beach, Fla.	7	7	3							3*	0	2			
Deland, Fla.	1	0	NR												
Escambia County, Fla.							2	1	1						
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	2	1	1												
Fort Myers, Fla.	2	2	NR												
Gainesville, Fla.	2	2	2												
Haines City, Fla.	2	1	2												
Hallandale, Fla.	1	2	3							0	0	1	0	2	2
Hialeah, Fla.	2	1	1												
Hillsborough County, Fla.							2	2	2						
Hollywood, Fla.	1	1	1										0	1	0
Homestead, Fla.	2	0	NR												
Jacksonville, Fla.	14	27	32										0	15	17
Key West, Fla.	3	4	NR										0	2	NR
Lake Worth, Fla.	1	2	2										0	1	1
Lakeland, Fla.	4	5	6										0	0	3
Melbourne, Fla.	1	2	2										0	0	1
Miami, Fla.	55	76	67	3	9	9									
Ocala, Fla.	2	1	2												
Orlando, Fla.	4	4	3										0	4	0
Ormond Beach, Fla.	1	1	1							0	1	0	0	0	1
Panama City, Fla.	1	2	2												
Pensacola, Fla.	2	3	4												
St. Petersburg, Fla.	4	8	9	0	0	1							0	1	2
Sanford, Fla.	1	1	1												
South Miami, Fla.	2	2	2												
Tallahassee, Fla.	3	2	2										0	1	4
Tampa, Fla.	6	11	NR	4	2	NR									
Titusville, Fla.	1	1	1												
West Palm Beach, Fla.	7	12	12	2	0	0							0	4	5
Albany, Ga.													2	0	3

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Police-women			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Athens, Ga.													4	5	NR
Atlanta, Ga.	16	27	34	0	4	6							10	28	28
Augusta, Ga.	7	7	8										5	6	6
Columbus, Ga.	4	0	0										0	0	5
Dalton, Ga.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
East Point, Ga.				1	0	NR							1	3	NR
Griffin, Ga.													1	1	NR
Macon, Ga.	4	4	4										4	4	8
Marietta, Ga.													1	1	2
Savannah, Ga.	12	14	13	0	2	2							0	5	4
Thomasville, Ga.	0	2	NR										3	2	NR
Waycross, Ga.	2	2	NR												
Hopkinsville, Ky.	3	3	2	0	1	1							0	1	1
Jefferson County, Ky.							6	7	8						
Lexington, Ky.	6	6	6	0	1	3				1	1	1	0	7	8
Louisville, Ky.	24	26	26	6	8	8				2	3	3	0	13	15
Owensboro, Ky.	2	1	NR										0	1	NR
Caddo Parish, La.							3	6	NR						
Lafayette, La.	3	3	NR												
Monroe, La.	2	2	NR										0	3	NR
New Iberia, La.	1	2	2										0	4	4
New Orleans, La.	6	28	24	6	14	12				0	1	0	12	26	36
Shreveport, La.	2	4	NR												
Greenville, Miss.	2	4	3	0	0	2				2	0	2	0	3	4
Gulfport, Miss.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
Indianola, Miss.	1	2	NR												
Ahoskie, N. C.	1	2	NR												
Asheville, N. C.	3	3	5										0	3	5
Carrboro, N. C.	2	1*	0												
Chapel Hill, N. C.	2	3	2										0	1	1
Charlotte, N. C.	8	10	7	0	0	1							0	13	14
Durham, N. C.	10	9	13	2	2	2							6	8	8
Fayetteville, N. C.	4	4	3										2	4	4
Gastonia, N. C.	5	5	5										0	1	1
Greensboro, N. C.	9	8	NR										0	7	NR
Greenville, N. C.	1	2	NR										0	1	NR
Guilford County, N. C.							1	2	NR						
High Point, N. C.	6	6	6	2	2	2							0	1	2
Kinston, N. C.	3	4	4										0	1	2
Morganton, N. C.	2	1	NR												
Raleigh, N. C.	5	6	6										0	6	10
Reidsville, N. C.	2	2	2												
Rocky Mount, N. C.	2	2	2										1	3	3
Salisbury, N. C.	2	2	2										0	0	2
Wilson, N. C.	2	3	NR												
Winston-Salem, N. C.	13	12	12							1	0	1	5	7	27
Enid, Okla.	2	2	2										0	0	1
Lawton, Okla.	2	2	3												
Oklahoma City, Okla.	8	11	NR	6	5	NR									
Ponca City, Okla.	1	0	NR												
Shawnee, Okla.	1	1	NR												
Stillwater, Okla.	1	1	NR												
Tulsa, Okla.	12	12	12	7	5	5				1	1	1	0	5	4
Tulsa County, Okla.							2	3	3						
Beaufort, S. C.	2	1	NR												
Beaufort County, S. C.							2	1	4						
Charleston, S. C.	8	10	11	1	2	4							6	8	8

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

TABLE A: NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1954, 1959, and 1961

City or County	Uniformed Policemen			Detectives—Plain-clothes			Sheriff's Deputies			Policewomen			Schoolguards		
	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961	1954	1959	1961
Columbia, S. C.	4	4	4										0	2	2
Conway, S. C.	2	2	NR										0	1	NR
Dillon, S. C.	1	0	NR												
Florence, S. C.	3	3	NR										0	3	NR
Lake City, S. C.	1	1	NR												
Marion, S. C.	1	2	NR							0	1	NR	0	1	NR
Sumter, S. C.	0	3	NR	2	0	NR							0	1	NR
Timmonsville, S. C.	1	1	NR												
Chattanooga, Tenn.	8	10	NR												
Davidson County, Tenn.							7	9	6						
Knox County, Tenn.	2	0	0				6*	2	2						
Knoxville, Tenn.	9	8	12	0	2	2							0	4	8
Nashville, Tenn.	16	19	21	0	0	2							12	29	34
Amarillo, Tex.	2	0	0										0	0	1
Austin, Tex.	6	9	NR										0	1	NR
Bexar County, Tex.							1	3	3						
Beaumont, Tex.	2	4	NR	0	1	NR									
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1	3	3												
Dallas, Tex.	4	0	6	0	6	4									
El Paso, Tex.	4	2	6												
Galveston, Tex.	11	11	10	4	5	4									
Harris County, Tex.							2	3	NR						
Houston, Tex.	24	31	24	1	3	11				1	1	3	0	0	3
Potter County, Tex.							2	2	1						
Port Arthur, Tex.	4	5	6	0	0	2				2	0	0	0	4	0
San Antonio, Tex.	9	10	8	2	2	4				1	0	0	0	10	7
Travis County, Tex.							1	1	1						
Temple, Tex.	2	2	NR												
Waco, Tex.	1	1	1										0	4	0
Wichita Falls, Tex.	1	2	2												
Alexandria, Va.													3	4	3
Cape Charles, Va.	1	0	NR												
Hampton, Va.	4	3	4	1	1	2				1	0	0	0	3	3
Nansemond County, Va.							1	4	NR						
Newport News, Va.	6	8	7	0	1	1							3	5	8
Norfolk, Va.	5	4	1	3	3	5				2	1	2	0	19	20
Norfolk County, Va.										2	0	NR	0	1	NR
Petersburg, Va.										1	1	1			
Portsmouth, Va.	2	1	4	0	0	2							0	9	12
Princess Anne County, Va.							2	1	1						
Richmond, Va.	16	15	14	3	4	4				2	2	2	0	11	12
Roanoke, Va.	3	4	6												
TOTAL	536	646	560	56	87	101	48	61	51	25	14	20	82	338	371

"NR" means that the police agency did not respond to the questionnaire.
* Indicates part-time employment.

In this ten-year view, the 57 communities had a net increase of 119 uniformed and plain-clothes men during the first five-year period and an increase of only 85 during the second five-year period. During the decade nearly two-thirds of the net gain was registered by just five cities: Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville. Between 1949 and 1959, almost one-third of the 57 cities either cut their Negro complement or kept it at the same level; another one-third added only one or two men.

OPTIMUM EMPLOYMENT LEVELS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN. How many Negro policemen should a southern city reasonably be expected to employ? The answer depends upon many factors, two of which are the size of the city and the size of the Negro population. Nationally, larger cities use more policemen per thousand population than do smaller cities, but in the South this pattern prevails only approximately. According to the F.B.I.'s *Uniform Crime Reports*,[6] in the nation as a

[6] *Uniform Crime Reports*, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1958, p. 99.

whole there have been about 1.65 policemen for every 1000 inhabitants. In the South Atlantic states the number was also about 1.65; in the East South Central states and the West South Central states the number was 1.2 and 1.1, respectively. While these are "average figures" and "are not intended to serve as suggested police strength for any particular community," these data may be used to give a rough estimate of the number of Negro policemen which the region might have employed if race had not been a barrier. It must be remembered that in the cities to be considered, the Negro policemen are usually assigned exclusively to Negro neighborhoods. The ratios of Negro police employed per one thousand Negro population should not be interpreted, however, as the measure of law enforcement coverage in these communities, since white officers also patrol these neighborhoods to some extent.

Table B presents the number of Negro police officers to every one thousand Negro inhabitants in the 57 cities. In 1949, only three cities had a ratio of more than 1.0. Thirty-one of the cities had a ratio of less than .35 in 1949, which means that there was less than one Negro policeman for every 3,000 Negroes. Some of the largest cities had the lowest ratios, e.g., Nashville, .11; Dallas, .07; Norfolk, .14; Richmond, .10; and Atlanta, .05. Caution is understandable in the face of innovation, and these communities had just hired their first Negro patrolman from one to three years before. On the other hand, Knoxville, Austin, Houston, and Tampa had low ratios (.37, .34, .14, and .22, respectively), and these communities had been pioneers in the use of Negro police, having hired them prior to 1921.[7]

A decade later in 1959, the situation had improved, but only slightly. In these 57 cities in 1949 there had been one Negro policeman for about every 4,000 Negro people; in 1959 there was one for perhaps every 3,500. But only two cities had ratios of more than 1.0 (Miami and Ahoskie, N. C.), and 35 cities had ratios below .35. It has been noted previously that during the decade Miami, Atlanta, Houston, Richmond, and Nashville accounted for most of the numerical increases in Negro lawmen. Viewed in terms of ratios per 1000 Negro population, in 1959 all of these communities except Miami had ratios of less than .35. But an examination from 1949 to 1959 showed the following ratio increases for these cities: Miami from .75 to 1.29; Atlanta from .05 to .17; Houston from .14 to .16; Richmond from .10 to .23; and Nashville from .11 to .29.

Table B clearly indicates that Negroes are allowed to serve only in token numbers. In late 1959, Petersburg (Va.) had one Negro policewoman and about 17,000 Negroes; Norfolk had eight Negro officers and over 80,000 Negroes; Dallas had six and a Negro popula-

[7] Monroe N. Work, ed., *Negro Year Book, 1921-22*, Tuskegee, 1922, p. 47.

TABLE B

NEGRO LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS IN 57 SOUTHERN CITIES, 1949-1959

	Law Enforcement Officers[1]			Negro Law Enforcement Officers per 1000 Negro Inhabitants	
City	1949	1954	1959	1949[2]	1959[3]
Dothan, Alabama	1	1	2	.13	.22
Hot Springs, Arkansas	2	2	2	.39	.44
Little Rock, Arkansas	6	4	5	.26	.20
Clearwater, Florida	2	3	3	.69	.55
Cocoa, Florida	1	2	2	.48	.52
Dania, Florida	1	1	2	.48	.72
Daytona Beach, Florida	5	10#	7	.57	.60
Deland, Florida	2	1	0	.92	.00
Fort Myers, Florida	2	2	2	.54	.34
Gainesville, Florida	2	2	2	.34	.29
Key West, Florida	2	3	4	.68	.35
Melbourne, Florida	1	1	2	.91	.79
Miami, Florida	30	58	85	.75	1.29
Sanford, Florida	1	1	1	.17	.15
St. Petersburg, Florida	4	4	8	.29	.33
Tampa, Florida	6	10	13	.22	.28
West Palm Beach, Florida	4	9	12	.31	.78
Atlanta, Georgia	6	16	31	.05	.17
Macon, Georgia	2	4	4	.07	.13
Savannah, Georgia	12	12	16	.25	.30
Lexington, Kentucky	3	7	8	.22	.49
Louisville, Kentucky	34	32	37	.59	.53
Owensboro, Kentucky	2	2	1	.79	.35
Gulfport, Mississippi	2	2	2	.46	.31
Ahoskie, North Carolina	1	1	2	.66	1.06
Asheville, North Carolina	2	3	3	.16	.26
Charlotte, North Carolina	10	8	10	.27	.18
Durham, North Carolina	8	12	11	.31	.39
Fayetteville, North Carolina	2	4	4	.15	.24
Gastonia, North Carolina	5	5	5	1.04	.75
Greensboro, North Carolina	5	9	8	.26	.26
High Point, North Carolina	4	8	8	.48	.71
Raleigh, North Carolina	4	5	6	.22	.27
Winston-Salem, North Carolina	7	14	12	.19	.29
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	12	14	16	.57	.38
Tulsa, Oklahoma	14	20	18	.82	.69
Columbia, South Carolina	2	4	4	.06	.13
Conway, South Carolina	2	2	2	.93	.68
Chattanooga, Tennessee	7	8	10	.18	.23
Knoxville, Tennessee	7	9	10	.37	.48
Nashville, Tennessee	6	16	19	.11	.29
Austin, Texas	6	6	9	.34	.36
Beaumont, Texas	2	2	5	.07	.14
Corpus Christi, Texas	2	1	3	.28	.32
Dallas, Texas	4	4	6	.07	.05
El Paso, Texas	4	4	2	1.28	.27
Galveston, Texas	15	15	16	.85	.87
Houston, Texas	17	26	35	.14	.16
Port Arthur, Texas	10	6	5	.72	.24
San Antonio, Texas	11	12	12	.38	.28
Cape Charles, Virginia	1	1	0	1.30	.00
Newport News, Virginia	5	6	9	.27	.23
Norfolk, Virginia	9	10	8	.14	.10
Petersburg, Virginia	1	1	1	.07	.06
Portsmouth, Virginia	1	2	1	.03	.03
Richmond, Virginia	7	21	21	.10	.23
Roanoke, Virginia	6	3	4	.41	.24
TOTAL	332	451	536		

[1] In this table the following categories are included as law enforcement officers: Uniformed officers, Detective Plain-clothes men, and Policewomen.

[2] Since the Southern Regional Council published the figures upon which the Negro police data are based in late 1949, Negro population is taken from the 1950 census.

[3] The population base for the late 1959 police information was the non-white population in these states, according to the 1960 Census of Population Advance Reports, PC(A2), issued February-March, 1961. In these states, Negroes constituted 98.3% of the non-whites. If Oklahoma, with its relatively large number of Indians, is omitted from this list of states, Negroes constituted 99% of the non-whites. (U.S. Census Release, CB61-32, released April 4, 1961).

Of the ten law enforcement officers in Daytona Beach, Florida, in 1954, three were part-time policewomen.

tion of approximately 130,000. For many cities, after the initial complement was hired, there was little net increase in the succeeding years. The Negro officers were usually recruited as a result of campaigns by local Negro civic organizations and biracial associations. Once they were hired, the organized pressures often subsided out of a sense of fear of hurting the opportunities of the new patrolmen. Without the continuing pressure, a static situation developed.

The above comments are not intended to deprecate the efforts of those who broke down the barriers so that even the token Negro policemen might be employed. Tremendous strides have been made since the end of World War II. *See Table 1.* In 1945, the Southern Regional Council listed 29 agencies employing Negroes, and in 1954 there were 165 agencies. The task for the 1960's should be the generation of sufficient pressure so that the number of Negro law enforcement officers in these cities will be increased to the point of being more equitably related to the size of the Negro populations.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN AS "EXPERIMENTS"

From the very beginning, many southern cities which hired Negro policemen regarded the innovation as an "experiment"—as a venture which demanded cautious and careful preparation and treatment. The fear of possible repercussions caused civic officials to ask local Negro organizations to act as screening boards and recommend only young men of high character and intelligence. Much greater care was given to the selection of Negro policemen than of white policemen, and the result was that in many communities Negro recruits were more educated and intelligent than their white counterparts. (For example, in 1947 the six Negro patrolmen in Greensboro were college men.) Once appointed to the force, the Negroes frequently received more adequate recruit training than the whites, often conducted by the top personnel in the department. (For example, in Tallahassee the chief personally taught the course.)

PART II

INTRODUCTION

WHITE SOUTHERNERS have always expressed fear that Negro police would arrest white people, and it is this concern which has often been presented as a reason for forbidding or restricting the hiring of Negro police. Once employed, most Negro police patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively. *See Table 2* (Appendix). Of the agencies which reported using Negro policemen, over 83% indicated that the Negro officers operated exclusively in segregated districts, and an additional 5% noted that their men were "primarily" patrolling in such neighborhoods. Obviously, these patrolmen come in contact with few white offenders; but when that does happen, what is the departmental policy regarding the usual arrest procedure? Until the present, there has been no information on the subject for the southern region as a whole.

Table 2 presents the replies of southern law enforcement officials (who usually were the chiefs of their departments) to a 1959 questionnaire. These questions were not repeated in the 1961 study. No attempt has been made to verify their comments. In addition to the possibility of intentional distortion, there may also be the possibility that some chiefs misunderstood the question. It was framed in a general way and involved the encounter of a single Negro policeman and a single white offender in the administrator's own city. According to departmental operations, what occurs "if such an occasion arises" while the Negro officer is on patrol?

PATTERNS IN THE ARREST POWERS OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

In only something over one-third of the cities studied may the Negro officer arrest any lawbreaker, regardless of color. Depending on the circumstances, the suspect may then be taken to the police station, or a police vehicle may be summoned. Richmond typifies this approach: "Negro police are police officers. They have the same authority as any other police officer. They arrest white offenders, transport them to the lockup, and testify against them in court." In Tulsa, "If a white person enters the colored district, he is treated the same way as the colored people. Any difference would create a problem of morale with my colored officers." In some

places, the Negro patrolman makes the arrest but is obliged to call white police to escort the offender to headquarters, unless the most extreme circumstances are involved (e.g., St. Petersburg, Fla.; Gastonia, N. C.; Enid, Okla.; Corpus Christi, Tex.). The rationale behind this procedure is to prevent incidents and to avoid criticisms from white citizens. And apart from the race factor, of course, foot officers frequently have the assistance of squad cars in transporting an offender.

However, the most prevalent procedure is to restrict the arrest authority of Negro officers who on occasion deal with white offenders. Such limitations involve many possible patterns. At one extreme may be considered the city of Houston, which employs over 30 Negro officers who do not patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively. This Texas community prefers that Negro police have white lawmen "assist in the arrest" of white offenders. In Houston, "Negro officers can arrest white offenders if circumstances permit. They are to call white officers to assist them and make the arrest. In instances when white officers are unavailable to assist in the arrest, the Negro officer effects the arrest and requests assistance in bringing the prisoner to headquarters."

A second restricting pattern involves a differential procedure based upon the felony-misdemeanor classification. In several cities, white misdemeanants are not arrested by Negro policemen, while white felons are. (E.g., Clearwater, Fla.; Gainesville, Fla.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Marion, S. C.) In Beaumont (Tex.), the reverse practice is found; the Negro officer may arrest a white misdemeanant, but may only "hold" the white felon until a white patrolman arrives and takes over.

In well over one-half of the cities, the Negro officer usually arrests no whites for any crime. He simply "holds" them until the white lawmen come. In one North Carolina city, the chief orders his Negro officers to "detain the white offender in the least offensive manner." Such a situation may of course impair Negro morale. Unable to be listed in the case as the arresting officer, the Negro patrolman becomes "the witness" or sometimes the man who "files the complaint" against the white offender. He may even disappear entirely from the case by the time it gets to court. Depending on the circumspection of the local police chief, he may receive little or no credit for his efforts.

Curiously, some police officials permit their Negro policemen neither to arrest nor to "hold" whites. In this policy of "no contact whatever with whites," the Negro patrolman is obliged to keep the offender under surveillance while summoning the white police (e.g., Sheriff's office of Harris County and Travis County, Tex.; Gulfport, Miss.; Panama City, Fla.). Such a procedure may be dangerous both to the community and the Negro officer. In the first instance, the offender may escape, since he is not being detained. In the second, the Negro officer would at some point have to be sufficiently close to the suspect to determine his skin color as a cue for the choice of appropriate procedure. In such an operation, it would seem that the white offender has far higher status than the colored lawman and certainly far more independence of action. Under such inverted circumstances, it is a wonder that the officer does not decide to forget about the whole thing and find out what is going on at the opposite edge of his beat.

Table 2 indicates that the Negro policeman is not permitted to arrest whites in Mississippi, Georgia (except felons in Thomasville), Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana (except in New Orleans). In the entire region, with the exception of Arkansas, these states are among those with the largest percentages of Negro population (in excess of 28%, according to the 1960 census). These are also the states (except Arkansas) in which Negro lawmen have most recently been employed. Surprisingly enough, South Carolina has several cities whose police chiefs say they permit Negro patrolmen to arrest white offenders. South Carolina is "deep South" of course, and Negroes constituted nearly 35% of its 1960 population; it is also a state which hired nearly all of its Negro police during the 1950's.

All of the communities listed in Kentucky (except Jefferson County Sheriff's office), Virginia (except Nansemond County and Princess Anne County Sheriff's office), and Oklahoma say that they confer the same arrest authority upon their law enforcement officers without regard to color. Both Oklahoma and Kentucky have relatively small Negro populations, and both had employed Negro officers before World War II.

The power of a police officer to arrest is granted by state law and, it has been said, "there is no legal way to confer less authority upon Negro policemen. . . . Once they have taken the oath of office, they have all the duties and responsibilities imposed by law."[8] Legally, Negro patrolmen can arrest any lawbreaker; practically, they cannot and must operate in accordance with their local departmental policies. In most places, the Negro lawmen patrol segregated neighborhoods exclusively, and the white offender is on the Negroes' beat. [There are only a handful of police departments which do not require that Negro police patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively and which at the same time restrict arrest powers (e.g., Jefferson County, Ark., and Pensacola, Fla.].

As long as the Negro policeman lacks the authority to arrest all violators regardless of race, he symbolizes second-class officership and is clearly and dramatically "kept in his place." He is part of southern law enforcement which is modernized enough to hire him, albeit in token numbers, but which is not yet sufficiently respectful of the badge given to him—the badge which should signify to all that its bearer possesses the com-

8 *Changing Patterns in the New South*, op. cit., p. 34.

plete trust and complete power of his community to uphold the law.

PROMOTION AND ADVANCEMENT OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

In the South (as well as in other parts of the country),[9] there are not many Negro law enforcement officers who have reached a rank of sergeant or above. Yet, there *has* been improvement in rank in some communities. For example, until 1955, the highest status attained by Negroes in Miami was patrolman, first class. In 1959, there were four sergeants. There were three cities in October, 1959 which had Negro police lieutenants: Daytona Beach (Fla.),[10] Louisville, and Durham (N. C.). In late 1959, the administrators of the 146 law enforcement agencies were asked to tell if any Negroes held rank; they reported the following: *Florida*—Jacksonville, 4 sergeants; Lakeland, 1 corporal; Miami, 4 sergeants; Orlando, 1 sergeant; West Palm Beach, 1 sergeant; *Kentucky*—Hopkinsville, 2 sergeants; Lexington, 1 sergeant; Louisville, 1 lieutenant and 4 sergeants; *Louisiana*—New Orleans, 2 desk sergeants; *North Carolina*—Asheville, 1 sergeant; Charlotte, 1 sergeant; Durham, 1 lieutenant; High Point, 2 detective sergeants; Kinston, 1 sergeant; *Oklahoma*—Stillwater, 1 sergeant; Tulsa, 3 sergeants; *South Carolina*—Charleston, 2 detective sergeants; Sumter, 1 corporal; *Tennessee*—Knoxville, 2 detective sergeants; *Texas*—Dallas, 2 detective sergeants; Port Arthur, 2 sergeants; *Virginia*—Newport News, 1 detective sergeant; Norfolk, 1 sergeant; Richmond, 1 detective sergeant.

COMMUNITY EVALUATION OF THE USE OF NEGRO POLICEMEN

What have been the results of hiring Negro policemen? White community leaders have been highly gratified. A decade ago, the Mayor of Nashville said, "Any city with a substantial Negro population cannot really afford to be without Negro policemen on its force." The Southern Regional Council conducted a survey in 1953 and found "almost universal satisfaction . . . among police officials."[11] The police chief of Louisville stated, "Negro policemen have been of great value in combating any accusation of discrimination or mistreatment of the colored people by white officers." The police chief of Miami noted in 1951, "In the seven years since the first of our Negro officers was sworn in, crimes of violence in our Negro communities have been reduced by about 50%."[12]

With the passage of time, most of the objections and reservations of white patrolmen have been overcome. James Ball, in his excellent Florida study, has commented upon the white officers' fears of losing social status when Negro officers were hired. In his notes on Bell Glade, a small city in South Florida, he observed:[12]

> The opposition to Negro policemen by about two-thirds of the other policemen in the department was a major problem at first. One difficulty was quickly solved when it became apparent that there would be discord over how white and Negro policemen should address each other. They were told by the chief to address each other as "officer" or by the rank held. The intradepartmental feeling gradually disappeared in a few months as the white officers found that the Negro patrolmen did not try to take social advantage of them. Other reasons for the acceptance of Negro policemen in the department can be attributed to the fact that: white policemen were relieved of the threat of civil rights cases from Negro citizens; Negro patrolmen handled most of the annoying minor cases, such as drunkenness and public indecency, in the Negro section; and, white policemen developed an appreciation for the position of the Negro patrolmen as a result of being subjected to the same difficulties and dangers in performing police duties together.

Negro community leaders feel vindicated and point out that their neighborhoods are now less "rowdy," with fewer assault, profanity, and drunkenness cases. ("Before we got Negro policemen, East Market Street was so dangerous you didn't dare walk down it with your wife. Now the street is unimaginably changed. You don't even hear bad language any more.")

However, Negro Southerners are not unanimous in their attitudes toward Negro patrolmen. One of the most interesting findings in Ball's Florida study was the observation that "lower-class" Negroes prefer white policemen. These poorer, uneducated people, when they need help, frequently ask that a white man be sent; they complain about severe, dictatorial conduct of Negro officers. When arrested by a white man, they often plead guilty; but when a Negro patrolman makes the arrest, they not infrequently plead not guilty. What generates this hostility when members of their own race are in positions of authority? Possibly these "lower-class" people have been conditioned by tradition to accept readily only white authority. Perhaps Negro officers are resented precisely because they are performing their jobs well. They know their neighborhoods thoroughly and are aware of who creates the disorders. They work full time in the Negro community and are less likely to overlook certain types of violations (such as drunkenness), the way white lawmen often do.

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9 "Employment of Negro Policemen in Southern Towns and Cities," *New South*, September, 1948, p. 8. "Negro Police in the South, 1953," *New South*, October-November, 1953, pp. 7-8.

10 The Daytona Beach lieutenant retired in October, 1959.

11 *New South*, November, 1951, p. 7.

12 James A. Ball, III, *A Study of Negro Policemen in Selected Florida Municipalities, 1954*, Master of Science Thesis, Florida State University, pp. 100-101.

Yet there is also a possibility that Negro policemen are actually more severe. If this is the case, it would be ironic, since one of the reasons Negroes were added to the force was to combat the charge that Negro people were being roughly handled by white officers. Dr. William Kephart compared attitudes of white and Negro patrolmen in Philadelphia and made the following notation which may have relevance in the present discussion:[13]

> Although most white patrolmen admit they are more strict with Negro than with white offenders, Negro patrolmen maintain that white patrolmen are *not* unduly strict with colored violators. The logical interpretation is that the Negro policeman, himself, is stricter with Negro than with white offenders, and by his own standards the actions of white policemen against Negro offenders do not appear to be unduly severe.

Professor Kephart found that the Philadelphia Negro law enforcement officers, disturbed by the high arrest rates among Negro people, were filled with moral indignation against those who were damaging the reputation of the race. However, this same reaction of infuriation did not characterize the Negro officers' dealings with the white lawbreaker. Perhaps this manifestation of righteous indignation may also be operating among some southern Negro policemen. Certainly, the charge of undue harshness requires further study, and if such severity exists, it requires correction.

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13 William M. Kephart, *Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement*, Phila., 1957, p. 138.

PART III

SUMMARY

In summary, prior to World War II, Negroes constituted only a small segment of the police force in southern cities, and these officers were confined to duty in Negro areas. The increase in the number of Negro officers in recent years seems associated with the increase in Negro political participation. While four times as many Negroes voted in 1950 as in 1940, during this same period almost eight times as many Negroes were employed as police officers. This increase, however, was not sustained during 1954-1959. The only exception was the employment of Negroes as schoolguards, of whom there were a four-fold increase between 1954-1959.

The ratio of Negroes employed to the Negro population served is at least one measure of the fair and effective utilization of Negroes as police officers. Applying this yardstick to the South, only two of 57 cities remotely approached the desired ratio of one Negro officer to every thousand Negro inhabitants. An analysis of figures for 1959-1961 indicates little change in the status of Negro policemen.

While the increase in the number of Negro officers employed during the last seven years has been slight, there were gains in the number of agencies employing them. Where Negro officers are employed, there is some indication that they are better educated than their white fellow officers, are trained more thoroughly for their jobs, and are recruited with greater caution and selectivity. For the most part, Negro officers are not permitted to arrest white offenders, and a variety of arrest patterns is reported for the cities surveyed. In a third of the cities, arrest of white offenders may be made, sometimes, however, under limiting conditions.

The small number of Negro officers promoted up the ranks is at least a partial reflection of the short period of time that Negroes have been employed in substantial numbers. White community leaders generally express enthusiasm for the work of Negro policemen.

The introduction of Negroes on southern police forces has not come about without a struggle. There have been many obstacles and many petty discriminations. Even today in a few communities, Negroes are not allowed access to the headquarters building; and their presence is sometimes unwelcome when the department sponsors a short in-service training institute designed to improve the skills of the force. But it is a long way from the 1930's, when, as in Louisville, Negro patrolmen were not permitted to wear their uniforms on their way home.

In some southern cities today, they are receiving increasing recognition. But the steps forward have been slow, painfully slow, and Negro police have known disappointment, second-class status, and participation in law enforcement only on a token basis. Their future in the 1960's will depend upon Negro political influence on a local level and the ability of white persons to recognize that the expansion and advancement of Negro police are essential goals in the new South.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

NEGRO POLICE IN THE SOUTH, 1945-1954*

Year	States Employing	Cities Employing	Uniformed Policemen	Plain-clothes Policemen	Police-women
1945	9	29	131 #	..	3
1946	10	42	208 #	..	5
1947	10	41	196	25	7
1948	11	54	248	23	8
1949	12	62	301	33	7
1950	13	77	369	41	17
1951	13	82	381	44	18
1952	13	96 cities 6 counties	471	60	50
1953	13	112 cities 18 counties	545	87	90
1954	13	143 cities 22 counties	618	92	112

* *Changing Patterns in the New South,* Atlanta, 1955, p. 35.

Includes both uniformed and plain-clothes policemen.

These figures are intended to give the reader some knowledge of the growth pattern; they are not complete, since some cities did not respond to the questionnaires, and smaller communities were not included in the study.

TABLE 2

ARREST POWER: SOUTHERN NEGRO POLICE AND WHITE OFFENDER, 1959

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR Call white police who arrest
Dothan, Ala.	yes	call white police who arrest
Mobile, Ala.	yes	call white police who arrest
Fort Smith, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hot Springs, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Jefferson County, Ark.	no	call white deputies who arrest
Little Rock, Ark.	yes	call white police who arrest
Alachua County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Belle Glade, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Broward County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Clearwater, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Cocoa, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Coral Gables, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Dade County, Fla.	no	"no fixed rule"
Dania, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Daytona Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Escambia County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Fort Myers, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Gainesville, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Haines City, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hallandale, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Hialeah, Fla.	no	arrest white offender
Hillsborough County, Fla.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Hollywood, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Jacksonville, Fla.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Key West, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lakeland, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake Worth, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Melbourne, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Miami, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ocala, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Orlando, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ormond Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Panama City, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Pensacola, Fla.	no	call white police who arrest
St. Petersburg, Fla.	yes	arrest white offender
Sanford, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
South Miami, Fla.	yes	"depends on circumstances"
Tallahassee, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Tampa, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Titusville, Fla.	primarily	call white police who arrest
West Palm Beach, Fla.	yes	call white police who arrest
Atlanta, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Augusta, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Dalton, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Macon, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Savannah, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Thomasville, Ga.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Waycross, Ga.	yes	call white police who arrest
Hopkinsville, Ky.	yes	"done both ways"
Jefferson County, Ky.	yes	serves civil papers to Negroes
Lexington, Ky.	no	arrest white offender
Louisville, Ky.	primarily	arrest white offender
Owensboro, Ky.	no	arrest white offender
Caddo Parish, La.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Lafayette, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
Monroe, La.	yes	call white police who arrest

TABLE 2 (Continued)

City	Patrol Negro neighborhoods exclusively	Arrest white offender; OR Call white police who arrest
New Iberia, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
New Orleans, La.	no	arrest white offender
Shreveport, La.	yes	call white police who arrest
Greenville, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Gulfport, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Indianola, Miss.	yes	call white police who arrest
Ahoskie, N. C.	yes	no information
Asheville, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Carrboro, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Chapel Hill, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Charlotte, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Durham, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Fayetteville, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Gastonia, N. C.	no	arrest white offender
Greensboro, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Greenville, N. C.	primarily	"done both ways"
Guilford County, N. C.	yes	serves warrants, processes to Negroes
High Point, N. C.	yes	no information
Kinston, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Morganton, N. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Raleigh, N. C.	primarily	arrest white offender
Reidsville, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Rocky Mount, N. C.	yes	usually call white police who arrest
Salisbury, N. C.	no	no information
Wilson, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Winston-Salem, N. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Enid, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Lawton, Okla.	no	arrest white offender
Oklahoma City, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Shawnee, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Stillwater, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Tulsa County, Okla.	yes	arrest white offender
Beaufort, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Beaufort County, S. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Charleston, S. C.	no	arrest white offender
Columbia, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Conway, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Florence, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Lake City, S. C.	yes	call white police who arrest
Marion, S. C.	yes	arrest white man in felony case
Sumter, S. C.	yes	arrest white offender
Timmonsville, S. C.	yes	no information
Chattanooga, Tenn.	yes	call white police who arrest
Davidson County, Tenn.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Knox County, Tenn.	yes	serve civil papers on Negroes
Knoxville, Tenn.	yes	arrest white offender
Nashville, Tenn.	yes	call white police who arrest
Austin, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Beaumont, Tex.	yes	arrest white misdemeanants
Bexar County, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Corpus Christi, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Dallas, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
El Paso, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Galveston, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Harris County, Tex.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Houston, Tex.	no	call white police "to assist in arrest"
Port Arthur, Tex.	yes	call white police who arrest
Potter County, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
San Antonio, Tex.	no	arrest white offender
Temple, Tex.	yes	call white police who arrest
Travis County, Tex.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Waco, Tex.	yes	no information
Wichita Falls, Tex.	yes	arrest white offender
Hampton, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Nansemond County, Va.	yes	call white deputies who arrest
Newport News, Va.	no	arrest white offender
Norfolk, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Petersburg, Va.	no information	no information
Portsmouth, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Princess Anne County, Va.	yes	serves civil papers to Negroes
Richmond, Va.	yes	arrest white offender
Roanoke, Va.	yes	arrest white offender

* Sixteen respondents were not included in this table, because by 1959 no Negroes were employed any longer or they were working only as schoolguards.

Statement of: Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Before: The Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, March 6, 1962.

I would like at the beginning of my statement to say that I have not had my remarks reviewed by my Executive Committee. Consequently, recommendations which I shall make are my own, and not necessarily those of the Southern Regional Council.

The matter which prompts these public hearings is of concern to many of us in the South. You have confronted an issue which has four basic ingredients. One of these is the enormous expenditure of federal money for the support and strengthening of education. A second is the legitimate interest of the government, not only in how its money is spent, but in the grand aims of education.

The third basic ingredient of the issue is the known fact, of which any further documentation is almost superfluous, that in a great many areas of this country, including nearly all of those in the South, Negroes receive inferior educational treatment and opportunities. This is true in elementary, secondary, and higher education, public and private.

The final ingredient of your -- and our -- issue is this: it is ~~in~~ precisely those states of the country in which, because of low economic status, there is the most need for federal assistance in order to provide good education that racial discrimination is most widely practiced. I refer, of course, to the southern states.

The Southern Regional Council is a non-profit, non-political, biracial, research and education organization. The board of the Council consists of 85 Southerners drawn from both races, the major religious faiths, and the 13 states of the southern region.

I understand that your parent committee has recently expressed its impatience over the lack of firm data as to just how great is the federal outlay for educational purposes. You will excuse me, therefore, if I do not know the exact figures. We all know that the expenditures are huge. I have seen estimates which run over $2 billion a year. Congress has a clear obligation to keep such a vast outlay under constant observation and evaluation. This sub-committee, therefore, is to be commended for studious attention to this issue of high national importance.

This large federal investment will be further and substantially increased when -- perhaps I should say "if" -- Congress passes the federal-aid-to-education program long before it.

The federal outlay takes many forms and serves many aims. I believe that as you consider the issue you will want to keep these various aspects distinct. They present, I believe, separate questions and problems Congress and the Executive should deliberate on as ~~it~~ they decide~~s~~ how best the national interest in non-discriminatory education can be protected. As you consider whether or not federal funds should be withheld ~~as~~ so long as discrimination exists, as you consider whether Congressional or Executive action is needed or appropriate, I believe you will see that there are several types of situations, each of which has different features and problems. I shall, therefore, confine my testimony to an attempt to define some, at least, of the problems.

1. Federal aid to compensate for federally caused burdens.

The prime example, of course, is the impacted areas program under P.L. 815 and P.L. 874. Under these acts, the government pays, according to statutory formulae, school districts whose enrollment is increased as a result of federal installations. In a sense, the government contributes to school support as would any taxpayer, though in fact, I am sure, the government has been a very generous taxpayer indeed.

I think the case for withholding of funds, by executive action, from segregated schools is weakest under this impacted area program, because the Congressional intent seems pretty clear the other way. Congress, of course, has power to condition the aid. Whether Congress would want to do so is another matter. The question is whether the government, possessed of the power of eminent domain, can rightfully locate installations in a state, add to the school burdens of that state, often at the same time remove property from the tax digest, and then set the terms under which its compensation will be given. At the best, this action would affect only some school districts. It strikes me as an erratic, back-door method of doing what Congress has not done directly; i.e., by broad legislation help implement the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court in 1954.

On the other hand, certain facts should be noted. The impacted areas program is presently the only direct federal aid to public schools for construction and operation. Moreover, I think you will find that a disproportionate share of the total P.L. 815 and P.L. 874 outlay has gone to the southern states; i.e., has gone to the support of segregated schools. I believe, therefore, that Congress should realize clearly that its only present program of direct aid to schools does greatly strengthen segregated systems; when it is also remembered that Congress has not yet done anything to help speed the integration of American schools, the real and the symbolic effects of the impacted areas program become even more sharply imprinted. Under point 4 of my presentation I shall, therefore, speak to this question further.

2. Non-educational, across the board, programs of federal subsidy.

The best example of what I have in mind is the school lunch program. Here, as I understand it, the end served is children's health, and federal assistance is extended on the basis of a statutory formula which takes account of both population and income.

I think that in this and any similar program the national interest is protected if there is adequate federal supervision to assure that benefits are fairly distributed among the children. This does

not appear to be the case. I do not have later figures, but data for 1952-57 show in seven southern states* that only about half as many Negro children in Average Daily Attendance benefited, as did white children.

3. Federal aid for special training.

A good example is the vocational education program under the Smith-Hughes and later acts. Money is allocated to the states on application and on a dollar-for-dollar matching basis, according to statutory formulae largely based on population factors. Applicable Regulations require that there be no racial discrimination.

The purpose of the program is to help equip young people with skills which are needed by the country. Especially in view of our imminent shortage of technically trained persons there would seem to be no excuse for Executive laxity in enforcing the non-discrimination requirement. Nor would there seem to be any excuse for the Executive to, at this date, interpret that requirement to many anything other than non-segregated training.

There is complete segregation in the vocational schools of at least seven southern states and perhaps others. More than this. There is flagrant violation

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*Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina.

of even the separate but equal principle. Arkansas, for example, has a state vocational trade school for whites, none for Negroes. Georgia has two state vocational schools for whites, none for Negroes. Moreover, within such state or local vocational schools as do exist for Negroes, training is consistently confined to jobs considered appropriate for Negroes. For example, in Chattanooga, we recently reported as follows:

> Vocational training at all-white Kirkman High School encompasses a range of courses. Here the white student may learn automotive mechanics, auto motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, drafting, electricity, industrial chemistry, industrial electricity, industrial instrumentation, machine drafting, basic and advanced machine shop procedures, printing, radio and television repair, refrigeration, air conditioning, sheet metal, welding, practical nursing, photography, pre-flight aeronautics, and assorted business subjects, including office machine operations, commercial arithmetic, and salesmanship. Of these courses, only automotive mechanics, automotive motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, practical nursing, and basic business courses are taught in the city's two Negro high schools. In addition, all-Negro Howard High offers tailoring, shoe repair, carpentry, commercial baking, and bricklaying, courses that are not available to white students.

In Houston we reported that:

> The only vocational high school in the city--San Jacinto High, an all-white institute--offers full, three-year courses in air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automotive mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, printing, radio, television, and welding. None of these courses is taught in the five Negro high schools.

Federal funds go to both Chattanooga's and Houston's vocational programs.

In order to receive federal aid, the states must submit satisfactory plans to the U. S. Office of Education. It is inconceivable that the Office of Education should continue to concur in plans which assume that only certain jobs are available to Negroes.

Let me add that I see no difference in principle between the Executive's responsibility in regard to vocational training and its responsibility in regard to such programs as the language and counseling institutes of the Office of Education or the institutes of the National Science Foundation. In each case, the aim is special training to serve a national interest. The schools are selected by the Executive. They should be schools which will permit the attendance of any person who has the requisite qualifications. It was a scandal that in at least four southern states, none of the counseling institutes offered in fiscal year 1960 were open to Negro teachers. We can all be glad that Secretary Ribicoff has said that this will not again be permitted.

4. Proposed federal-aid-to education for general purposes.

I suppose there is little one can add, after all the debate of recent years, to the question of whether federal aid, if and when passed, should be

denied to segregated schools. Last year the Administration offered a bill which did not restrict aid and no attempt was made to attach the so-called Powell amendment. The bill, nevertheless, failed.

What seems to me important to note is that neither the question of federal aid nor the question of restrictions has ever had a fair test. The federal aid proposal becomes entangled with the segregation or religious issues. The principle of no aid to segregated institutions, because it has been urged mainly in relation to one area only - schools -, has never had a fair test because it has been opposed - and even sometimes tactically favored - by opponents of federal support for education.

Sometime, I think, Congress should give thought to separating these issues, by considering and voting on, without reference to any single program, a resolution to deny the use of any federal money for the support of any racially discriminatory institution or program, of any kind. I think, in short, that the issue is broad, and should not be confined to the one field of education. I think the strategy of limiting the issue to that one field has not worked. It is in this context that I would like for you to receive my earlier remarks on the impacted areas program.

5. Federal loans to colleges.

An example is the college housing program. Here the Housing and Home Finance Agency receives applications from schools, whose eligibility is defined by the statute, and makes loans at very favorable terms.

Although individual applications are reviewed on their merits, it is notable here again that the southern states receive a disproportionate share of the federal assistance. Up to 1959 approximately $1 out of every $4 of loans went to institutions in the eleven southern states. I do not have later figures.

The Commission on Civil Rights, in its special report on Public Higher Education, reviewed the question of the power of the Executive to withhold loans from segregated schools. Without commenting on the question, I do urge that Congress carefully study the law and the conditions it establishes for loan eligibility. I think one cannot too often urge that if Congress will not do anything positively to end educational segregation, it has thereby a double obligation not to strengthen or encourage segregation.

6. Federal aid for research.

The Southern Regional Council, in a study issued last year, said in reference to federal funds for

higher education:

> Where the funds are given or loaned to any institution that applies and is eligible under the statute, it has been argued that the executive department should not, in the absence of legislation, make the award conditional upon a policy of non-discrimination. But with the huge funds distributed for research, the government has all discretion, and channels the money only to schools which it prefers. We think there can be no argument that it is incongruous to favor any institution which denies admission to Negro students.

Gentlemen, I could - and so could others - fill pages with figures and detail. I shall not do so, because the issue seems to me so clear. I am frankly puzzled that an Administration which has announced such high intentions in the civil rights field, and has in so many ways demonstrated its sincere interest, is insensitive to this matter. The Executive has full discretion under the various research programs to choose its beneficiaries. An estimated $750,000,000 was spent on university-centered research by the federal government in 1960. It is literally inconceivable that the same Administration which requires every government contractor, and his sub-contractors, to practice non-discrimination in employment spends money of this magnitude without thought for the racial practices of its recipients.

7. <u>Federal aid under laws which explicitly permit segregation</u>.

The best example here is the Morrill Act, which,

in its terms, authorizes grants to segregated institutions. I can only suggest that an issue so unmistakably created by Congress is a matter which, I am sure, is of special concern to you.

8. Federal assistance to individuals for education.

Such assistance, conferred on the individual but paid to the school he enters, is provided under the National Defense Education Act, which contains a proviso against federal control of the administration and personnel of any institution. I do not presume to offer you a legal interpretation of this clause. The Commissioner of Education would seem to be required to do business with almost any accredited institution.

I would question whether this ought to be the case. I would recommend to you that you study both the legal question implicit in the present law, and the question of whether that law should be altered to restrict National Defense Fellows to non-discriminatory colleges. I am sure that I do not need to remind you that the Commission on Civil Rights found, in seven southern states, only one Negro and three desegregated public institutions which had Fellows in attendance, as against 10 white institutions. For these seven states, 65% of the fellowship funds going into public institutions ~~when~~ WENT to all-white schools.

These are, then, eight areas in which the problems differ somewhat. It seemed to me that they each require your consideration.

In conclusion, I think the whole problem of federal aid and its relation to segregation is high-lighted by the evidence set forth by the Commission on Civil Rights when it found that for the years 1950-1958, federal aid to public higher education had in six southern states been distributed as follows:

Federal Aid Per Student
Public Higher Education

	White	Negro
Alabama	$118.49	$11.77
Florida	85.34	21.66
Georgia	205.61	18.35
Louisiana	88.83	10.10
Mississippi	208.85	29.35
South Carolina	157.67	35.78

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE: ALL PAPERS
THURSDAY,
MARCH 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: 522-8764

The Voter Education Project, a new program to study the causes of low voter registration in the South, and to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the southern electorate, was announced here today by the Southern Regional Council.

The Project, with headquarters in Atlanta, is headed by Wiley A. Branton, formerly of Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Mr. Branton has been in private law practice and has also been active in civil rights cases for a number of years.

The special interest of the Project, according to Mr. Branton, will be "to study the most effective methods of bringing more Southerners into voter participation. Over a two-year period we shall observe and analyze the voter registration programs of other agencies in order to collect our data. When necessary, we shall grant funds to other agencies to make possible programs which we believe will advance the study."

Mr. Branton pointed out that discussions had already been held with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. "Each of these agencies," he said, "is now planning greatly enlarged registration programs in the South. These organizations have pledged their cooperation with our Project."

The Project will also work cooperatively with other responsible groups carrying on voter registration programs.

"The largest group of non-voters in the South," said Branton, "are Negroes, especially in the Deep South. There will be no true democracy in the South until they become active citizens. But voting participation of all Southerners is low, and needs to be encouraged. The Project will support, within the limits of its ability, any voter registration programs which accord with our research interest."

The Southern Regional Council reported also that the aims of the Voter Education Project have been endorsed by the Chairmen of the Democratic and Republican National Committees, as well as by a number of private organizations interested in a more democratic franchise. These endorsers include the American Friends Service Committee, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of the Churches of Christ, and the Negro American Labor Council.

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of white and Negro Southerners formed in 1944 to advance "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

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THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: MIAMI

May, 1962

THE NEGRO AND
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES
IN THE SOUTH: MIAMI*
May, 1962

Greater Miami, Florida, which plays host to millions of tourists each year, has also had a substantial population explosion during the past ten years. According to census figures for Dade County, in which Miami is located, the population has grown from 495,084 to 917,851 in 1960. Along with the growth in population has come a considerable increase in new industries.

However, tourism, which ranked first in 1950, is still Dade County's number one industry. Miami, because of its location, has attracted a large number of Latin American migrants. The largest of this group are Cubans which number some 88,000 persons. Florida, one of two southern states, Texas being the other, has had a substantial increase in non-white population. This increase is due in part to the in-migration of Negroes during the past decade, as compared to a marked decrease in out-migration of the state's non-white population. Dade County's Negro population has grown from 65,392 in 1950 to 130,993 in 1960. Florida has now become one of the fastest growing industrial centers in the country, and about three hundred of these new industries located in Dade County during 1961. The current picture reveals a diversity of industries with food products, fabrics, printing, furniture, and metal products accounting for more than half of the plants in the area. These industries require both skilled and semiskilled labor. A growing number of other industries requiring technical and special skills have located in the area. Transportation service and suppliers services are also important supporting industries for Florida's number one industry, tourism.

To the people of Miami, however, this is not a prosperous city. Average weekly earnings for July, 1961, are low ($76.80 in Miami compared with $111.67 in Houston, $83.79 in Atlanta, and $82.11 in Nashville). And although some solid industrial thrusts have been made in the area, Miami is still in the throes of a recession. Its unemployment rate (5.1) falls above the national average of 4.5. Recent in-migrations have only served to intensify the employment crisis in the city.

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*The data collected here represents the diligent efforts of Mrs. Ruth Perlmutter and the Florida Council on Human Relations. Additional copies of this report may be secured from the Florida Council on Human Relations, 4241 S.W. 109th Ct., Miami 55, Florida

A look at Greater Miami's labor force reveals the following characteristics. A large percentage of Miami's labor force migrated to the area in recent years from various parts of the country. Many of its professional, managerial, clerical, sales, and skilled workers migrated from northern communities. Marginal workers, both Negro and white, have come from rural backgrounds in southeastern states to fill the unskilled labor needs of the area. There is also a residue of agricultural migratory workers in the area who did not follow the sun with their crews. In addition, over eighty thousand Latin Americans, in the main Cubans and Puerto Ricans, form part of the labor force. In the labor force, three out of four Negroes are working as unskilled laborers and about fifteen percent of these workers are employed at levels below their skills and training. Since this group is at the bottom of the job ladder they are in competition with the two other groups of marginal workers, i.e., the Puerto Ricans and unskilled whites.

At one time Negroes comprised the largest number of hotel employees, but in recent years have been replaced by other marginal workers, Puerto Ricans and whites. Two reasons are offered for the reduction of Negroes in hotel employment. According to the Hotel Employees Union they will not press for employment of Negroes in retalitation, it is alleged, for the failure of Negroes to support the union in its efforts to organize the industry. Another reason given is that "the employment situation in this town is so bad that many whites are now taking menial jobs who never did so before."

WHERE DO THEY TURN FOR JOBS?

A review of job placement practices of twenty employment agencies reveals the following. Four of the agencies do not accept or place Negro applicants. The remainder state that they accept Negro applicants, the majority of whom are placed in unskilled and domestic work. There are few placements outside of the unskilled occupational categories. Negroes fare somewhat better in the public employment agencies than in private agencies. Even here, however, discrimination occurs. The Florida State Employment Service, the public agency, has a special Negro section. It is common practice when an employer telephones the agency to ask if he wants a Negro or white worker. If no preference is stated, a white applicant is furnished. There seems to be a consensus among people in the employment agencies that non-discrimination clauses required of holders of government contracts by presidential executive order will increase employment opportunities for Negroes.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING: KEY TO A DREAM - OR DISILLUSIONMENT?

Prior to the fall of 1961 Negro opportunities for vocational training in public schools were limited to courses in dry cleaning, radio mechanics, building trades, beauty culture, cooking, and tailoring. Training offered Negro youth is tailored to the job opportunities for Negroes in the Negro community. Lindsey Hopkins Vocational School (white) offers many more technical subjects and training for trades than are available in the Northwestern High School, the school for Negroes. Among private vocational schools are training opportunities for Negroes in business, electronics, and barbering.

Dade County offers Diversified Cooperative Training for students of both races. This is a program in which students attend school part time and work part time. This program operates in cooperation with employers who provide job and training opportunities for students under joint school and employer supervision. Under this plan Negro youths receive on-the-job training as grocery stock clerks, cooks, and orderlies; the girls are trained as stenographers, cashiers, file clerks, student nurses, and stock girls.

With a few notable exceptions Miami industries have no in-service training programs for Negro employees to qualify them for higher level jobs or better pay. Airlines do have such training in all phases of their operations, and in areas where Negroes are employed they benefit from the over-all program. One aircraft maintenance contracting firm allows Negroes to participate in any phase of its in-plant training and upgrades to supervisory jobs Negroes who participate in the training.

In Dade County there are over fifteen hundred persons in apprenticeship training programs. There are no Negroes among this number. In fact, not only do the unions bar Negroes from their apprentice training programs, but none of them provides instructors for Negro vocational schools, a common practice with the white schools.

What about the third of Miami's Negro high school graduates who go on to college? As of 1961, at least 12 Negroes are taking courses on the junior college level. These students are enrolled in such courses as sales, real estate, and insurance.

Northwestern Junior College, the Negro division of the Dade County Junior College, offers a basic two-year curriculum in the arts and sciences and in business administration, and also gives a technical degree in police science, accounting, and engineering.

The University of Miami, officially desegregated in the fall of 1961, at present has 47 Negro students.

THE NEGRO'S "PLACE" IN THE MIAMI LABOR MARKET

Although Negroes in most industries are officially assigned to menial tasks, frequently their particular skills and educational backgrounds are put to other and more responsible uses. One highly skilled welder, for example, reports that his job title is "laborer," that he draws a laborer's pay, and that he trains white welders, some of whom move on to higher salaried posts while his status remains the same.

A young Negro woman, hired as a maid by a jewelry store, does all of the store's bookkeeping and earns a bookkeeper's salary. This is her full-time job now, but the manager still requires her to wear a maid's uniform, so that his customers will not know that she actually works in a white collar capacity.

Such deception might seem absurd; yet the manager of one major department store relates that he has tried to place Negroes in higher status jobs, but has been "forced" by white employees and other merchants to abandon the policy. He states that the store employs some Negroes in jobs below their competence.

Among the Negroes who had skills was a Negro who had worked for years in a northern city as a building maintenance supervisor and electrician. He reports that he has twice answered advertisements by the Dade County School Board for such a position and has instead been offered custodial work.

One of the major airlines has in its employ a Negro Skycap with a degree in journalism and many years of experience in free lance writing.

The situation at two aircraft maintenance firms appears more favorable, at least in regard to the availability of trained Negro aircraft mechanics. One of these companies hires Negroes both as mechanics and inspectors, and furthermore, employs two Negroes in supervisory positions over white employees.

The other firm also employs Negroes in all maintenance capacities. It presently has no Negro supervisors, but according to its personnel department this is due to lack of an opening rather than to a discriminatory upgrading policy. Neither of the companies feels that there is any noticeable friction between whites and Negroes on equal job levels.

One large furniture store hires Negroes in its shipping, webbing, and maintenance departments, as vendor, machine, and drill press operators, and as buffers. However, no Negro supervisors are employed in any of these areas.

City and county governments make no racial distinction in applicants, but color enters into the assignments made. Dade County employs Negro secretaries, social workers, lifeguards, nurses, jailors, probation officers, and recreation supervisors, all of whom, however, work in Negro areas.

The city of Miami currently employs 77 Negro policemen, and a spokesman says that the police department has openings for more. However, Negro policemen work only in Negro areas of the city, but are allowed to arrest whites. Formerly all Negro police officers were classified as patrolmen (a patrolman being assigned to a patrol in a specific area - Negro) and all whites as policemen, but today all are classified as policemen.

Training for the police force is entirely integrated. According to police officials, no friction exists between white and Negro officers.

Despite the unquestioned success the police department has had in employing Negroes, the Miami fire department remains all white.

Although the postmaster of the Miami Post Office refused to grant an interview, interviews with a number of Negro postal employees reveals no great dissatisfaction. One mail carrier observes that there is only one Negro foreman in the entire post office. None of the Negroes interviewed reported any resentment from white employees, and the majority feel that the postmaster is a fair and able administrator.

Employment for Negroes with college training is limited primarily to the teaching profession. Recently college graduates with training in agriculture, psychology, sociology, engineering, library science, and physical education, after a futile search for employment found it necessary to leave the community for northern urban areas which offered possibilities for employment. This situation of very limited opportunities for Negroes with college training means that many of Dade County's young Negroes are lost to the community.

GROUNDWORK FOR DISCRIMINATION - WITH A UNION LABEL

There seems little doubt that a generally negative attitude exists on the part of Miami labor unions. The Miami locals

are a key factor in the perpetuation of discriminatory hiring policies in Miami industries. Even companies which work under federal contract are sometimes faced with the awkward dilemma of discriminating against Negroes or antagonizing the union.

This state of affairs has many ramifications. Miami is an open shop town. Under this arrangement employees are not obligated to join a union; but neither is the union bound to accept all employees applying for membership. In Miami most unions choose not to accept Negro employees. Thus, through the ingenious use of the open shop, a very subtle policy of discrimination results. To cite one example: An engineering company with 300 employees, 25% of whom are Negroes, operates under federal government contracts. There is no segregation in the plant and, in theory, no racial bar to supervisory jobs. Yet only one Negro is employed as a supervisor; the rest are classified as laborers. This situation, Negroes feel, is a result of the open shop policy; the union, which bars Negro membership, insists on the assignment of the better jobs to union members.

Almost without exception trade unions in Miami adhere to strict segregation. No Negroes at all are admitted to electricians and plumbers locals, although there are some competent, skilled Negroes in these trades. In fact there exists the situation where Negro plumbers and electricians contract for and get jobs doing electrical and plumbing work, with the city or county permit for the job being issued in the name of a white mechanic and the actual work being done by the Negro tradesmen.

Segregated unions include carpenters, plasterers, hod carriers, roofers, kettlemen and helpers, transport workers, sleeping car porters, and dining car railroad operators, city sanitation workers, moving picture projectionists, laundry workers, bartenders, teamsters, and state, county, and municipal employees. The longshoremen's union is all Negro, but it has no racial bars.

Integrated unions are few. Reported in this category are musicians, guild artists, hotel employees, Hebrew butchers, and garment workers. Even in some of these there is evidence of discrimination. The hotel employees union, for example, does not refer Negroes to jobs unless Negroes are specified by employers. In the three integrated carpenter's locals most Negroes are listed as helpers.

Negro workmen say an unwritten law in the construction and building trades forces Negro craftsmen to work only on jobs in Negro residential neighborhoods; yet white

workers have free access to construction in Negro sections. Typical experiences were recalled: Negro carpenters on construction work in white apartments were allegedly forced to quit after intimidation by white carpenters. Two other Negroes tell of answering an advertisement in the Miami Herald; they furnished their qualifications in a telephone conversation, and were asked to report at once for an interview. When they reached their destination thirty minutes later, the contractor, after taking one look at them, told them all of the jobs had been filled. His advertisements, however, ran in the paper for another week.

The treatment of Negro electricians reveals perhaps the most ignoble aspect of the Miami labor story. Because the city government imposed severe qualifying restrictions upon Negroes seeking electrical contracting permits, few were ever licensed. As a result, the custom arose whereby a white contractor applied for and secured a license which he in turn gave to a Negro electrician to use. This feudal arrangement, called "mastering," cost the Negro five percent of the amount he earned for the job, plus the license fee. In theory, the white contractor supervised the job, but usually he did not even appear on the scene. Negro electricians did not raise strong objections to the arrangement, for it at least allowed them to work at their trade. Negro plumbers and Negro electricians, of course, do not work on jobs in white neighborhoods.

In 1957, with the advent of the "Metro" system of city-county government, the practice of "mastering" was abolished. Thereafter, only contractors who could pass a difficult written examination were allowed to work in Dade County.

It is noteworthy, perhaps, that a few Negroes see the situation as more an economic than a racial struggle. They feel that white union members, with large established businesses of their own, "boss" the licensing board, thus preventing both "small white contractors" and Negroes from obtaining the coveted unrestricted licenses.

PROFESSIONAL PRIDE AND POPULAR PREJUDICES

One of the most frequently expressed rationalizations of southern moderates is that Negroes must "earn" their right to equal opportunity and that once they have done so racial discrimination will cease. Those who advance this line of thought base their observations on the premise that it is only the illiterate and poorly educated

Negroes who suffer discrimination. One need only examine the status of Negro professional men and women in Miami to see that this argument is palpably false.

It is true that Negro doctors have full staff privileges at three of the city's hospitals. However, there are no Negro residencies or internships at any of them. The Dade County Medical Association grants Negro doctors "associate" memberships which, although admitting their names to official rosters, does not include voting privileges.

Negro dentists are excluded entirely from membership in the local dental association. The largest number of Negro college graduates are teachers. Negro teachers have advanced to supervisory positions in the Dade County school system; but in no case are faculties integrated, and Negro supervisors do not work with white teachers. There are two professional teachers' groups, the Classroom Teachers Association (all white) and the Dade County Teachers Association (all Negro). Despite efforts by the Negro group and many sincere white teachers to integrate the two organizations, their attempts so far have not been successful. However, various units within both organizations have held integrated meetings in recent years to discuss mutual problems. Since 1953 the salaries of teachers of both races have been equalized.

Presently, there are no practicing Negro accountants in the city; until the integration of the University of Miami in the fall of 1961 there were no advanced accounting courses offered Negroes in the Miami area. To take a Certified Public Accountant examination a candidate must have had four years of college with a major in accounting and either one year's experience in an accounting firm or a master's degree in accounting. Here Negroes are at a distinct disadvantage. Since no white accountant will hire them, and thus enable them to gain the mandatory experience, they must earn a master's degree before they may apply to take the examination. Despite such discouragements, a Negro faculty member at Florida A. & M. recently gained her graduate degree, took the examination, and passed with the highest grade ever made in the state of Florida.

Negro attorneys are admitted without discrimination to the Florida State Bar, but they are not accepted for membership in the Dade County Bar Association. Indeed, the organization goes to great pains to maintain its all white status. When the names of those who have passed the bar examination are released a check is made

on all to see if they are white or Negro. This is done in order that no Negro will be mailed the customary message of congratulation and invitation to join the association. To make doubly sure that Negroes are kept out, the group requires that every applicant be endorsed by two current members and the board of directors. Many Negro attorneys feel that this lack of recognition from their white colleagues is a blow to their prestige in the Negro community and has seriously hampered their law practice.

Registered nurses are employed at four major hospitals. Here an inconsistent pattern is found. At one, Negro nurses are strictly limited to working in Negro wards; they are barred from maternity wards and surgery; and none may be promoted above the category of "charge nurse." Cafeterias and rest rooms are also segregated.

Another hospital hires nurses solely on the basis of qualification and"does not keep separate figures for Negroes." Negro nurses work in both white and Negro wards with no noticeable friction with white nurses or patients. No Negroes act in a supervisory capacity, however.

Two other hospitals report that they practice no discriminatory working conditions.

Negro social workers employed by the county are promoted to supervisory positions, but only over other Negro personnel. Two such workers said that for the most part their work is with the Negro community, but that occasionally they have worked with white families. Both said that their office relationships with white employees are excellent, and neither reported any discriminatory treatment from their supervisors.

In view of the attitude expressed by many observers that the electronics and missiles fields offer a potential opportunity for qualified Negroes, the experience of a young electronics technician merits attention here.

> The young man has more than four years of training and experience in radio and is presently completing the final requirements for a B.S. degree in Commercial Industries. In August, 1961, he answered an advertisement in the Miami Herald for the position of Data Processing Engineer with the local office of a large national business machine firm. The advertisement stated that applicants would be considered without regard to race, creed, or color. (The company has a federal contract, and this state-

ment is required by federal order in any newspaper advertisement of available jobs.) The young man arranged an interview and scored a perfect grade on a preliminary examination. He was then given a series of three, more advanced tests in the areas of electronics, abstract reasoning, and mechanical ability; his grades on these tests were "A," "B," and "B," respectively. Before he took the tests the interviewer told him that the results were not of prime importance. His grade on the electronics portion of the test was the highest the interviewer had personally every encountered. However, the interviewer informed him that the two "B's" should have been "A's." His considered opinion was that the young man would not be happy in his job, for customer relations were "most important," the implication being, of course, that white customers would resent dealing with him because he was a Negro. The point was emphasized several times. The young man took the hint and did not re-apply. He presently works part time as an electrical contractor while continuing his studies in electronics at the University of Miami.

NEW HOPES ON THE HORIZON

A Negro nurse found employment in a white physician's office. The young lady said she had held the job for 6½ years, starting at a weekly salary of $45,00 and was now making $70.00. Among other duties she assists the doctor, a chiropodist, in minor foot surgery. She does not feel that the patients resent her.

The case of a Negro architect is even more encouraging. He is employed in a white-owned architect-engineer firm. He was hired solely on the basis of personality, educational background, and professional recommendations. He has achieved supervisory level over white employees, without incurring their resentment. As a thoroughly competent architect he has earned the respect of his associates and the unwavering support of his employers. He has also been instrumental in helping Negro students find summer employment as junior architects.

There are other instances of Negroes holding "unusual" jobs in Miami. For instance:

- A former assistant district attorney is now vice chairman of the Miami Housing Authority.

- A Negro judge presides over the misdemeanor court in a Negro precinct.
- At an embroidery plant a Negro is a supervisor over white employees.
- A jewelry store employs a Negro woman as secretary. She regards her salary as "good."
- A white urologist has a Negro laboratory assistant.
- Nine Negro probation officers are employed by Dade County.
- Two Negro pilots, unable to work for United States airlines, fly for a South American carrier.
- The Internal Revenue Service employs a Negro agent in its Miami office.
- Western Electric hires clerical, electrical, and warehouse personnel in services other than maintenance.
- R.C.A. employs a Negro process operator.
- Pratt and Whitney employs three Negroes in positions of chemist, engineer, and mathematician.

But these, it must be emphasized, are exceptional cases and constitute only a small fraction of the total Negro work force in Miami. This overwhelming majority of Negroes are employed as garbage collectors, cooks, kitchen helpers, porters, maids, bellboys, elevator operators, household domestics, dry cleaning pressers, and helpers in the construction trades.

Many millions of dollars are to be spent in Florida by the federal government at Cape Canaveral. Translated in terms of jobs this means that openings with pay scales ranging from $4,000 to $12,000 are available to those who can qualify as engineers, electricians, technicians, draftsmen, and lead plastic technicians. Miami's Negro population represents an untapped resource to help meet this demand.

SUMMARY

Dade County's Negro population, which is a part of the work force, presents the same basic employment pattern which

exists in the country at large. The majority (71%) are to be found in unskilled or semiskilled occupations. There has been no substantial change in the employment pattern in the past decade. In fact, there is little mobility in the group out of the unskilled categories.

There are, however, isolated cases of Negroes in other than the so-called traditional occupations. There are some indications that there is an acceptance of Negroes in other than the traditional jobs. This change in attitude about employment of Negroes in part is the result of a rapidly growing community, both in industry and population, with a fluid labor market.

On the negative side is the fact that training opportunities are limited for Negroes.

However, with a more clearly defined public policy toward equal employment opportunity the future for this group seems somewhat brighter.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
November 20, 1962

The following is from an address by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to the American Bar Association, August 6, 1962.

"The very complexity of modern life makes it easy for individual liberties to be disregarded. More and more the American people must rely on the law for the protection of these liberties.

"It is here that you and I have such a heavy responsibility. For it rests on us to be certain that the legal protections so necessary for the individual do not become merely fine declarations in the lawbooks but that they actually have some real and genuine meaning for human beings to whom they have been granted. This task requires the care and attention of the whole legal profession.

"At the Department of Justice, we are just part of this effort and as such have our limitations.

"I am proud, too, of those Federal judges who have seen and done their duty under difficult circumstances. A judge's popularity or unpopularity is of no proper concern to him in the performance of his judicial duties. Yet to do that duty -- to give an honest reading of the constitution and of the law of the land -- may and often does require great courage.

"I might add that this is also the sworn obligation of every lawyer. If the bar has done much to assist in the orderly realization of constitutional rights, I would be less than candid if I did not tell you that I believe more can and should be done."

From the New York Times, August 10, 1962.

"The delegates /to the American Bar Association meeting/ also took steps looking toward better legal representation of impoverished and unpopular defendants. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy had urged such action by the bar in a speech here Monday.

"A special committee was created to take a new look at the whole problem of criminal defendants who cannot afford to hire lawyers. The needs of both state and Federal courts will be studied.

"The delegates heard without dissent a report urging action by organized bar groups to assure adequate counsel for unpopular defendants - especially Negroes in the South. The report was made by the Association's Committee on the Bill of Rights.

"The committee noted reports of great difficulty in obtaining local counsel for Negroes arrested in the South on charges growing out of sit-in and similar protest movements.

"It said the bar had 'a group responsibility' to provide counsel in the unpopular case."

From a statement by Sylvester C. Smith, Jr., President of the American Bar Association, October 4, 1962.

"... whenever law and order is not preserved it points up the public responsibility of the bar.

"On the broad issues the American Bar Association and its House of Delegates have consistently upheld the principle that ours is a government of law and not of men. We have maintained that lawyers as officers of the court and ministers of justice have a duty to sustain and defend the courts. We have a duty to teach and urge all citizens to respect and comply with the judgments of the courts. Some may disagree with their decisions but we are proud that the United States Supreme Court is the guardian of our liberties and the final interpreter of the Constitution. Once that court has spoken there is no appeal except by amendment of the Constitution.

".... In my opinion it is an obligation of the individual lawyer and bar association to teach and urge respect for our courts and to insist that it is the duty of law abiding citizens everywhere to comply with the final judgment of the court."

From the Washington Post, October 25, 1962.

"Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenback yesterday criticized the American legal profession for its failure to help win public acceptance of court decisions on school desegregation and other civil rights issues.

"Katzenback, who directed the on-the-scene Federal operations during the University of Mississippi integration riots, contended that 'the silence of the State's lawyers' was a contributing factor to the violence.

"'At a time when the State's governmental leaders were contending that integration of the University would never come, almost no voice in Mississippi was raised to even question how a lawful Federal Court order could be avoided,' he said.

"The Mississippi situation, he told a meeting of the Junior Section of the District Bar Association, capped 'almost a decade of silence by the legal profession in the aftermath of the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation.'

"'When the Court ruled that desegregation should proceed "with all due speed" it put an extremely difficult administrative task in judicial channels for perhaps the first time in our history,' he said, adding"

"'Lawyers, as officers of the Court, had a duty to help win acceptance in their communities for the idea that a lawful court decision must be respected whether the individual agrees with it or not.'

"Katzenbach conceded that some lawyers had lent support to this idea, thereby easing the difficult task of desegre-

gation in many areas of the South.

"'But,' he continued, 'by and large the story in the North and the South has been one of lawyers either remaining silent or seeking to find a way out of a decision that they didn't like.'

"This, he contended, 'has forced the courts and the Justice Department to spend a lot of time that might have been used more profitably in closing a lot of loopholes that weren't really there in the first place.'

"Katzenbach cited the actions of John Satterfield, a Mississippi attorney and former president of the American Bar Association, as 'the type of thing that had saddened' him in this respect.

"Satterfield has criticized Supreme Court decisions as destroying the Federal system of government. He also assisted in the legal defence of Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett after a Federal Court had found the Governor in contempt of its orders.

"'This situation continues to go on in Mississippi, in Alabama and elsewhere,' Katzenbach warned. 'And it will continue to go on until lawyers stop looking at controversial issues only in terms of the immediate effect on them as lawyers.'"

From the New York Times, October 17, 1962.

"Judge Irving R. Kaufman of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit assailed the leaders of the Mississippi bar today for not protesting loudly the events that preceded the integration of the University of Mississippi.

"Judge Kaufman, in an address prepared for the State Bar Association of Connecticut on 'The Role of the Lawyer,' stressed that the advocate who defends an individual whose ethical or social beliefs may be personally distasteful to him 'is serving a cause well beyond the merely personal.'

"'It is the cause of equal justice for all and of fidelity to law,' Judge Kaufman said.

"'What was at stake (in Mississippi) more than anything else ... was the supremacy of Federal law and of Federal Court orders in an area of human conduct where respect for law is of the highest importance,' the judge said.

"He said it was incumbent upon members of the Mississippi bar, though they personally disagreed with the rulings, to call for compliance with the Federal courts' integration orders."

From the New York Times, October 12, 1962.

"A group of lawyers said yesterday that the libel laws of Alabama were being used as a device to stifle truthful reporting and open discussion of conditions in the South.

"They said this was an abuse of the judicial process and a threat to freedom of expression that was 'fraught with danger for all Americans.'

"The lawyers, members of the Lawyers' Committee on the Alabama Libel Suits, expressed their concern in a letter condemning suits against the New York Times, four Negro ministers and the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"The letter, accompanied by a 2,500-word summary of several of the suits, was sent to heads of state and local bar associations across the country. It also went to deans of law schools.

"'If libel actions brought under no recognized theory of law can yield astronomical verdicts from angry or biased juries,' the letter said, 'it is at once apparent that extremists everywhere, on civil rights or other issues, will have a powerful new weapon to suppress the throughts they cannot tolerate.

"'No person will remain immune from legal and economic attack if he utters beliefs contrary to those held by his fellow citizens, any one of whom has the time, disposition and resources to initiate retaliatory legal action. No newspaper will be free to print the truth, where the facts about social justice would inflame, without risk of bankruptch.'

"Amory H. Bradford, vice president of the Times, said in a statement:

"'The New York Times is gratified that a group of distinguished lawyers is interesting itself in the problems crystalized in the Alabama libel suits. The Times believes that the summary of the situation as set forth in the statements just issued covers fairly the development of this litigation, but prefers not to comment further on the subject because these cases are still in the hands of various courts.'"

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM

NO. 2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

September 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FOREWORD

A while ago James McBride Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council, wrote out some thoughts regarding the Centennial of the Civil War, now being observed throughout the country under the auspices of the national and state governments. He shared these with a few of his colleagues. Mr. Dabbs' letter, full of concern that the Civil War is still today an intellectual and psychological problem for Southerners, and the thoughtful responses which it elicited from his fellow members of the Council, make up this publication.

The Centennial may or may not have been a wise venture for a nation again in the throes of a great struggle over human rights. It may or may not have been soundly planned and conceived. We nevertheless have it with us. Having it, there is need, we think, for some voices from the South to speak calmly, and with awareness that it must not longer be a stumbling block to national unity.

The Civil War is and has been a deep emotional problem peculiarly for white Southerners. For this reason, all but one of the contributions to this pamphlet are by white men. The concluding piece, by a distinguished Negro Southerner, is in a sense a response, written with charity and a clear vision of the national purpose, from one of the peoples of the South to the other.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES MCBRIDE DABBS,

President since 1957 of the Southern Regional Council, is author of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE and THE ROAD HOME. He lives and farms near Mayesville, South Carolina, where his family has resided since 1750.

FRANK P. GRAHAM

was President of the University of North Carolina from 1939-49, U. S. Senator from 1949-51, and is now on the staff of the United Nations. To thousands of former students and friends, he is the gallant "Dr. Frank."

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is a Pulitzer prize-winning playwright ("Abraham's Bosom"), a novelist, teacher. and author of pageants that celebrate, among other things, the history of his native North Carolina.

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is President of Morehouse College in Atlanta, a long time interpreter of Negro life and southern problems, and a worker for their betterment.

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is a poet, free-lance magazine writer, and co-author with his wife, Wilma Dykeman, of NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE and of SEEDS OF SOUTHERN CHANGE. His home is Newport, Tennessee.

MARION A. WRIGHT

is a prominent South Carolina attorney, now living in retirement in the North Carolina mountains. Celebrated as a speaker for civil rights and liberties, he is a former President of the Alumni Association and Law Alumni Association of the University of South Carolina.

From JAMES McBRIDE DABBS

We are now observing the Centennial of the Civil War. We are not celebrating that war; we are commemorating it, bringing it soberly to memory. We do this to honor the men who suffered that experience; but we honor them not merely by recalling the bright image of their heroism but also by understanding them and, even more, by understanding what their fight means to us who are their descendants and who possess the land they loved.

I am therefore taking this occasion to write to you, my friends, to raise several questions about the meaning of the Civil War to the South today. I think the nation should raise parallel questions, for it was also the nation's war; but we of the South were the more deeply involved, and I as a southern American am raising these questions for the South. I hope they will stimulate your thinking and suggest a pattern for your responses.

Any past event has both recognized and possible meanings. As our understanding of such an event changes, its impact upon us changes. As for the participants in our Civil War, the meaning of that conflict has long been fixed. We honor them by trying to understand what it was. Any change in our understanding of an event as close to us emotionally as the Civil War changes the impact of that event upon us.

Let me first comment upon the recognized and acclaimed meaning of the Civil War in the South.

To judge from the commemorative centennial events that have already occurred, it is apparent that the Civil War is remembered in the South primarily as an heroic or epic action. To suggest it by an image, it is horsemen charging across a sundown sky and vanishing in the darkness—splendid horsemen, heroic and shining figures, but the light they reflect is an evening light, and they go down with the cause they defended. These figures are touched with Homeric splendor, but we are too close to them, still too involved with them, to observe them with Homeric detachment. The surging emotions of those days are not recollected in complete tranquillity, the men who suffered them not poetic personages but human actors in our own history.

Because we see them primarily in this simple, epic light, as heroic defenders of a noble cause and a sacred soil, because their fading bugles still echo in our hearts like Roland's horn at Roncevaux, we are likely to return to the present with a renewed determination to defend, even as they seem to have defended it, without question and without reserve, our way of life.

In brief, this highly emotional meaning says only, "Defend, defend!" But the question arises: Is simple defense always intelligent? Is this what it means to be a Southerner in the modern world? Remembering that that earlier defense failed, we must question whether simple devotion is enough, whether the ardent memory of an heroic past is all that we need for a distinguished future.

I raise the question too as to what place this kind of meaning allows to the Negro Southerner. I think it is fair to say it practically excludes him. I think it is fair to say also that a reading of our history—and the Civil War is the core of it—that cannot find a place for the Negro Southerner sets before the South the impossible task of getting along with a people, by definition foreign, whom it cannot get rid of.

Is it possible for the Civil War to mean other, more positive things? Is it possible that it was not the simple epic struggle we have tended to remember, but more complex, more—let us say—tragic? Is it possible that such a meaning, apprehended by us, might fit us to play successfully our part in the world today? This would be defending the South by understanding it, a necessity for any sound defense.

But why do we seek a new meaning? Partly, because we are forced to. Why are we being forced to? Because increasingly the old meaning does not work. When a man finds that his interpretation of life—that is, of his experience, his past—does not work, he seeks a new interpretation, molding the theory to the facts. Our old theory of a static, caste society becomes increasingly ineffective in the dynamic, democratic West. It is this driving modern world, with its democratic-communistic struggle and its array of new nations, that forces us to search our past for the strength we need today.

Let us admit that the South may have begun the Civil War with an epic sense of splendor and innocence. It is al-

most certain that with the passage of the war years she became increasingly doubtful of her position in the world and before God, and increasingly aware, therefore, of the tragic fate that had befallen her: good men, caught in the trap of custom and interest and regional pride, not wise enough to find a peaceful way out, and therefore involved in a death struggle of brother against brother. This is the tragic, as distinguished from the epic view. It is possible that the post-war leaders of the South remembered for a little while this tragic view of their past life, with all its superficial unity cracking under the strain of war; if they did, they forgot it in the fires of Reconstruction, and came out of that experience with the Civil War remembered as a foreign doom thrust across the happy pathway of the South. This is the view we have tended to hold since; we have already noticed its growing ineffectiveness.

But suppose, as we have suggested, it was really a tragic struggle, raising, as tragic struggles always do, the question of justice? The tragic hero goes down in defeat. Why? Where was he in error? Simple epic splendor has no place here. Splendor remains; courage remains—perhaps, indeed, a more anguished courage, of men with divided hearts giving their lives in action, but not the simple courage of the hilltop horsemen at sundown.

If this is what the war was, then we, who would honor its participants, must first try to understand their destinies; and then, since out of these tragic destinies they bequeathed to us so many unsolved problems, we must try to recognize our own tragic uncertainty and involvement. The war seen as an epic struggle against un-southern forces touches us only with nostalgia for the lost cause; seen as a tragic struggle against both the world and ourselves, it involves us in that continuing struggle.

I suggest that we were struggling then both against the determination of the Western World to move toward democracy and industrialization and against our own unrecognized desire to go with it. We couldn't admit this desire because we didn't know what to do with the Negro in our midst.

This is still our problem. As I have suggested, the view of the Civil War as epic simply excludes the Negro. Oh,

perhaps he has some place as a sort of retainer or liege man of those ancient heroes; but such an image only confuses us in the world into which we are now hurrying. But if the Civil War was a tragic event, expressing both man's nobility and his littleness, his great courage and his foolishness, then the Negro is involved as the central, though not always evident, object of southern concern. Since this view of our past fits our present, it can be translated into a present meaning. Underlying everything else, it is the presence of the Negro that challenges us.

Challenges us all, whites and Negroes together. For we are together in the South. The tragic view of our history—and of its core, the Civil War—shows how close together. Each race has suffered because of the other's presence, but each has found some wisdom. The basic wisdom we have acquired is the wisdom of those whose lives have been entwined in suffering and defeat. I don't think it makes much difference what causes the suffering, who causes the defeat. We have been together in it; and we have learned, at our best, a certain tolerance, a certain gentleness, a certain understanding. Unhappily, we have emphasized so much our separateness that we are largely unaware of this; and our memory of the Civil War as just an epic struggle, excluding as it does the Negro from the picture, tends to keep us unaware. If, on the contrary, we could see it for the tragic event it was, with all of us, North and South, whites and Negroes, common builders of a nation we were blindly tearing apart, we should be better able to see ourselves today as basically one, engaged in the endless quarrels of kinsmen, who have to quarrel because at heart they are so close together.

The future we strive for is the future we glimpse by the light of the past. The flame of the Civil War still flickers along the horizon. What does it mean? What light does it cast upon our future? I invite your comments.

From PAUL GREEN

Is it possible for the Civil War to mean other, more positive things? Is it possible that it was not the

simple, epic struggle we have tended to remember, but more complex, more—let us say—tragic?

—James M. Dabbs

It was a sweet warm morning in May. Uncle Reuben, the old Negro cradler, and I were out in the field harvesting my father's oats. He was eighty and I was twelve. Round and round we went, his cradle dipping with a whup-swish, whup-swish, and he laying the handfuls of cut oats behind him and my following with all my manful might tying these handfuls into larger bundles later to be hauled to my father's barn there across the dew-wet fields.

I was feeling good that morning and Uncle Reuben felt extra spry. I could tell from the way he swung his cradle. And the reason we both felt good was because my Uncle Heck was coming up from Wilmington where he was the postmaster to pay us one of his rare visits. I had waked at the rooster-crow that morning with a little sweet feeling inside my breast remembering the letter that had come from him the day before saying that he would be up to visit us. And when I told Uncle Reuben that Uncle Heck was coming he beat his old hat twice against his leg and said, "Hot dog. I'd rather slap these two eyes on that man than anybody that walks this wide earth."

"And he'll bring you a plug of that good Apple tobacco, won't he?"

"That he will, bless his sweet heart," said Uncle Reuben. "He allus does."

Uncle Heck was a wonder to me—my hero. He had been in the great Civil War, had actually fought at Gettysburg and lived to tell the tale—except that it was hard to get him to tell it. Once though he had unloosed and talked with me about it. We were sitting by the fire one winter night and I had worn him down, I guess, with my pleading. For he had relented enough to get started by saying there was a lot of killing that went on those three days at Gettysburg. I already knew this from my little Confederate history. And the worst thing about it for him, he continued slowly, even worse than the wounded men lying out in the hot sun and calling for water and the young boys stretched all about shouting down and

calling for their mothers while they died—worse than that, he said, was the whickering and the wild neighing of the horses that were jerking and lunging about with broken legs and their stomachs all tore to pieces and their insides dragging in the dirt.

Uncle Heck loved horses and he always kept a nice limber-legged one for his buggy.

"And you were lying out there wounded too, wasn't you, Uncle Heck? Yes sir," I declared.

"Yes, I was lying out there," he said.

"You were tough, tough," I prompted jubilantly, "they couldn't kill you."

"Yeh, tough is the word, and I got over it somehow. I was brought home in a wagon on a bed of wheatstraw. And I stunk so bad from my wounds that your grandmammy wouldn't let 'em bring me in the house. Dr. John had to work on me in the barn till the rotted parts of my flesh got cleaned up and healed some." He stopped and looked up at the clock on the mantelpiece. "Time for you to go to bed, boy."

"And you got wounded in six places, didn't you, Uncle Heck, in that charge across the wide field? Six bullets hit you, didn't they? Papa said they did."

He chuckled. "I got peppered all right with them minny-balls. But I lived. Don't you reckon I lived? Yes sir, tough you said." And he laughed and smoothed back his handsome cleancut gray moustache. Uncle Heck always wore nice clothes, kept himself trim and neat, carried a cane and in the summertime he always had a flower in his buttonhole, a cape jessamine bloom if he could get one. My hero!

I laughed a bit too and hurried on. "Did you ever see General Lee, Uncle Heck, did you?"

"Many a time, boy, many a time. And a sorrowful, bothered man he was too."

"What was he bothered about, Uncle Heck? Oh, I know—losing all so many of his boys in gray, that's what."

"Maybe that too. But I reckon what bothered him most was trying to make heads and tails of the whole thing he was tangled up in. Oh yes, that bothered him considerable." He

looked up at the clock again. "I've told you it's bedtime. Go on, boy."

But I was quick with my big question. "How many Yankees did you kill, Uncle Heck? I bet a lot. How many?"

"Maybe I killed some, maybe I didn't. I did a lot of shooting. I've prayed on my knees though many a time that I didn't kill a single solitary man. And if I had I begged God to forgive me for it." Then he called through the house to my mother, "Betty, come get this young'un and put him to bed. He's pestering me to death about that old Civil War and I don't allow that."

And pulling a cheroot from his vest pocket, he bit off the end with his fine gold-filled front teeth, bent over, stuck a splinter into the fireplace of coals and leaning back brought its frying flame up and lighted his smoke with great manly puffings. I watched him with the saliva working in my mouth. The rattling of the dishes in the kitchen where my mother was washing them after supper suddenly stopped, and she came in and in spite of my pleadings sent me sternly off to bed.

Some of these things flitted through my mind that sweet May morning as I followed Uncle Reuben in the oat field. Whup-swish, whup-swish went his blade. The sun mounted the sky and the sweat poured down. After a while he slung the cradle over his shoulder and said it was time to get some water to drink. And we went over to the apple tree at the edge of the field where our water jug was shaded in a bunch of pawpaw bushes. We sat down and fanned ourselves, and I took a long drink from the jug first because I was white and Uncle Reuben drank second because he was black, and that was the way of things with no questions asked. As he tilted the jug back I watched the water go gluk-gluk in wads down his stringy, wrinkled old throat—a throat as black and scaly as the hide of that alligator I had seen in the circus once at Dunn. And then I noticed another thing. The sleeve of his ragged homemade shirt slipped back and there were two round scarry spots showing on his forearm.

He set the jug down, reached back in the shade, fanned himself a bit more and pulled out a piece of his petrified rock and began sharpening the cradle blade. And once more

his old sleeve slipped back up his forearm from his lifted hand and there were those spots again. I happened to notice them, idly at first. And then I stared at them. He saw I was looking at his arm. He pushed the cradle from him and slid the whetstone back into his pocket. He pulled his sleeve down and sat scrubbing his stubby old white beard with the hard palm of his hand which was the yellow color of a mulberry root. And then he pulled out a piece of homemade tobacco twist and gnawed off a bite with his hard gums and stuck the twist out to me. I shook my head though I was dying to try it, and my saliva was working again. He sat there munching contentedly for a moment then squirted a bit of slightly stained yellow juice out to one side. He began chuckling.

"You notice things, don't you?" he said.

"I dunno, Uncle Reuben," I answered uncertainly.

"Yeh, you do. You got sharp eyes. I noticed that 'bout a lots of things. And now you done crossed the line of 'countability, ain't you?"

" 'Countability? I don't know."

You know what 'countability is—the teachers and the preachers tell about. That's the time when a young'un gets up where he can think for hisself, like grown folks, gets responsible for his actions."

"Yes," I said.

"So I reckon I mought as well tell you about them spots you been looking at, now that you got up so far in the world. I noticed you kept looking at 'em."

"Yeh, I bet you've had bad carbuncles like that peddler had."

He chuckled once more. "No, not carbuncles," he said.

"I had a bad carbuncle back on my thigh," I said, "and it left a round scar, just the same."

"Carbuncles don't make marks like that," he said. "I know."

"What was it, Uncle Reuben? What caused it?"

"Sump'n a lot worse'n carbuncles."

"What? What was that?"

"Hot lead, boy," he said abruptly, "bullet lead."

"Bullets?"

"That's what I said. That's where I was shot 'way back in them days."

"You shot? Good gracious! When?"

"Back in the Ku Klux times."

I had heard about the Ku Klux, and I'd also heard that Uncle Reuben as a young man had been mixed up in some kind of trouble, some kind of killing. But I had never heard the story. Nobody would talk about it. My father wouldn't. And now maybe I was going to hear all about it. I squirmed up a bit closer.

"Did the Ku Klux shoot you?" I asked eagerly.

"Yeah, one of them Ku Klux did."

"Who was it, Uncle Reuben?"

"Now ain't that a come-off! You know good and well I ain't going to tell you 'bout no particular person. It was just the Ku Klux shot me. I'll show you sump'n else." And creaking to his feet he undid his homemade britches, pulled up his shirt and showed me another spot on his side. And then he turned around and shamelessly dropped his trousers farther down disclosing another mark low on his stern. "Yes suh, son," he went on, "that's where them bullets hit me." He stuck his shirt in and buttoned his britches again. "They sho' poured the lead into me that time."

I sat there staring at him horrified—yet thrilled too. I was all in a shivering tumult to hear more.

"How did it happen? How did it, Uncle Reuben?" I said. "They didn't have any right to treat you like that. Lord a'mercy, you oughta got a gun and killed somebody!"

He stared at me. "I did kill somebody, son," he said. I blinked at him. He went on. "When I heard them Ku Kluxers outside my door I told 'em not to come in 'cause I was right inside there and Ihad my axe handy. 'Don't come in here,' I said, 'I'll kill the first man breaks in my door!' But that didn't stop 'em. They whoomed and lunged against the door and they broke it down. And the first man that tumbled in was Mr. Ed Gaskins and what did I do with my axe but I split him clean down to the belly-button. Lord, Lord, I split him down.' "

And now I remembered that I had heard something about a Mr. Gaskins that had got killed long, long ago in the Ku

Klux trouble. Speechless I gazed at Uncle Reuben. And he was no longer just Uncle Reuben but a man with something suddenly mysterious and strange about him. He had killed somebody. He seemed farther away than before.

He chuckled again and dug into the ground with one of his long-nailed bony fingers. "Course I been sorry for that a long, long time. I been sorry. But I been done forgive for it by the old Master up there," and he gestured toward the sky. And then a medley of little whickering chuckles broke from him and he spat a spurt of brown juice now off to one side. "But tough, I was tough! They couldn't kill this nigger, no sir! And there I was lying on that floor that night and that Ku Klux man standing over me with the smoking pistol in his hand and the other dead body lying there all split open, bleeding on the floor. Well, I could see that man against the door light and I could smell the powder in the room too, even smell the fresh blood. I still had my good senses about me. And you know what that Ku Klux with the pistol said while he was standing over me?"

"No, I don't," I said breathlessly.

"I heard him say, 'I reckon that's done for you, you damn black scoundrel. But I'll make sho' of it.' And he bent over in the dark and he fired that last bullet smack at me. He'd already shot me five times. And that made six. But maybe in the dark his hand was too trembly, so he just grazed the side of my skelp here." And Uncle Reuben lifted his old black hat back, pushed up a bit of his kinky white hair and there sure enough just along the side above his ear was a slick hairless mark.

"Lord," I breathed, "Lord!"

"Yeh, they shot me down like a dog," he went on, "maybe I was deserving of it some. I was a young buck then and I had just got my freedom. Maybe I was shooting off my mouth round and about a little too much. And that's how come they come waiting on me in the dead of night, them Ku Kluxers."

"It must have scared you 'bout to death. How did they look, Uncle Reuben, how?"

"Lord, boy, they had bedsheets over their heads and they had horns sticking up through that headgear and they had great booger goggle-eyes. Oh, my goodness! Makes me shiver

thinking of it now. Long time ago is was since it happened, but still makes me shiver. I tell you one thing though, it made the niggers, the sassy niggers keep in their place."

"Did you know who it was shot you, Uncle Reuben? Who?"

"Sure I knowed him. He pulled off his old sheet headgear and he looked down at me lying on the floor that night and I would've knowed his voice anyhow, 'cause him and me had worked in the fields together many a time, in fact—ah—yeah, many a time."

"Who was it?"

"Now behave yourself. You know I ain't gonna tell you that."

"Please. Do I know him?"

"Hush, boy."

"After that what happened? What happened?"

"Well, they carried that dead man off there, away from my house, and I crawled out through the door and across the fields and got into a ditch. And I lay in that ditch all that night and the next day and that's where Nedgelena, the gal I later married, found me. And she and her mammy in the deep dead of night pulled and toted me to their cabin and they hid me in the hayloft and treated me with poultices and with tallow and turpentine salve till I got well."

"And then what, Uncle Reuben?"

"Well, I laid mighty low, hid out, as I say, and I'm here to tell you. And by the time I got well the feeling had sort of blowed over. People had learnt better. But I moved off to Sampson County anyhow and farmed there for a few years, then come back here on your daddy's land and I been here ever since. Yes sir, people were riled up back in them days and all on account of us niggers."

"No, no, it was more mixed up, was deeper than that, Uncle Reuben," I said, remembering my history. "The two parts of the country had just grown apart, different sorts of civilization. They thought differently about things. And the North kept imposing on the South, taking her trade away from her, passing laws in Congress against her."

"Maybe so, son—Lord help my life, what do I see yonder!" And he sprang to his feet quick as a young man. I turned my

head and then I jumped up too, for there coming across the field all dressed out in his white linen suit and Panama hat and swinging his gold-headed cane in the summer sun was Uncle Heck. Both Uncle Reuben and I had been so intent on the Ku Klux story that we hadn't heard the sound of the buggy or the trotting horse coming up the lane at all. Uncle Reuben now quickly spat out his tobacco juice, cleared his throat, spat again, wiped his face, pushed his kinky gray hair up and finished buttoning his trousers—primping himself.

"How you there, Reuben?" Uncle Heck called, stepping along toward us. And already Uncle Reuben was bowing up and down, his hat in his hand while he answered back.

"Bless the Lord, there you is, Mr. Heck—a sight for sore eyes. Yes, sir, glory be to the Lord on high!" And he scrambled out to meet Uncle Heck. And I stood there, a little twelve-year-old sweat-sodden fool, watching those two older fools. For as they met there in the middle of the lone oat field—Uncle Heck with his fine summer clothes and his gray cleancut military moustache and gold-rimmed eyeglasses and Panama hat, a gentleman great and airy, and Uncle Reuben smelly and dust-begrimed and a Negro at that—Uncle Heck threw his arms around him and hugged him and Uncle Reuben hugged him back. Without hardly knowing what I did I picked up the water jug and went nearer to them.

"Well, you old black scoundrel, you ain't aged a day since last year," said Uncle Heck.

"And you, Mr. Heck, you look like sump'n stepped out of the bandbox of heaven, always a spick and span gentleman." And Uncle Reuben peered at him. "One thing I miss though," he said. "That purty flower you allus wears in your buttonhole."

"Well, I've stopped that, Reuben, stopped it," Uncle Heck laughed. "The gay girls have quit smiling at me since I'm so old, so I said to myself, 'What use is there in buying a flower any more?' You keeping well, Reuben?"

"Yes suh, yes suh."

And then Uncle Heck looked out at me and gestured with his fabulous cane. "Which one is that?"

"That's the one named Paul, suh."

"Hi, Paul son, how you doing, boy? My goodness, you've grown!"

"All right, Uncle Heck," I stammered, my head swimming with joy. Lord, I loved that man!

"It's hard to keep up with 'em all," he said to Uncle Reuben. "Brother Bill has so many. How many has he got now?"

"Mercy me, I don't know, Mr. Heck, a whole passel."

"How many are you now, son?" Uncle Heck called.

"There are seven of us now, Uncle Heck," I stammered.

"Well, well. And here I have got only one and she married off at that. Is he smart, Reuben?"

"Yes, he do the best he kin," Uncle Reuben chuckled. "But stories—that's what he likes best—stories. He's all the time after me about things—about darky songs, whether I done seen a hant or not, old folks tales."

"Uhm, Paul you say. Yes, I remember him now well enough. Always pestering me to tell him about the war."

"Yessuh, that's him," said Uncle Reuben.

"Well, if he wants to hear a real tale, you ought to tell him about the Ku Klux times, Reuben."

"Yes sir, I told him something about that, seeings how manhood is about to come on him and he done crossed the line of 'countability."

Uncle Heck turned to me. "So Reuben told you about the Ku Klux?"

"Yes sir," I said.

"Did he tell you about poor Ed Gaskins?"

"Yes sir," I gulped, "the one that got killed with the axe."

"And what else?" And Uncle Heck was staring sharply yet smilingly at me now.

"That's all, Mr. Heck," said Uncle Reuben. "That's all."

"And a Ku Klux shot Uncle Reuben down in the floor," I added.

"That's right, that's right," said Uncle Heck." And did Reuben tell you who the Ku Kluxer was?"

"Now Mr. Heck, you know I know better'n that."

"No sir, he didn't."

"Tell him, Reuben," and he laughed. "He and his line

of accountability! That would be a story to last him for awhile."

But Uncle Reuben shook his head. "Lord, no sir," he said.

And then Uncle Heck pushed the end of his cane at Reuben and laughed again. "You know what today is, Reuben?" he said.

"No, sir."

"It's an anniversary. It's the sixth day of May." Then he looked over at me. "Forty-two years ago it was, son, when he was shot. Walking along down town yesterday I thought of it. And in honor of that occasion, Reuben, I brought you a whole box full of Apple tobacco, there in the buggy." And he gestured off toward the house.

"The Lord bless you, the Lord bless you from his heavenly bosom," said Uncle Reuben. And he grabbed Uncle Heck's hand and held it and kissed it. And Uncle Heck laughed again and called out to me, as he winked his eye all merry like.

"Look here, son," he said. "Look, see Reuben kissing my hand. Well, this is the very hand that shot him down one night forty-two years ago."

I dropped the water jug with a bump.

And now the bell in the yard of our little house across the field began to ring for lunch, and Uncle Reuben and Uncle Heck turned and moved on across the field, and forgetting the waterjug I followed after. And as I went the word "six" came foolishly to my mind—"six." Uncle Heck had been shot with six bullets on the field at Gettysburg. And six times he had shot Uncle Reuben. And they both lived. Six for six. Tough, yes, both of them tough.

And yonder they were walking in the summer weather ahead of me. And Uncle Heck's arm was around Uncle Reuben's shoulders, and they both were laughing and talking over the old days, cronies, bosom buddies.

And Uncle Heck was saying as they walked and as I followed behind—I could hear him plain as day even as I hear him plainly now after fifty years—and he was saying that the Civil War times were crazy times and people had lost their senses, and as for the war itself it was a great big piece of foolishness.

"Plumb damn foolishness the whole thing, Reuben!" he said.

"Yessuh, Mr. Heck, yessuh, you got it ezzactly right!" Uncle Reuben said.

From MARION A. WRIGHT

Your thoughtful letter presents a convenient occasion for reconsidering the significance of "The War" and re-examining southern policy since Appomatox. Certainly a century is not too short a time for mental stock taking.

Secession took the South, not merely out of the Union, but out of the stream of national thought. While physically we have reentered the Union, in the area of thought we have remained somewhat apart. We have clung with almost pathetic desperation to those things we regard as peculiarly southern.

We want to enjoy, and do enjoy, all the benefits of organic identity with the rest of the nation. At the same time, we seek to enjoy all of what we mistakenly believed would have been the benefits of secession. It seems obvious that such ambivalence will not much longer be tolerated by other members of the Union of which we form a part.

For example, we never hear of a northern, or an eastern, or a western, "way of life," as a status which citizens of those sections are determined at all hazards to preserve. We hear constantly of a southern "way of life" to the preservation of which we are told we should pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The most distressing feature of this almost pathological attachment to a regime is that it takes the form of suspicion of, or hostility to, the national government. Southern white children are having planted in their minds the belief that the government of the United States is something alien, foreign, oppressive; that it is constantly seeking ways of injuring the South; that it is incessantly "ramming something down our throats."

What is meant by "our way of life" is never clearly spelled out. But one would be quite naive if he did not perceive that the phrase connotes freedom to deal according to

white views with our Negro citizens; freedom to employ law and custom to assign them to an inferior status. In this claim of special privilege the South is set apart from the rest of the nation; it is unique.

The Negro is not merely a citizen of a southern state. He is also a citizen of the United States. The entire nation, therefore, is properly concerned with the treatment he is accorded. In this shrunken world there can be no "outside meddling in our affairs," because there is no longer an outside. Interior and exterior are occluded and indistinguishable.

The struggle over desegregation is the War all over again. The South lost the War because it had inferior resources and was on the wrong side of a moral issue. In the context of the times, its position is the same today. The massive strength of world opinion makes relatively puny all the forces that Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana are able to muster. In the entire globe their only ally is the Union of South Africa.

Man's search, in William James' phrase, is for a "moral equivalent of war." There seems to be an inborn martial spirit, an instinct for struggle. Without the excitement of combat, life is stale and flat. The problem is to sublimate the impulse; to turn its energy into useful activity; to have as its end results not fire and blood but works of beauty and beneficence.

In the 1860's, the period of what Mr. Churchill calls "the last war fought by gentlemen," the South demonstrated the possession of the martial instinct in superlative degree. The blood of gallant sires still courses through southern veins.

We need to find substitutes for Sharpsburg, Antietam, Bull Run, and Gettysburg. They exist in every forum and upon every occasion in which full justice for all citizens is an issue. There the southern citizen may display the gallantry and courage which conferred nobility upon his ancestors.

The reward is not the capture of a trench or reduction of a fortified point—not cracked skulls and broken bodies and a field littered with corpses. The reward is life—life lived more abundantly and with more beauty and grace than the South has heretofore known.

From JAMES STOKELY

You pose some searching questions, friend and neighbor, and they are each resolved into one huge impertinence: what relevance does a celebration or commemoration of the Civil War—the Centennial as we know it today—have on the current crisis in southern race relations and our continuing struggle with international Communism?

Yes, the flame of the old incivility, between North and South, still flickers along the sundown horizon but the flame of a world civil war, between East and West, is beginning to inch its flickering tongue farther along the sunrise of the razor's edge where earth and sky meet. Perhaps one way to help keep the first martial flame from merging into the precincts of the second is for the human beings involved in the struggle of the 1960's to understand just what the human beings of the 1860's were fighting about, and what they accomplished. Search for such understanding might, indeed, be the key to our observance of these Centennial years.

For anyone who has been born and bred in the South, and lived here a major portion of his life, it is obvious that the War a hundred years ago—or the memory of it handed down by ancestral osmosis—has remained a central experience in the lives of many of the people. For the Negro, it is a memorable experience because, for the first time in human history, a war had been fought that he, a black enslaved "property," might be free to become a man. Until the war and the sectional controversy which was its forerunner, nobody had particularly noted his presence, except as his sweat had mingled with rain and sun to produce the magical cotton bloom; he had had no identity other than faceless laborer of the eroded fields or smiling houseboy of the magnolia terrace. But after the Emancipation Proclamation, after Appomatox, he was somebody, he was an individual in the annals of American recognition, he had his foot on the first rung of a ladder labeled Citizen.

For the southern white, the War is an inescapable and blood-soaked sponge in the memory because, for the first and only time in American history, he had known defeat on the battlefield, and denial of his most basic racial principles.

No longer, with any degree of certitude or abiding pleasure, could he imagine himself Stonewall Jackson or Jeb Stuart haunting the Shenandoah at sunset, or Nathan Bedford Forrest disappearing and emerging through the early morning mists of Cumberland coves. After Grant had accepted Lee's surrender that April day, the white Southerner stood naked to the wind; he was no longer absolute master of all he surveyed, including human beings; he had his foot on the first rung of a ladder labeled Justice.

It would be a mockery to the true meaning of the War if, instead of emphasizing the bringing together of black and white, and North and South, into a common humanity, a stronger, more unified nation, the focus should be turned upon the prettified plantation legend of gallant lords and ladies and happy, singing slaves, of dashing cavalry and the rout at Bull Run or Shiloh, of Pickett's glorious yet ill-fated charge, of Sherman's scorched earth march. Rather, our sober reflections should center upon the meaning and disaster of any attempt to divide and break up the United States of America. We must consider the guilt, North and South, that pervaded the ancient practice of traffic in slaves, and we must search out today the roots and shape of the treason, political as well as moral, that would deny full democracy to any segment of our nation's citizenry.

We must no longer seek to defend, before the bar of world justice, the "southern way of life," but amend it, liberalize it, revitalize it, enrich it with democratic—Judeo-Christian, if you will—thoughts and deeds. Thoughtless devotion to a lost cause is not heroism; it is suicide.

The Negro Southerner cannot be ignored, or excluded, in world deliberations today anymore than the South African Bantu can be. Each is here to stay, and must be reckoned with, and must be integrated into the human family of the twentieth century, with its color TV and its far-ranging space ships.

Our primary act in appraising the South—dissecting our own misconceptions as well as others'—is simply to understand it; and to understand it is to reject much of it, and to cherish much of it. We must reject the static and embrace the dynamic; reject the ignorance and cruelty which have penal-

ized too many of our people; embrace the hard unselfish wisdom which recognizes all men as either the children of a divine creator or fellow pilgrims adrift on a turning star, in limitless space.

We must no longer be at war with ourselves here in the South but move on from a common heritage, often heroic, often wasteful, to creation and conservation of a future in which every man may walk as tall as his nature and abilities permit. Thomas Wolfe expressed the essence of this democratic hope in *You Can't Go Home Again:* "So, then, to every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this, seeker, is the promise of America."

We cannot escape back to a rural Eden-that-never-was. We must face up to the crucial fact that America in the 1960's is a new nation, that she as well as the world is neither black nor brown nor red nor yellow nor white, but only blood and bone and spirit, of human flesh touched by a spark of the divine, speaking with many tongues and faiths. We must know that we are the fruit of many conflicts—none more embedded in our conscience than the Brothers' War of 1861-65—and that we must move on to new frontiers, fresh adjustments, unsung liberations.

What this republic needs, and demands, is a sobering reenactment, in each individual mind and heart, of the tragedy of war itself, in any language, in any blood of the common race. We need to commemorate the tragic past as a living challenge for an ominous and swiftly-changing present, in order that we might better shape a just and enduring future. We need to recognize that this perennial blood-letting and flesh-burning, on the battlefield of the human spirit, this irrepressible outcropping of cannibalistic zeal, on this shrinking planet in this expanding universe, is an intolerable anachronism and a stench in the nostrils of sane and dedicated men.

What those of us who live in the South must do is to make clear and absolute our contempt for a system of *apartheid*: that we believe every human being, of whatever color

or creed, should have equal opportunity to pursue life, liberty, happiness, and spiritual survival upon this planet. What we must celebrate is not the terrible act of Cain in mortal combat with his brother; rather, it is for us the living to so dedicate ourselves today, each on his own battlefield, in the crucible of his own community, in his own individual psyche and personal chaos set against the backdrop of the larger social outrage, that these Americans, North and South, united at last, shall not have labored in vain, shall, in fact, have yielded up their bubbling blood to form a lifeline to later generations—and to the Russians and the Chinese, and to the emerging nations in Africa and throughout the smouldering globe.

How shall we, in 1962, A.D., delineate our guilt, discharge our debt? What is our compulsion? To abolish – by proxy – poverty, ignorance, disease, oppression, the seeds of war and suffering? To pay some sophisticated diplomat or cornpone mercenary to preach the gospel of love and human dignity around the world? Or to do more – to give ourselves, in our own frail witness, in our own inadequate art, in our own microcosmic backyard, in our own Tombigbee Congo, which is the South, the burning promise, the living seedtime, of America? We live alone by dying. Beyond the darkness of unexplored time and space, sloughing off the mole-eyes of Jim Crow and clinging to the spirit of the far-ranging eagle, we emerge into the light.

From FRANK P. GRAHAM*

The commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Civil War has made vivid again to the people of the South and the North the glories, the tragedies, and the hopes of that fateful struggle. In the nostalgia for the glory, associated in the North with a victorious cause and in the South with a lost cause, the tragedies and the hopes of the struggle should not be submerged. We would not gainsay the glory which "the red badge of courage" and the suffering of millions have deepened in the familial and historical

*An enlarged and revised version of this contribution appeared in the Winter, 1962, issue of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*.

memories of the American people, most personally in the white and colored people of the South.

The glory, the tragedy, and the hopes have fresh meaning for us today. The transcendent meaning for all is that it is wiser to do better without war and desolation what has to be done after war and desolation.

Persisting in the mid-twentieth century are prejudices and tensions between white and yellow, yellow and brown, brown and black, people in many parts of the world. Consciousness of kind has long been a powerful factor in human affairs. What was different in color, race, or region was long considered alien and what was considered alien was considered dangerous. Group prejudice and racial discrimination are not the original creation or special monopoly of the southern white people. They are as old as history and as wide as the world.

Modern scientific and social studies find that neither what is called race nor the shape of the head nor the color of the skin is a valid sign of the innate superiority of persons or people. All people, brown, red, black, yellow, and white, have in common, as biological organisms, an inheritance of hundreds of millions of years; as primitive men, of hundreds of thousands of years; and as self-conscious personalities in human history, of only a few thousand years. The rise, fall, and shifts in the main centers of civilized power from fairer to darker or from darker to fairer people, and from continent to continent and region to region, have depended upon other factors than the cephalic index or the pigmentation of the skin. They have proceeded in large part from the freedom of the individual mind and the free reach of the human spirit, the interaction of ideas, the response to the challenge of environment, and from geography, economics, and historic circumstance.

Yet there still persist honest fears and heavy resistance within the minds and hearts of people against any decisive change in the bi-racial structure of Southern society.

Confronted with the demand of millions of advancing people for the removal of the stigma of inferiority, the federal guarantee of the equal protection of the laws in the

states, the widening conception of freedom, the lag of equalization in many states, and the onrush of totalitarian tyranny across the earth, the Supreme Court made its epochal unanimous decision.

It is well for us Southerners to recall that this decision was joined in by three Southerners; that the principle that "separate" meant "unequal" was set forth in the opinion of Chief Justice Vinson, a Southerner. It is timely to recall that George Washington, a Southerner, stood for the supremacy of the federal government; that Thomas Jefferson, a Southerner, stood for the universality of human rights; that James Madison, the chief framer of the Constitution, used states rights as did Thomas Jefferson, both Southerners, in defense of and not against basic human liberties; and that John Marshall, a Southerner, established in American jurisprudence that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is the law of the land in all the states. In our centennial commemoration of the heroic men and events of another century, we in the South, remembering Robert E. Lee of the Civil War years, should also remember the Lee seeking a reconciling peace.

Most needed now is for the southern people not continuously and tragically to isolate themselves from or against the main stream of the modern world, but to recover their great creative leadership in the nation and the world. Jefferson should be living at this hour, to retranslate and interpret his declaration of human rights in the wider perspective of the present world. In this world over two-thirds of the people are colored, they are on the march, in the Jeffersonian idealism of the on-going American Revolution, a part of a world revolution against colonialism. Our ideas of freedom and self-determination have orbited the earth and come home again. They must now not be renounced in the house of the fathers.

The southern youth movement had its origin not in Moscow but in Greensboro, N.C. Its deeper sources are in the idealism declared in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, on July 4, 1776. Its distant headwaters are in the Judean Hills where the carpenter's son preached the gospel of equal freedom and sacred dignity of all persons as children of

one God and brothers of all people. This youth movement is a contemporary expression of the unfulfilled idealism of the American Revolution and is a local expression of the on-rolling revolution of colonial colored and exploited people of the earth.

In the old South where human slavery made one of its last stands in the modern world, industrialism has made fresh beginnings on productive soil. The people of the South have the tragic lessons of one and the opportunities of the other to build a fairer civilization than the races in the South or industrialism in the world have seen. In a pleasant land under a southern sun between the Chesapeake and the Gulf, a friendly folk will, we trust, work out together our integration.

From the rebirth of freedom, and from the rising intellectual and spiritual communion of all people can come more abundant production and nobler creations of mind and spirit in a southern Renaissance. This great adventure in cooperation of the different peoples can preserve their racial identity and diversities to the enrichment of the South, release and unite their highest energies in the upbuilding of America, and compose their interracial tensions in working together in equal freedom and opportunity in local communities and in the world neighborhood.

With human liberty in peril around the earth, may the people of the United States, in cooperation with free nations, light up the hopes of all peoples with new great declarations of equal freedom and dignity. Now is the time to make clear to friends in the East and West that freedom, equal justice under law, and equal opportunity and welfare of all people are the living sources of the faith of the American people in themselves, and of America's moral influence and power in the world.

The most fitting commemoration of the Civil War would be the progressive ending of the arms contest and all wars in order to save the human race. May this commemoration mean the rededication of us all, North, South, East, and West, to the attainment of the great goals of the United Nations, including effective universal disarmament, universal human rights, universal self-determination of peoples, universal

economic development for the disinherited people of the earth, and peace under the law on all the Earth as the God-given home of the family of man.

From BENJAMIN E. MAYS

I am one of those who believe that the Civil War was inevitable, unavoidable. It had to be. And as we observe the Centennial of that War all the wounds accruing therefrom have not been healed. And yet I believe that what we have gained from that event far outweighs the losses. Profiting slowly from the experiences of the Civil War, America is a stronger nation and the South a better South. Unless conquered and divided by a foreign foe, the United States is firmly united and indissoluble. Although the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court was a shock to the South, which resorted to many efforts to get around implementing that decision, no Southerner has considered seriously secession as a way out. Southern patriotism cannot be questioned. In two World Wars and in Korea, the North and the South have stood as united as the clenched fist. This may have been true without the Civil War, but the War has tended to cement the North and the South against any and every foreign foe.

The ties between the North and the South are growing stronger as evidenced by northern industries that are coming into the South and by the fact that thousands of southern students study in the North and thousands of northern students are educated in the South. Northerners are numerous on the faculties of southern universities and many Southerners hold high positions in northern universities. The wounds of the Civil War are being healed.

Negroes and white people in the South understand each other better now than ever before. A century of segregation did not create better understanding between Negroes and whites as some people want to believe, nor did it bring equality in education and other areas. During the first three quarters of a century of Negro-white relations after the Civil War, Negroes and white people were not honest and frank with each other. The South had lost the War, northern

soldiers around 1877 withdrew, and the inevitable happened: the Negro became the object of the southern white man's wrath which was probably meant for the Yankee. As a technique of survival, the Negro learned to say the right thing and to act the right way in his segregated shelter.

When communication between white and Negro Southerners began to become straightforward and honest, the relationship between the races began to improve progressively. More progress in good Negro-white relations has been made in the last 25 years than in the 75 years before. Many factors make this progress possible. But I would like to date it at 1935 when inequality in education was challenged for the first time. In that year Murray sued to enter the University of Maryland and won. This was the beginning of the South's effort to advance drastically the public education of Negroes. Suit after suit was filed for equal educational opportunities. Victory after victory resulted, and instead of interracial ill-will, a better spirit of respect and cooperation has developed.

Relations were strained after the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, but only the stupid would argue that race relations have grown worse since 1954. Despite Little Rock, New Orleans, and Virginia, human relations are improving in the South. The sit-ins and Freedom Rides have improved Negro-white relations.

The second century after the Civil War will be a century of desegregation and integration. Human relations in the second century will improve in proportion as barriers of race are destroyed and the South utilizes to the full its talent, irrespective of race. This the South will do. The Negro will rise to meet the challenge of the new opportunities that will open to him in industry, government, and education. The South will get rid of its social fears and Negroes and whites will work together for a greater South. Negroes will no longer need to seek greener pastures in the North. Green pastures will be in the South.

Wiley H. Brownlow

Executive Support of Civil Rights

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT

OF

CIVIL RIGHTS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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In January, 1961, the Southern Regional Council issued The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. This was an outline of opportunities for the strengthening of civil rights by Presidential authority.

The present publication reviews accomplishments during the first 14 months of the present Administration. Because the use of executive power and influence has been so extensive, we have tried to do more than simply summarize and interpret the record. The events and policies of these months represent, in sum, a genuine turning point in American racial relations. We have, therefore, tried to evaluate the principle of executive action which brought them about.

At the beginning of this report we have set out the 18 proposals made last year by the Council to the incoming administration. Actions taken since then coincide with a number of them; others are as relevant and needed now as they were in 1961.*

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has likewise urged certain measures by the executive as well as by Congress. In the Appendix we have reproduced all the Commission's recommendations which call for executive action. A few have been adopted; all are worth study.

*Other organizations with similar aims made recommendations also. The National Urban League released its report, titled The Time is Now, in December, 1960. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights issued Proposals for Executive Action to End Federally Supported Segregation and Other Forms of Racial Discrimination in August, 1961. A more specialized report was the publication, in April, 1961, of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, Executive Responsibility in Intergroup Relations.

PROPOSALS
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

January 1961

I. THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Internal Policies and Organization

1. An adviser on race relations could perform valuable services for the President, and could also participate helpfully in the program planning of the Commission on Civil Rights and the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. There is, furthermore, a strong case for establishment of an office, with adequate staff, to review the execution of all governmental programs and expenditure of all government funds, for compliance with the policy of non-discrimination.

B. National Leadership

2. National unity will be served best if the President speaks forthrightly to and of the South, and if he and his administration confine their statements of policy regarding racial discrimination to that which they are prepared to enforce. The President and his administration could specially contribute to the abatement of sectionalism by frequent conferences and consultations, publicized or not as they see fit, with Southern economic and political leaders, to the end of broadening the base of Southern support for civil rights and equal opportunities.

II. THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Broad Policy

3. The President, by public statement, should set as a national goal the full and free development of all our human resources, and should pledge a painstaking effort by all federal departments and agencies to administer their programs in such ways as to hasten the end of discriminations.

4. The effort of America to establish racial harmony and justice enables our people to understand the aspirations of formerly colonial peoples, and for them to identify their hopes with ours. Those who represent America abroad should interpret our racial strife and change with truthfulness and candor.

B. Federal Employment

5. There should be overall review of federal employment practices, without waiting for complaints and with the aim of immediate compliance with the policy of non-discrimination. Agencies whose functions are critically related to civil rights have a pressing need for Negro staff. Mindful of the cumulative effects of past discrimination, the government could be a yardstick for private employers by careful experimentation with techniques for the measuring of job potential.

6. Real advantages would accrue to the country from frequent appointment of competent Negroes to high level administrative posts. Negroes can be valuable assets in the representation of the United States abroad, but not if they are used primarily in non-white capitals.

C. Education

7. We urge upon the President that he

--publicly affirm his full support of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and his intention to employ his executive powers as needed to assure orderly compliance with it;

--publicly affirm his administration's belief that segregation is an intolerable hindrance to the national goal of higher educational standards;

--direct the Attorney-General to look closely into the authorizations he has for initiating or intervening in school desegregation cases;

--direct the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to assemble and disseminate, for the use of educators and the instruction of the public, educational facts related to the integration process.

8. The vast federal outlays for public school education need to be administered with scrupulous regard for the basic federal policy against discrimination. At the present time, the two areas of vocational training and schooling for children of military personnel merit special attention to insure racial equality and fair-dealing.

9. An announcement ought to be made that, at a date certain, no research funds will be granted by the federal government to any institution of higher learning (or its faculty), public or private, which refuses admission to anyone because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

D. Security of Person and Property

10. While the present turmoil continues, the Department of Justice has an obligation to enforce vigilantly the existing statutes and precedents which protect personal security, and to discharge fully the federal government's duty to preserve the public peace; in particular, every available means should be used to assure orderly school desegregation and the right of peaceable assembly and protest.

E. Voting

11. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice should be staffed with an adequate number of attorneys of first quality, and the Division's working relationships with the U. S. District Attorneys should be so defined as to permit widespread enforcement of the voting provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

12. A national registration drive, under the personal sponsorship of the President, should be launched, and supported by publications describing registration and voting qualifications and procedures in each state.

F. Armed Services

13. The National Guard in Southern states is the remnant of segregation in the armed services; segregation in Southern colleges and universities, and the mode of selection of academy cadets and midshipmen, restrict the opportunities for Negroes to become military officers. All of these situations are within the power of the President to remedy or ameliorate.

G. Health, Recreation

14. Health and recreational programs, both of which bring the government into close personal touch with people, need to be constantly audited for discriminatory effects. Continued observance of the "separate, but equal" clause in the Hill-Burton Act is Constitutionally dubious, and should be authoritatively examined.

H. Transportation

15. Interstate travel is a field in which a final federal effort could decisively end segregation. The clearly established unconstitutionality of segregation in common carriers operated intra-state invites serious study by the Department of Justice of means to require observance of the Constitutional principle.

I. Contractor Employment

16. There needs to be more effective enforcement of the bar against discriminatory employment by government contractors. Large contractors can be appropriately charged with a special responsibility for positive recruitment of Negroes; an appropriate means of requiring this would be prior certification as a condition for award of contract.

17. Federal cooperation with discrimination should be ended at once in the apprenticeship and employment services.

J. Housing

18. A declaration by the President that federal housing programs will be guided by a belief in the values of integration would be the soundest basis for an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination. Because the federal government has been a principal architect of housing segregation, there is special reason for it continuously to evaluate its success in reversing the process. Adverse reactions, especially in the South, are to be expected to firm policies; Presidential leadership can be decisive in allaying and overcoming them.

1. CIVIL RIGHTS THROUGH EXECUTIVE ACTION

A. The Concept of Executive Action

President Kennedy has brought to the defense of civil rights the new instrument of executive action. The vigor of its use has made the Administration a primary center for initiative. Negroes and civil rights groups, long dependent chiefly and ofttimes solely on their own resources, have been joined since January 20, 1961, by the federal executive in the search for sane and just race relations.

The numerous executive decisions taken these last 14 months represent a development of importance comparable to that of the Supreme Court's schools decision of 1954, and deserving of as much study and comprehension. The executive branch has placed its power in support of civil rights. That power is immense.

Although there are basic limitations to the scope of executive action, its range is, nevertheless, great. Congress can pass broad legislation. But Congress does not have the almost innumerable possibilities for specific action which lie before the executive. These include not only the occasions for small measures, but also the authority to commit the country to far-reaching policies.

The term "executive action" is to some extent a misnomer. Much done by the Administration has derived from powers conferred by statute. Without legislation under which he could act, there would be little the President could do in some areas. In others, such as the military services or federal and contractor employment, he operates more freely.

Even when he and his subordinates act under statutory authority, however, there are spacious opportunities for creative executive policies. Statutes may be interpreted broadly, where once they were interpreted strictly. They can be plumbed for implied

delegation of power. They can be given application to new circumstances.

Executive action is immediate. Between an act of Congress or a court decision and their enforcement there is always an interval of time, sometimes a long one. Executive decisions can be, and usually are, in effect at once. Between the decision and its application there is not, therefore, time for disputation and the mobilization of resistance. Executive actions are more impersonal than those of legislatures or courts. The decision comes forth from the recesses of the bureaucracy, without public debate attending its delivery.

Executive actions have, moreover, another kind of immediacy. People come in touch with the executive far oftener than with Congress or the courts. They recognize it as a vast, impersonal organism which has "its own ways of doing things," and they accept it. New practices which affect civil rights are, like new income tax forms, something to be adjusted to.

These are qualities of executive action which, in the case of a responsible Administration, permit the strengthening of the rights of the people without heated and divisive controversy, and without harm to Constitutional processes.

B. National Leadership

1961 was a year of establishing a national mood and direction. In part, the Administration's activity coincided with and helped express this national consensus; in part, it was a clear response to the heavy Democratic vote of Negroes in the 1960 election. Yet the Administration has been more than the agent of either a popular will or a political debt. It has built momentum for civil rights into the structure and the policies of the government, and if it has not acted with more determination than public opinion requires, it has acted with more originality.

The President is said to feel that the people expect to read every day of some new advance in civil rights. He has stated that "we are proceeding ahead in a way which will maintain a consensus, and which will advance this cause."

Although the Administration has accomplished much, there have been revealed as well latent weaknesses of executive action as a means of advance. Activity and energy can become a substitute for results, especially in fields such as voting and educational rights. Moreover, a department or agency which is sponsoring controversial legislation may be irresistibly tempted to court marginal Congressional votes by leaving civil rights alone. And it is true, as later pages of this report will indicate, that some cylinders of the executive engine have been quiet, and these include two with powerful thrust.

The life of an Administration is, however, four years, and there is time for all departments and agencies to fulfill their responsibilities. There is also, unfortunately, time for momentum to decay. A principal concern has to be whether the sense of urgency on which effective executive initiative and policy depends can be maintained.

The President has himself spoken often regarding civil rights, though he has never devoted an important address or statement to the subject. He has referred to the "national goal of equal opportunity"; he has affirmed that "I believe strongly that every American should have an opportunity to have maximum development of his talents, under the most beneficial circumstances"; he has protested that voting discrimination "disturbs the national conscience."

In his State of the Union address in 1962, the President said,

> America stands for progress in human rights as well as economic affairs, and a strong America requires the assurance of full and equal rights to all citizens, of any race or color .... As we approach the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, let the acts of every branch of government - and every citizen - portray "the righteousness that exalteth a nation."

An American President has enormous power to help the people set their moral and political guidelines. By these and other similar comments President Kennedy has, at the least, taken away any uncertainty the people may have earlier acquired as to whether

the capital regarded the removal of segregation as a matter of national interest.

The President has set up a sub-Cabinet group, at the Assistant Secretary level, to draw together thinking within the Administration and to coordinate policies. There is a Special Assistant on the White House staff, assigned to civil rights matters, who presides over the group's monthly meetings.

In this as in other fields, the Administration has assigned primary responsibility to the departments and agencies. New policies are thereby being incorporated into the structure and procedures of many agencies, and each of them has been required to commit itself to civil rights goals. This spread of responsibility promises a greater permanence for the reforms and new policies than would be the case if they were the concern of top-side committees only.

2. EDUCATION

A. New Orleans Crisis

At two press conferences in March, 1961, the President said that the use of executive authority to secure equal opportunity in all areas would get the continuing attention of his Administration, and that he would recommend legislation when he believed it useful. Inasmuch as no legislation regarding school desegregation has been recommended or strongly endorsed, the President presumably regards none as needed. Support has been given the Supreme Court's historic ruling by action of the executive - or more accurately, by action of one arm of the executive, the Department of Justice.

The most serious issue confronting the Department in early 1961 was the systematic harassment of the New Orleans school system by the Louisiana legislature. The U.S. District Court had made the United States a friend-of-the-court, and under the preceding Administration the Department gave vigorous and necessary aid to the court as it fought off the numerous measures by which the legislature sought to stifle desegregation in New Orleans. This was continued vigilantly and successfully. By the end of 1961, the legislature had abandoned virtually all of its once frantic attack, and the Department deserves great credit for its contribution to this end.

In 1960, a private group set up a school in St. Bernard Parish to accommodate children whose parents were boycotting the two desegregated schools of New Orleans. Maintenance of the school was taken over by the parish. In September, 1961, an interesting motion was filed by the Department to enjoin segregation in St. Bernard as long as it accepted Orleans Parish children, and to enjoin the state from giving financial

aid to St. Bernard in providing a segregated education for Orleans students. The effect of the motion, if successful, would be to desegregate the St. Bernard schools. Most of the children involved have now transferred to a private school in New Orleans made feasible by state tuition grants. The St. Bernard's suit, while still technically active, is dormant. It indicates, however, that the Department can, if a similar situation arises elsewhere, take steps against what could be an evasion tactic of serious importance.

B. Efforts to Speed Desegregation

Under the Supreme Court's 1954 and 1955 decisions, the full burden of defending the Constitutional right of children to have a non-segregated education has fallen on Negro parents and their children, and on the limited capabilities of private organizations. This has been a basic hardship, for arrayed against them have been the state legislatures of the South, ceaselessly improvising new statutory barriers and evasions, and state treasuries to underwrite the costs of delaying litigation and investigative harassment. In these circumstances, school desegregation could make only slight progress.

Two actions by the Department in 1961 offered hope that, despite congressional unwillingness to implement the Supreme Court's ruling, some improvement could be effected. In March, the United States entered four cases in Louisiana as a friend-of-the-court. This was the first occasion when the government had done so prior to a crisis, and for the purpose of asking for desegregation rather than for the purpose of defending the integrity of the federal courts. The plaintiffs are thus joined by the powerful presence of the United States in requesting their rights. The cases now are still before the District Court.

In April, the Department sought permission to intervene as a plaintiff in the Prince Edward County (Va.) case, basing its claim on the interest of the United States in securing obedience

to the decrees of its courts. Although the petition was refused, the action gave evidence of the government's impatience and its readiness, which presumably will be renewed, to exert fully its influence on the legal process.

Both the Louisiana and the Virginia cases were initiated by Negro plaintiffs, and the Department's efforts were limited to intervention. The Attorney-General has said that he does not believe the government has the power to file school desegregation cases on its own initiative. The Administration has not supported the Clark-Celler bill, which would require all school districts to plan desegregation and empower the Department to enforce compliance. The effort to intervene as a plaintiff in the Prince Edward case was frustrated. The ability of the Department to speed desegregation is, therefore, still severely restricted.

C. The Use of Persuasion

The Department has given considerable emphasis to another method. The Attorney-General, the Assistant Attorney-General for the Civil Rights Division, and others of their staffs have held numerous conversations with southern congressional, state, and local leaders. They have made known the interest of the Administration in orderly compliance with court orders and have sought to persuade these leaders to place their weight on the side of federal authority. These conversations have been private, but the fact that they have occurred has been widely reported. They may have been of considerable value in some situations, such as New Orleans and Memphis.

Desirable as they have been, they have not been an adequate substitute for the sort of federal persuasion which the Department of Justice is perhaps not well suited to provide. There has been no indication that the President or others in the Administration have endeavored to enlist the political and economic leadership of the South to go beyond token compliance with the law. In the employment field, the Administration has

asked not merely for non-discrimination but for affirmative steps to recruit and utilize Negro skills. The Administration has seemingly failed to ask for the analogous sort of positive achievement in the realization of educational rights. The goals have not been set high.

D. Federal Support of Segregated Schools

President Kennedy said in March, 1961, that the recommendation of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to withhold federal aid from segregated public colleges and universities was "under consideration." There has been no subsequent indication of plans to act. The questions of law and policy are both important and difficult. As Vincent A. Doyle, of the Library of Congress, has concluded, after a careful analysis of several statutes, "in almost any statute the Administrator can find implied authority to withhold funds from recipients who refuse to eliminate racial discrimination in their use of the funds." The continued enrichment of segregated institutions by federal dollars raises issues of extreme importance. The President's words, spoken in another connection, are applicable here as well:

> All of us agree that federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination, but rather should be spent in such a way that it encourages the national goal of equal opportunity.*

What the country has a right to expect is a thorough review of the many programs of federal assistance to higher education, and a resolve to withhold it from segregated institutions in all cases where such action is not clearly violative of the intent of Congress.

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Ribicoff said on February 27, 1962:

> My own approach is one of careful review and

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*Before the first meeting of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, April 11, 1961.

> quiet action. What administrative authority we may have to bar discriminations in the various programs under the jurisdiction of this Department is by no means clear. We are carefully reviewing our programs to determine what authority we may have, and we are also investigating the operation of those programs where discriminatory action may be occurring.

This announcement, that "we are carefully reviewing," is very nearly the first indication the country has had that the Department has an interest in the problem.*

On the same day, and before the same Congressional subcommittee, the Commissioner of Education reported the actions taken by the Office of Education during the past year:

1. The language and counseling institutes held under the National Defense Education Act will not again be located at colleges and universities which will not accept Negro teachers as enrollees.
2. The Office will study the evidences of racial discrimination in libraries which receive federal aid to determine if there are violations of the law.
3. "As a part of its annual review of State Vocational Education programs supported with federal funds, the Office this year is inquiring for the first time into the availability of courses of training in predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools."

The two studies and one action mentioned by the Commissioner are welcome. The inquiry into vocational training programs could, especially, be of profound value. If these moves represent the entrance, finally, of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare into the civil rights cause, they are good news indeed. The Department administers programs of basic importance; in its field (as in the equally basic one of housing) the Administration's concern for civil rights has to

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* In 1961, the Department opposed an anti-discrimination clause in the federal-aid-to-education bill (which did not pass). In 1962, it opposes inclusion of a similar clause in the Administration's medical education bill.

date been almost mute.

The Commissioner could not, of course, report on the actions - or non-actions - of other agencies which administer federal supports to education. There is evidence of gross racial inequities in school lunch programs of some southern states;* this is the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture. The National Science Foundation allows its science institutes for teachers to be offered at segregated institutions. The Housing and Home Finance Agency has not, so far as is known, sought authoritative legal advice as to whether, in the administration of college housing loans, it can and should refuse loans to discriminatory schools.

Education on or near military bases sometimes provides vexing problems for the government, which get somewhat inconsistent solutions. For example:

> Madison Pike Elementary school, adjacent to Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville (Ala.) serves chiefly the children of military personnel. The land on which it is built was deeded by the government to the Huntsville School District. Only white children attend. Negro children living on base are transported by Army bus to a Negro school. In 1960, the Department of Justice publicly stated that it would press for desegregation of the school because of the land cession, the heavy federal contribution to construction and current operation, and the enrollment. Nothing further has been heard of this. In April, 1961, an Assistant Secretary of Defense said before a Congressional committee with reference to Madison Pike, "Schools operated by local school districts in areas adjacent to military installations attended in whole or in part by military dependents, conform to state laws."
>
> Hamilton Elementary School, adjoining Beaufort (S.C.) Marine Air Station, was built in 1958 with federal funds, and prior to the 1961-62 school year was all white. In August, 1961, it was deeded by the county for $1.00 to the federal government, and is now bi-racial, in student body and faculty.

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* see Southern Schools: Progress and Problems, edited by the Southern Education Reporting Service, p. 165.

3. VOTING

Under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960, the Department of Justice has brought 25 cases involving 21 southern localities. Nine of these cases were filed by the previous administration and three brought to completion by it. The remaining 16 were filed between January 26 and February 21, 1962. In addition to this impressive activity, the Civil Rights Division continued the government's representation in the six incomplete cases started prior to January 20, 1961, and brought all to judgment.

Only one suit filed by this Administration has been decided. The exception, U.S. v. Wood, was an emergency action to enjoin state prosectuion of a Negro active in a voter registration drive. Ten of the 25 suits have, therefore, reached judgment; one of these (U.S. vs. Wood) added no voters, and two others* enfranchised only a handful of people.

At the 1962 session of Congress, the Administration is supporting, for the first time, a civil rights bill: the Mansfield-Dirksen bill to accept a sixth grade education as adequate proof of literacy in any federal election. The bill has strong bi-partisan support, but has also attracted some opposition on Constitutional grounds and some which grows out of reservations about the bill's over-riding of the qualification, particularly important in New York state, that electors be able to read English.

Acting under Section 303 of the Act of 1960, the Department has made voting records demands in 39 southern counties; 22 of these have been made during the present Administration. Refusals in eight counties have led to court action to enforce the demands, and three of these are still pending; these three relate to demands made in May and August, 1960.

The Administration's decision to back the Mansfield-Dirksen bill may reflect a conclusion that the remedies of the Acts of

*In Terrell County (Ga.) and East Carroll Parish (La.).

1957 and 1960 are too clumsy to meet the problem. Ten cases decided - and the law almost five years old. Certainly, the Civil Rights Division has given the Acts a thorough and sufficient test.

The amount of litigation undertaken by the Civil Rights Division, in voting and in other areas, has confirmed the seriousness with which the President and the Attorney-General view criminal discrimination against American citizens.* The Civil Rights Division has been enlarged and has now able direction. There is reasonable doubt, however, that the Division, no matter how capably staffed, can undertake and carry through the amount of litigation necessary to invoke the protection of the Acts of 1957 and 1960 in every existent area of discriminatory practice. There is also doubt that successful prosecutions in some places will induce others to rectify their ways.

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*Mention should also be made of the Interior Department's action, in February, 1961, when it entered as amicus to support the voting rights plea of Navajo Indians living on a New Mexico reservation.

4. TRANSPORTATION

A. Airports

By the close of the 1950's, segregation persisted on many intra-state carriers and in the waiting rooms of many air, rail, and bus terminals.

Court-actions, boycotts, and occasionally voluntary policy decisions are progressively ending the practice on offending carriers, particularly on municipal transit lines. There is still much to be changed, and segregation on city bus lines is currently the cause of several especially tense situations. The Administration has had more opportunity to act in the other field - that of waiting rooms - and has achieved considerable success, both through its own initiative and by responding to the prodding of various civil rights groups.

In October, 1960, the Federal Aviation Agency discarded a policy under which it had connived in the provision of segregated facilities. In granting funds for local airport construction, it had specified which parts of the terminals were being subsidized by the federal government; the locality, using its own funds for rest rooms, dining rooms, etc., could then require or permit segregation in these without being subject to F.A.A. regulation. The policy change is, for the time being, not important, because the F.A.A. has discontinued grants for the construction of terminals.

A suit, filed by the Department of Justice at the request of the F.A.A., led to desegregation of the Montgomery airport in January, 1962. Another suit, intended to desegregate the luxury restaurant at the New Orleans airport, has been heard and is waiting judgment.

The Department was able to achieve desegregation of the Columbus (Ga.) and Raleigh-Durham airports by negotiation.

B. Train Stations

In October, 1961, the Department of Justice persuaded the Illinois Central, the Southern, and the Louisville and Nashville railroads to disallow segregation in all their terminals. By January, 1962, written commitments to this same end had been obtained from all rail lines serving the South.

C. Bus Terminals

In a Special Report on waiting room practices in 21 southern cities, issued July, 1959, the Southern Regional Council concluded that "facilities in air line terminals are desegregated or rapidly being desegregated; that facilities in train stations are still largely segregated but are slowly becoming desegregated; that facilities in bus terminals are almost completely segregated." This was still the case by 1961, and meant that bus terminals were to be the Administration's most troublesome task.

Following the May violence in Alabama and Mississippi which greeted the Freedom Ride, the Attorney-General petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission on May 29, for issuance of a regulation prohibiting any discrimination on interstate busses or in bus terminals.* Hearings were held on August 15, at which time Justice presented the results of a Federal Bureau of Investigation survey which showed widespread use of segregation signs in southern terminals. The regulation was issued September 22, effective November 1.

The regulation applies to the carriers. It prohibits them from segregating passengers on any bus operated interstate, and prohibits them, in their interstate operations, from maintaining or using any terminal any portion of which is segregated.

Compliance has been general, though not perfect. The Department of Justice has moved quickly against localities which have prevented bus terminals from obeying. Eight suits have been filed

*The Secretaries of State and Defense both filed supporting briefs with the I.C.C.

since November, 1961, against the following cities: Alexandria, Baton Rouge, Monroe, and Rustin (La.); Greenwood, Jackson, and McComb (Miss.); and Birmingham (Ala.). The Baton Rouge and Jackson cases are still pending. The others have been decided in the government's favor.

A New York Times report of January 29, 1962, noted only a score or so remaining instances of non-compliance. There quite likely are more, and certainly a number of evasions are in use.* Nevertheless, the I.C.C. regulation has been an outstanding gain.

It is, therefore, worth noting that the desegregation of bus terminals was carried out because legislation clearly confers on the I.C.C. the power to regulate interstate carriers. It is the authority of Congress which has been invoked. On the schools question Congress has been silent, and on voting rights it has provided sanctions but scarcely any positive regulation. In these circumstances, executive action has a narrow scope.

*Some practices observed around the South during the last six to eight weeks: signs remaining at Negro lunch counters although removed at white; terminal entrance to restaurant boarded up, leaving only a street entrance, and no change in practice; signs down, but waiting room still partitioned, and Negroes and whites segregating themselves.

5. ACTION DURING CRISIS

A. The Freedom Ride

In May, 1961, the Administration met decisively and sensibly the outbreak of mob viciousness, indulged by state and local authorities, in Alabama.

Physical force is a traditional part of the South's race relations. The ultimate control over Negroes has been violence, administered extra-legally. This is far less customary than formerly; it is still a prevalent threat and often a reality. The mob has been and is the most fearful form of violence. Where at one time mobs seemed to spring into existence uncontrollably, there is now suggestive evidence that they do not appear unless local or state authorities hold open the door. When the politics of the South have outgrown racial issues, and when white people of the South have freed themselves from racial hate, the South will have outgrown mob violence. Until then, however, the latent mob is an ever present aspect of southern racial relations, and Washington must know this and be prepared to combat it. The present Administration has understood that there is a dominant national interest to be defended whenever a mob gathers to override the law. It has, moreover, sensed accurately the temper of the southern majority, which wants federal aid when local authority cannot or will not move, but wants that aid routinely and impersonally, and not as the outcome of high policy debates and negotiations.

The occasions for violence usually display their signs in advance. As the Freedom Ride wound toward Alabama, the Department of Justice became aware of these signs and informed the state and local law enforcement authorities. This alertness has been characteristic of the Department during this

Administration, and is one of the strongest assets it has brought.

Between May 20 - 25, the Department acted with rare vigor and intelligence. It dispatched hundreds of federal marshalls to Montgomery, moved in the courts to restrain the Klan and others, who were spawning violence, and the police chiefs of Birmingham and Montgomery, who were permitting it, arrested the alleged Anniston bus burners, and obtained assurances from Mississippi authorities that there would be police protection when the Freedom Ride reached their state.

On May 24, the Attorney-General appealed to the Freedom Riders for a "cooling off" period. As he was later to say, "I never questioned the legal right of these people to make these trips but I did question, where emotions ran so high, the wisdom of taking these trips." In view of his responsibilities, and the Department's conspicuous fulfillment of those responsibilities, this was an honorable request. The sincerity of it was further demonstrated by the petition of May 29 to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The President, on July 19, 1961, said, in regard to the continuing Freedom Ride into Jackson, that the basic question was the right of persons to move freely in interstate commerce. Throughout tense weeks, the government had scant means to protect that right, so long as it was denied, as Mississippi was careful to do, without violence. The I.C.C. order gave the government the instrument it needed, and since November has been using.

B. Albany

It was slow to use that instrument in Albany (Ga.), however, and despite violations of the I.C.C. order by the Albany police on November 1 and November 22, the Department took no action. As the subsequent disorder in Albany mounted during December, the Department kept up a steady interest in developments, an action which might be likened to maintaining a

"presence" on a troubled front. The Albany events were produced by police high-handedness, included the arrests of over 700 persons, resulted in an interim settlement in which the Negroes made most of the concessions, and when it was announced the Attorney-General wired the Mayor of Albany his congratulations.

The Attorney-General's exasperating telegram was likely motivated by a simple wish for public order; no blood flowed in Albany's streets, and therefore its law enforcement was to be praised. Albany has copied the police tactics of Jackson during the Freedom Ride: arrest demonstrators fast, quietly, and on non-racial charges. These are not praiseworthy methods, nor should the Department of Justice in similar situations overvalue public order.

The Department apparently decided not to exercise any enforcing powers in Albany; it confined its efforts to attempted persuasion and mediation. In Baton Rouge, where student demonstrations have occurred and been suppressed and where Negro youth have been arrested and held for exorbitant bail on charges that derive simply from official malice, the Department has had little authority to act.

The Department can be extraordinarily helpful in resolving issues when it can, and intends to, act. When it does not intend to, as in Albany, its "presence" adds little, except possibly confusion. Where it has little authority to act, as in Baton Rouge, there is still a role for the federal government to play. One can question, however, whether the Department of Justice is the best to carry it out, for it is a role of persuasion. By its nature, as an enforcing agency, the Department is not a good instrument of mediation and persuasion. The Administration has made it its principal, almost its only, spokesman and representative in the South. The Administration would do better by applying at congressional and state capital levels the influence which it possesses, and to insist in those quarters that southern officialdom give respect to Constitutional rights and ordinary decency.

What the Department of Justice can do well was revealed during the Freedom Ride in Alabama. It was revealed also when schools opened in New Orleans, and the Department made known the fact that several score marshalls were on stand-by duty in the city. So also in McComb (Miss.), where prompt litigation was taken to require the city to comply with the I.C.C. order, and a decisive warning and adequate force were sent when the local police on November 29 allowed rioters to attack interstate passengers.

The South is living through rapid cultural and political change and the climate will sometimes be stormy. Neither the Department nor the rest of the government needs to get involved in every local controversy that flares. Many, perhaps most, can be settled through local pressures and by local common sense. The Department might recall that in 1960 numerous southern cities settled tense sit-in disputes without any show of guidance or even interest from Washington. Even when the situation boils or festers, the Department of Justice is perhaps not well-suited to contribute to its solution unless an enforcible federal interest is clearly involved.

6. THE TONE AND PRACTICE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

A. Executive Vigilance

Possibly the greatest achievement of the months since January, 1961, has been the establishment of a new and pervasive attitude in Washington. There has been created among federal policy makers a sense of obligation to civil rights, and new, higher standards against which to measure that obligation. Decisions made and procedures formed provide what will almost certainly prove to be a built-in alertness to the problems and to the opportunities for advance. Perhaps as important as anything else, there is an air of friendliness toward the civil rights movement, which makes possible the discussion of civil rights as a national, and not merely or primarily a Negro, concern.

This spirit of obligation is evident in the government's drive to recruit and advance Negro civil servants, an action which is not only important in itself but will do much to assure momentum. Of less, but still substantial, importance are the number of things done to tidy up governmental operations. These are exemplified by such actions, large and small, as

- President Kennedy's correction of the Civil War Centennial Commission

- the Department of Interior's order making non-discrimination in recreational use a condition of purchase of forest reserves offered to state and local governments

- Secretary of Interior Udall's insistence that the Washington Redskins either hire Negro players or not use the capital's new stadium

- the ordering of a Yellowstone Park conces-

sionaire to hire qualified Negroes

- a Defense Department directive forbidding the use of military police to "quell affrays" on behalf of local authorities in support of segregation "or other forms of racial discrimination"; local commanders are instructed to monitor carefully any legal actions against servicemen growing from enforcement of discrimination, and to provide legal assistance if necessary to assure due process

- the requiring of civil defense training carried on under Defense Department auspices to be non-segregated

- a Department of Defense memorandum of November 7, 1961, expressing concern over the small number of Negro officers, and directing attention be given to their recruitment

- the instruction of Peace Corps trainees in the extent and causes of discrimination.

These acts illustrate a seriousness of purpose expressed in outside relations of the Administration as well. The Vice-President met with Negro representatives of Nashville, in the office of Governor Ellington, for a frank and full discussion of needs. The Departments of Commerce and Labor and the Small Business Administration brought together Negro businessmen for a three day conference (to acknowledge that there is such a thing as a "Negro" businessman, who has special problems, is, in itself, refreshing governmental honesty). The President intervened when the White House Press Photographers Association barred a Negro applicant. The International Cooperation Administration, which has a training center in Annapolis (Md.), used pressures to desegregate the principal hotels and motels, and a majority of leading restaurants and other public accommodations. The President authorized the Department of Agriculture in June, 1961, to send surplus food to the Negroes of Fayette and Haywood Counties (Tenn.), victims of economic pressures because of their efforts at registering to vote.

The Administration has been generally careful also to make an exemplary public appearance, even in the private actions

of its officials. In April, 1961, the White House said that Cabinet officers should not speak at functions where there were racial bars, a statement which followed a speech by Secretary of Commerce Hodges at a segregated Democratic party dinner in Columbia (S.C.). Secretary of Defense McNamara, nevertheless, spoke at another, and heavily publicized, such dinner in Atlanta in November.

As a rule, however, the Administration has done better and had more presence of mind.* When Secretary of State Rusk spoke to the Atlanta Bar Association in April, the invitation of Negro lawyers was a pre-condition. Atlanta was again the site when in October Labor Department officials shunned an annual conference of employment security administrators held in a segregated hotel (even though, because there are no state employment security directors who are Negro, none would have been invited).

A particularly noteworthy instance of scrupulous conduct was the refusal of the Secretary of State to sign a restrictive covenant when purchasing his home.

The President himself initiated steps to bring Negroes into the Coast Guard Academy, and into the White House police and White House detail of the Secret Service. The President has also been personally involved, along with a number of other high officials, in expressing disapproval of membership policies of Washington's Cosmos and Metropolitan Clubs.+

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* Shortly after the episode into which Mr. McNamara was drawn, the Agency for International Development circulated an interoffice notice, warning all staff against participation in public affairs or meetings which discriminate. This was typical of the caution which the affair induced throughout the Administration.

+ Although it has been contended that these two clubs are somehow specially touched with the public interest, governmental officials who shun them do, of course, open up all their other club memberships and resort preferences for scrutiny.

The Washington club controversy was widely reported, and the public watched with interest the unfolding of its day-to-day developments. Public interest and public instruction go usually hand in hand. The club affair emphasized how important the private acts of high officers can be. They contribute largely to the tone of American life, and establish social standards for many.

B. African Diplomats

Unusually energetic help has been given to African diplomats, who suffer sore difficulties and embarassments in housing and food services. The Special Protocol Service Section of the Department of State has worked assiduously to persuade restaurateurs along Route 40 in Maryland, and landlords in Washington, to drop their color bars. The Department has advocated before the Legislative Council of the Maryland General Assembly passage of an anti-discrimination bill, as a measure in behalf of American foreign policy - surely one of the first instances in which the State Department has championed a bill before a state legislature. The assistance of governors in avoiding incidents has been sought by the President and the Department.

A good bit of success has resulted, and the good will earned from African diplomats is, hopefully, great. How serious is the housing problem was shown in July by a government survey that found, out of 211 better-class apartment houses in northwest Washington, only eight that would clearly accept Africans.

The President has, as in the case of the Sierra Leone charge d'affaires, underlined by his personal concern the country's dilemma, which can increase as African embassies multiply and enlarge. The Department of State has repeatedly pointed out that the dilemma is inseparable from the problem of racial discrimination against American citizens.

Secretary Rusk has also said, in a broader context,

> The biggest single burden that we carry on our backs in our foreign relations in the 1960's is the problem of racial discrimination here at home. There is just no question about it.

Until such time as the burden has been put down, the frank attack being made by the Department on the accommodation problem, the sort of candor displayed by Assistant Secretary of State Williams when in Africa and by the Attorney-General when he visited the Ivory Coast, the free exposure which we at the Southern Regional Council see being permitted to foreign visitors, the straightforward reporting of the U.S. Information Agency - these are the practices of an intelligent government.

C. Appointments to High Office

The tone and practice of this Administration has in no way been more marked than by the appointment of Negroes to high office and to positions of intermediate distinction. A partial and select list of such appointments is:

- Judge, U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit
- Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency
- Ambassador to Norway
- Ambassador to Niger
- Judge, U.S. District Court, Illinois
- Judge, U.S. District Court, Michigan
- Assistant Secretary of Labor
- U.S. Attorney, Northern District of California
- U.S. Attorney, Northern District of Ohio
- Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs
- Associate White House Press Secretary
- Commissioner, District of Columbia
- Commissioner, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
- Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Assistant Executive Director, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

Deputy Assistant Postmaster General for Transportation

Assistant to U. S. Attorney, Houston

Senior Adviser to the Director, Office of International Finance, Department of the Treasury

Collector of Customs, Virgin Islands

Attorney General of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

As Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Mr. Robert Weaver has a position higher than any held by a Negro in any previous administration. Mr. Clifton Wharton is both the first Negro Ambassador to a white country, and the first to rise through the career service. Mr. John Duncan is the first Negro Commissioner in the District of Columbia. Judges James Parsons and Wade McCree are the first federal district judges, and Messrs. Cecil Poole and Merle McCurdy are the first U. S. Attorneys. To the list above might be added Lieut. Commander S. L. Gravely, Jr., who in February, 1962, became the first Negro to take command of a combat ship.

It is particularly noteworthy and commendable that the Kennedy Administration has been willing to appoint to high office Negroes who have been leaders of the civil rights movement. It is noteworthy also, however, that very few of the appointees have come from the South. The Administration has avoided challenge to southern political power by appointing very few Negro Southerners prominent in the civil rights movement to high office, the principal exception to this statement being Mr. Spottswood Robinson of the Commission on Civil Rights.

In Mr. Kennedy's election the Negro vote was of great, perhaps decisive, importance. In the American political tradition and practice, this fact would have established the right of Negroes to some of the spoils of victory. What is most impressive, therefore, is not only the number of Negro appointees, but their evident qualifications. If a political debt were being paid, it was paid in good coin, by bringing into office persons of recognized competence and distinction.

D. Assessment

The actions recounted in this chapter have been expressive of a newness of spirit which is the great accomplishment of this Administration. Whatever blunders, or whatever indecision, this deep change of attitude and motivation created in Washington should be the enduring thing. In its best moments, the Administration has had something of the greatness envisioned by the Attorney-General in his Athens address of May 6, 1961:

> For on this generation of Americans falls the full burden of proving to the world that we really mean it when we say all men are created free and are equal before the law .... To the South, perhaps more than any other section of the country, has been given the opportunity and the challenge and the responsibility of demonstrating America at its greatest - at its full potential of liberty under law.

This is a summons to the nation and to the South, but the South too is represented by the President and his Administration, and they are a part of the South as they are of every other region. The Administration has not estranged itself from the South. We know of no evidence to suggest that the Administration's widespread efforts for civil rights have alienated the Administration's support among the people of the South. Even the legal proceedings of the Department of Justice have been generally accepted, except by those politicians and some relatively few others with vested interests in racial discrimination.

7. EMPLOYMENT

A. Federal Employment

The most worthy of many achievements in federal employment has been the transfer of emphasis away from technical non-discrimination and toward the actual recruitment and advancement of Negroes.

How much exactly has been accomplished cannot be stated. Results of a survey of Negro job-holders made in the Spring of 1961 were never released, except in bits; a second survey made late in 1961 is not yet tabulated. Nevertheless, there has been a surging initiative, and the groundwork is being laid for continuing advance.

How bad the situation was can be illustrated by a few data:

- Although the survey of Spring, 1961 showed that 10.6% of federal employees were Negro - roughly equal to the Negro proportion of the population - these were heavily concentrated in the lowest salary grades. In Grades GS-12 to GS-18, Negroes held only 0.59% of the positions.

- In one department, for example, one-tenth of all employees were Negro; about 20% of the lower grades, 5% of the middle grades, and only 1% of the upper grades (GS-11 to GS-15)* were filled by Negroes. There were no Negroes in GS-14, one in GS-15, and none in the super-grades 16-18.

- Not all agencies employed Negroes in number even in the lower grades. One independent agency, for example, had 1,955 employees in GS-1 to GS-5: only 66 were Negro; at its two large southern installations in South Carolina and Tennessee, of 1,251 employees only seven were Negro: one of 225 in South Carolina, and six (including one GS-12) in Tennessee.

*$7,560 - $13,730 starting salaries

Since Spring, 1961, such progress as the following has been recorded:

- The Post Office had recruited at least 23 Negroes for key positions, ranging from a Deputy Assistant Postmaster General to Postmasters of two villages in Alabama and North Carolina.

- The Department of Justice had added 40 Negro lawyers to its staff, which had had only ten before.

- The Housing and Home Finance Agency had these comparisons:

	As of April 15, 1961	As of December 31, 1961
GS-11	16	24
GS-12	35	38
GS-13	3	8
GS-14	7	9
GS-15	3	6

(A sizeable proportion of these persons are in race relations jobs of various sorts.)

- Negro clericals were introduced to the Atlanta and Greensboro (N.C.) offices of the Federal Housing Administration; between April and November, 1961. Negro employment in the Atlanta office of the Federal National Mortgage Association went from zero to eight. Negro technicians were added to the Internal Revenue offices in Atlanta and New Orleans.

- As of February, 1962, Negroes in the Department of Labor in positions GS-12 and up had increased from 24 to 41. As of January, 1962, the General Services Administration had 12 Negroes above GS-9, compared with four a year earlier.

- 63 of 275 Peace Corps employees, as of December, 1961, were Negro, including two GS-12, five GS-13, one GS-16, and three GS-17.

- The Department of the Treasury has appointed four Negroes to senior professional positions, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing - after complaint - hired its first Negro machinist, and the formerly lily-white Coast Guard Academy appointed a Negro as an Assistant Professor of Chemistry.

- Civil Service tests are no longer given under segregated conditions.

- The Department of Agriculture had by the end of the year 42 full time and four part time Negro employees in GS-12 to GS-15, as against 15 a year earlier.

The Agriculture picture is a convenient example of the uneven progress which still characterizes governmental employment. Agriculture, at the end of 1961, had no full time Negro employees above GS-14 and only two in that grade. Its 46 Negroes, full and part time, in Grades 12-15 (a 300% increase over the previous year) were still less than one-half of 1% of the Department's 9,692 employees in those grades. There were no Negroes above GS-15. Several of the Department's agencies employed no Negroes at all in their upper positions, including such big ones as the Forest Service and the Soil Conservation Service.

Despite token gains, chiefly in the housing agencies, there have been no appreciable changes in Negro employment in federal offices located in the South. Where government offices are in privately owned buildings, separate facilities are often still in use.

What improvement, if any has occurred in the employment of Negroes in certain positions especially vital to their interests, such as F.B.I. investigators and U.S. Marshalls, has been impossible to determine, as the Department of Justice has declined to release the information.

The gains cited above are slight, but they convey promise. On February 17, 1962, Secretary of Labor Goldberg, who is also Vice-Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, announced that the Committee was undertaking the "stupendous task" of reviewing all federal employees' records to ascertain if discrimination in placement or advancement existed. On the same day, Vice-President Johnson, who is Chairman of the Committee, stated that the government was not fully utilizing its Negro employees.

Raising Negro representation in the upper ranks is a hard task. In attempting it, the bureaucracy is making a signal contribution to the national problem of underdeveloped manpower

and talent.

The dimensions of the problem can be illustrated by the recent experiences of the Civil Service Commission and the Department of State. Of 712 graduates of Negro colleges in the South who took the Civil Service examination in May, 1961, only 56 (8%) passed. Of 3,200 examinees from southern white schools, 45% passed.

As of August, 1961, the Department of State had 4,570 civil service employees, of whom a large share, 1,064, were Negro: 85% of these, however, were not over GS-5. The Foreign Service had 3,732 officers, of whom 17 were Negro. Of 1,140 Foreign Service Reserve officers, three were Negro. Of 3,527 secretarial and clerical staff in the Foreign Service about 38 were Negro. In the Foreign Service examination of December, 1959, an estimated 59 candidates from Negro colleges tried, and none passed. Three Negro candidates from integrated schools passed the written and two of these the oral; one of these cleared the medical qualification: the 1959 examination thus yielded one Negro along with 170-180 white officer candidates for the Foreign Service. In the 1960 examination, 44 candidates from Negro schools all failed the written, six Negroes from integrated colleges qualified for the orals, and three passed; two* of these have been appointed.

Against this background, the Department on August 16, 1961, convened a conference of Negro educators and other interested persons. Secretary Rusk opened the conference with perceptive remarks, worth quoting at some length:

> ...We now have a genuine shortage of talent. We cannot afford to have any portion of our population in effect excluded from our talent hunt....
>
> I've said to some of you before that when you start looking for talent for particular jobs, all the great, systematic rosters really don't help very much, because there is no way to sort out those who are more rather than less likely to do a good job. You get certain formal qualifications. But that really isn't

*Including the first female Negro Foreign Officer candidate. The 1961 examination is not yet fully processed; 119 Negroes (by a head count) took the examination.

> the way top-level people are found. Key talent is located by a sort of chain of conversation -- gossip, if you like. You get hold of people whom you know and you say, "Do you know someone who can do this?" They get hold of someone else, and it is in this sort of informal chain of conversation that the most significant part of the talent hunt goes on. In this respect, the minority groups in this country are somewhat out of the circles of gossip. We must find some way to tie our minority groups into the realistic processes through which talented individuals are located....
>
> Up to this point we have not had a large number of Negro applicants for the Foreign Service, and among those who have applied the mortality rate in the process of examination has been high. We have an impression...that the most talented young Negroes are not applying for the Foreign Service....
>
> ...If Negro young people do not believe that there is a fair and adequate opportunity for them in the Foreign Service, then you cannot expect them to apply, or to show interest. We must take responsibility for clarifying that point and demonstrating that opportunity does exist...

From the conference came eight sensible recommendations which the Department since has made efforts to follow. A committee of the conferees was appointed to maintain consultation, and it has been used.

Most interestingly, the conference discussed the nature of the Foreign Service examination, and recommended as follows:

> Do not compromise with quality or make any special concessions of competence as a favor to Negroes, but the examination procedure ought to be investigated to determine whether it automatically excludes categories of persons who are potentially valuable Foreign Service officers.

A critique of the examination is now under way, by distinguished psychologists whose services the Department has obtained. The basis for the recommendation, which goes to one of the crucial and most difficult questions of talent development, was stated by Dr. Kenneth Clark, one of the conferees:

> There is considerable evidence that the present objective tests used by colleges, business, industry and government for the selection of individuals clearly place handicaps on certain individuals from low income groups, rural groups and minority groups, and they give a clear ad-

> vantage to individuals from culturally privileged backgrounds....

The efforts under way to meet the sort of problems illustrated by this experience of one department have been strengthened by several staff arrangements. Each department and agency has designated an official as Employment Policy Officer, reporting directly to the Secretary or agency head. The Civil Service Commission has put in the field a special recruiter to work Negro college campuses. Several other agencies have done likewise.* Meetings jointly led by the Civil Service Commission and the President's Committee have been held in regional centers to acquaint field managers and personnel officers with their responsibilities. Interne programs of some agencies, such as H.H.F.A., have sought out Negro trainees.

By letter of April 18, 1961, the President directed that no association of federal employees which practiced segregation or other discrimination could use the name, sponsorship, or facilities of the government or any of its agencies. This has especially affected employee recreational programs. The order has been enforced and has effected wide change. The Atomic Energy Commission, and perhaps other agencies as well, has included its contractors under this directive.

Although primary responsibility for ending discrimination and taking affirmative action is assigned by the President to the departments and agencies, their work is coordinated and in some measure supervised by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. It is directed by Executive Order 10925 to

> ...scrutinize and study employment practices of the Government of the United States, and to consider and recommend additional affirmative steps which should be taken...to realize more fully the national policy of nondiscrimination within the executive branch of the Government.

It is worthy of note that the assistant executive director

*Including the Departments of Labor, Commerce, and State, the Veterans Administration, and the Federal Aviation Agency.

of the Committee, in charge of its federal employment functions, is himself a Negro economist.

The Committee has authority to receive complaints which allege discrimination. Through October, 1961, it had received 593 and disposed of 70: 17 of these had merited corrective action, 29 found no discrimination, and the other 24 were dropped for various reasons.

The Committee's problems, as indeed those of all governmental agencies, are complicated by the rule that forbids a racial designation on the government's personnel records. There is, consequently, no convenient way of counting Negro employees; the only method is an expensive, slow, and not always accurate "head count." This makes difficult both the measurement of the problem and of progress. The elimination of racial record-keeping was done as a means to combat discrimination, and there are good grounds, both practical and ethical, for the rule. Nevertheless, at least in this present period of effort, the rule handicaps good intentions and necessary studies. In January, 1962, a workshop of the American Federation of Government Employees, D.C. Department, recommended a relaxation of the rule and this would seem to be a sensible step.

B. Contractor Employment

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity was created by Executive Order 10925, effective April 7, 1961. The order was the first and is still the most considerable of the Administration's new policies. It is the purest example of "executive action." Under its terms, the Committee was given the twin responsibilities of federal and federal contractor employment.

The Vice-President is Chairman of the Committee, thus giving it great stature, which has been made real by his active interest. The Secretary of Labor is Vice-Chairman, and an Assistant Secretary of Labor is Executive Vice-Chairman. There are about 14 public members, appointed by the President, of whom two are Negro, and about 10 Cabinet level government representatives. Moreover, as

the Commission on Civil Rights has noted, the strongest asset which the Committee has is the evidence of genuine support by the President.

The Committee has a staff, which in January, 1962, comprised 50 persons. Space and facilities are provided by the Department of Labor; each contracting agency* of the government contributes to the operating expenses of the Committee. These two arrangements are made necessary by the Committee's lack of statutory authority.

The Committee has very substantial powers over contractors, few of which have been used. It has, instead, given its chief emphasis to inducing large contractors to commit themselves to the goal of equal opportunity; this function is not set forth in the Order.

The heart of the Order is the provisions which require compliance reports, and thus establish that the primary tool of the government is to be a continual review of contractors' practices. Unlike the old committees of the previous two administrations, the burden is to be on the employer to demonstrate his compliance, rather than on the complaining employee or applicant.+ These compliance reports are required from contractors who, according to ~~regulations~~ policies adopted by the Committee, have contracts of at least $50,000 or employ at least 50 persons, and their first-tier sub-contractors. The first reports are to be filed by April 1, 1962, and, presumably, will afterward be required, per the regulations, within 30 days from award of contract, and periodically thereafter. The April, 1962, reporting will cover an estimated 38,000 companies with 40,000 plants and 15,500,000 employees. One compliance report will be asked of each company, no matter how many contracts it has, or contracting agencies it may deal with. The reports are to be filed with the contracting agency, subject to examination by the Committee.

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*Except the Department of Justice, which furnishes legal services.

+The inadequacy of reliance on complaints was well stated in a memorandum of the International Cooperation Administration:

Violators of the anti-discrimination clause included in every contract can be strictly dealt with. Strong enforcement powers, including public disclosure, injunctive and criminal proceedings, contract cancellation, and black-listing, are conferred on the Committee. None of these has yet been found needed.

The Committee may also require that bidders or prospective contractors, who have previously filed reports, re-submit them for review prior to award of a new contract.

Exemption from this reporting system may be had by a company which, after full review of its practices, is awarded a Certificate of Merit. This provision of the Order has not yet been tried.

Although the Executive Vice-Chairman has said, "Our influence

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(cont'd)

> ...without deprecating the importance or value of complaints, the Agency's experience of the past few years has indicated that this is not an effective instrument for advancing the principle of job equality. For a host of legitimate reasons...most allegedly aggrieved persons do not file complaints against contractors; and if the Agency were to rely on this source alone to advance vigorously the national program, its efforts would not be very meaningful. Despite the execution of thousands of contracts in the past few years, only a handful of complaints have been filed. No sophisticated observer...believes that the number of complaints is an accurate index as to the extent and scope of employment discrimination. This is not only true of private contractors but is equally applicable to universities and non-profit institutions. Contracts have been and are awarded to universities in the southeastern or southwestern part of the country which do not either admit Negro students or employ Negro faculty members, laboratory technicians, or administrative staff; and those universities which admit or employ a limited number of Negroes, too often segregate their facilities with regard to these Negroes. Nevertheless, no complaints have ever been filed with this Agency concerning the practices of these institutions.... It is unlikely that there will be any change in the number of complaints filed. It must also be parenthetically stated that the great majority of complaints filed, upon investigation, are found to be unwarranted. Therefore, it will be necessary for the Agency to adopt or devise a program which will give it a more realistic insight and review...

over labor union practices rests almost entirely on our ability to persuade, to encourage, to negotiate," the Order in fact provides a mechanism for securing cooperation from unions. Strengthening this are potent sanctions which authorize the Committee to hold public hearings on union practices, to report discriminatory practices to the President and recommend remedial action, and to notify federal, state, and local agencies of any union it finds to be discriminatory. The Committee met in May, 1961, with 42 labor leaders to discuss objectives; the President joined the meeting.

A complaint procedure is set up. As of December 1, 1962, there had been received 473 complaints: 178 had been dismissed, 71 had led to corrective action, and the remaining 124 were not fully processed. Complaints are first investigated by a contracting agency, and may be, and usually are, re-investigated by the Committee. The processing of a complaint requires an average of nearly three months.

The Committee and the Air Force did an extremely efficient job of investigating and acting on the widely publicized complaints of April, 1961, against Lockheed's Marietta (Ga.) plant. These were brought not by individuals alone, but by the N.A.A.C.P. In this field as in any other, the prodding of outside pressure groups is probably necessary to the success of governmental enforcement.

The Committee has put its biggest emphasis on the negotiation of so-called "Plans for Progress." Beginning with the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation on May 25, Plans have by now been executed with 52 of the largest federal contractors. The signing of these Plans has been given extensive publicity.* They are all much alike, and commit the contractor, in the words of one Plan, to make efforts "toward attracting applicants from minority groups" especially in professional, white collar, and skilled jobs.

Seventeen of the 52 have, according to Moody's 1961, no southern operations at all. Several are large southern employers,

*An announcement was made October 29, 1961, of a drive for Plans among the larger unions.

but not more than half- and that is a generous estimate - have operations of consequence in the South. The Plans for progress are primarily a non-southern program. If they are successful in improving employment conditions for Negroes, and if no comparable program is carried out in the South, the effect will be an acceleration of the drain of Negro talent and skills from the South.

The exemption of small contractors from the initial compliance report requirement makes good sense, from the standpoint of conserving the Committee's time for close attention to bigger problems. It can, however, be noted that the exemption of contractors under $50,000 and with less than 50 employees releases a good many southern textile plants. Shortly after issuance of Executive Order 10925, there were reports of a refusal by the southern textile industry to accept further government business. This issue was apparently overcome, following a conference of April 19, 1961, between textile people and the Executive Vice-Chairman and the Secretary of the Army, though by what persuasion has not been reported.

Results of the Plans for Progress are not yet known. The Committee has detailed information, which it has not released, on employment conditions of the contractors prior to executing the Plans. When compliance reports are filed in April, the opportunity for measuring the value of the Plans will be present. From time to time, the Committee has made fragmentary reports of wholesome progress.

The Committee's funds, which come from the budgets of the contracting agencies, have been under scrutiny by Congressional appropriations committees. The lack of statutory authority leaves the Committee specially vulnerable to these assaults on its finances. The Committee has also a puzzling administrative structure. It has, apparently, four policy chieftains: Chairman, Vice-Chairman,

Executive Vice-Chairman, and Executive Director. The Committee itself is not a mere advisory or supervisory body, but meets regularly and directs the program. In fact, one member of the Committee has been primarily responsible for the Plans for Progress and has acted in their negotiation like a staff officer. This member and his staff are not under the supervision of the Executive Director.

At the same time, basic responsibility for non-discrimination in contractor employment is assigned by Executive Order 10925 to the contracting agencies themselves. Detailed agency regulations have been framed and issued. Each agency has designated a high level official to be its Compliance Officer. The Air Force has gone further, and made plans for nine "inter-group relations specialists," at salaries of $12,000 - $14,000, to patrol their contractors and assist them in affirmative compliance. The Army and the Navy are reportedly devising similar plans.

During the first year, the President's Committee has principally achieved the 52 Plans for Progress. Much hard, necessary work has also gone into the preparation of the compliance reporting system. During the next several months, the country should begin to see results, and over the next several years the Committee can, if it fulfills the assignment given it by the President, contribute greatly to American welfare.

C. Other Programs

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor had, prior to July, 1961, a policy against registration of apprenticeship programs containing discriminatory provisions. The new policy is to require a specific non-discrimination clause in all programs submitted for registration; government contractors are also required to include a non-discrimination statement in the standards of whatever apprenticeship programs they have.*

*The Bricklayers and the I.B.E.W. (Electrical Workers) have, together with their employer associations, adopted equal standards in apprenticeship training. Probably other unions have also.

The serious problem of discrimination within the state offices of the U.S. Employment Service continues. In August, 1961, the Department of Labor sent out new regulations against acceptance of job orders with racial specifications. The shortcoming of this, however, is that the regulations issued by the Department are not accepted as mandatory by all states. In none of the southern states are they accepted as anything except advisory. Consequently, in the South, the only actual restrictions are those which prohibit the acceptance of discriminatory job orders from governmental offices or contractors. Even here, as the names of government contractors are, except for the few giants, not well known, there is little control.

The U.S.E.S. still in many if not most southern locations has segregated offices to receive Negro and white applicants, and the U.S.E.S. staffs include few Negroes. Services, as the Commission on Civil Rights found out, are not only separate but unequal.

8. AREAS OF LITTLE ACTION*

A. Federal Aid to Research

Vast sums, estimated in the order of $750,000,000 are spent annually by the federal government to support research centered at universities and colleges. This represents approximately two-thirds of all available funds for research in higher education. How crucial the federal funds are in the economy of a university can be shown by example. Tightly segregated Emory University holds today research grants and contracts which total about $3.25 million; some $2.5 million of these funds came from the federal government.

President Kennedy has said that "federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination." This principle has not been applied in the field of research grants. For reasons difficult to comprehend, the same Administration which requires every government contractor to practice non-discrimination, spends enormous sums for university centered research, without care as to whether the institutions deny admission to Negro students and scholars.

B. Aid to Desegregating Schools

The U.S. Office of Education continues aloof to the educational crisis of the South (and to the acute racial problems of northern schools as well). President Eisenhower, in his last

* One of these not discussed here is the whole area of federal benefits for farmers. There is considerable evidence that Negro farm people of the South do not participate equitably in benefits or their administration, and that they are in fact discriminated against because of long-standing policies. An example is the virtual exclusion of Negroes from farm and home demonstration programs. We hope soon to study and document further these and allied agricultural issues.

budget message, asked again for enactment of federal financial and technical aid to desegregating school districts. There has never been a persuasive argument made as to why "technical" assistance, as distinct from financial, requires Congressional authorization, nor has this Administration so contended. Southern educators have need for professional guidance and backing in the framing of desegregation plans and in the interpretation of the problems of children involved in the desegregation process. The active attention and counsel of the Office of Education would certify both the national interest in integration and awareness of its educational complexities.

C. Hill-Burton: The Rural Hospital Construction Program

Of 5,888 Hill-Burton projects, as of the end of 1961, only 98 had been constructed as segregated facilities, as authorized by the "separate but equal" clause of the law. This does not mean, however, that the remainder of the more than 2,100 Hill-Burton projects built in the South are integrated. It means only that 98 have candidly called themselves either all-white or all-Negro. As to the racial practices of the others, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare takes the position that once a project is built, the Department does not inquire into its internal operations.

The Hill-Burton Act was passed in 1946, and its "separate but equal" clause is an anachronism in today's law. Despite this, the Department has taken no step, so far as is known, to question the continued validity of the clause. It has not, in fact, even required non-discriminatory employment in the building of the hospitals.

The N.A.A.C.P. has had, therefore, to initiate the legal test, and has done so by a suit filed February 12, 1962, against two Hill-Burton hospitals in Greensboro (N.C.). Neither hospital gives staff privileges to Negro physicians or dentists, one segregates Negro patients, and the other excludes them altogether.

The Department of Justice has not yet indicated whether it

will intervene in the case. As the case challenges the constitutionality of a federal law, the Department can intervene at will.

D. The National Guard

The National Guard of the eleven southern states is lily-white.* The Guard is substantially financed by federal funds. Its regulations are prescribed by the President. It is an integral part of the United States Army.

The Guard in the District of Columbia is under direct federal control, and is segregated. There is reportedly no Negro officer in the National Guard Bureau at the Pentagon.

The Department of Defense has no plans to change the practice of racial exclusion. And so a national scandal is continued.

The numbers of Negro cadets at West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy have increased from eight, seven, and three respectively in 1960 to 14, 12, and 10.

E. Housing

During the campaign of 1960, Mr. Kennedy said that he would, when in office, issue an Executive Order against discrimination in federal housing programs. Indeed, this was his most specific campaign commitment in the civil rights area.

The appointment of Mr. Weaver, a Negro, as Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency has meant that housing programs are now directed by a person with a long and profound attachment to the cause of civil rights, and with a special professional concern for the economic and social values of open and unrestricted occupancy. Because of the confidence which Negro groups and other civil rights advocates have in him,

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* Except that the 49th Division in Texas seems now to have one Negro.

Mr. Weaver's appointment also secured for the Administration many months of immunity from pressure for a fulfillment of the campaign pledge.

A draft Executive Order, prepared by his advisers, was apparently put before the President in November, 1961. By early January, 1962, it had become known that the President would not at this time sign and issue it.

No suggestion has at any time been made that the order was anything but postponed. The implication also has been that the order is postponed for none but political reasons.

At his press conference of January 15, 1962, the President said that he would issue the order "when I consider it to be in the public interest, when I consider it to make important contributions to advancing the rights of our citizens." He said further that "we are proceeding ahead in a way which will maintain a consensus, and which will advance the cause. ... I am fully conscious of the wording of the [campaign] statement to which you refer, and plan to meet my responsibilities in regard to this matter."

A President has, of course, other responsibilities than those to civil rights. He does need to build and maintain Congressional support for his legislative program, and he does need to lead the nation in such a way as to strengthen national unity.

Negroes can and do understand all this. They can, at the same time, justly ask that civil rights not consistently be assigned a low priority. The Administration has avoided legislative battles on civil rights by confining itself to executive action; this has left the Administration's legislative program unencumbered. To postpone promised executive actions, while continuing to avoid serious legislative proposals, is a double-edged deferral of civil rights to other areas of policy.

Race relations are exacerbated increasingly by the festering social problems of our cities, and large among the roots of those are the growing residential ghettoes spoiling and gnawing at our urban culture. This is a matter too critical, too sore, for

postponement of measures acknowledged to be necessary.*

Some helpful small actions have been taken by constituents of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which supervises savings and loan associations, adopted a policy resolution opposing discrimination against borrowers, and ordered its examiners to report violations. In March, 1962, the Federal Housing Administration announced a strengthening of its established - but largely meaningless - policy of cooperation with those states which have anti-discriminatory housing laws. An assurance was given the state of Pennsylvania, which F.H.A. said would be the forerunner of others, that F.H.A. will require approved lenders and developers to certify that they are in compliance with the state's law.

*For an authoritative analysis of the problems, see A Call...for the Issuance of an Executive Order Ending Discrimination in all Federal Housing Programs issued September, 1961, by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

9. CONCLUSION

The Administration's use of executive powers has brought new vitality to the civil rights struggle, and new hope that America may soon overcome its old racial dilemma. This report has sought to sketch the events since January, 1961, and to estimate what contribution they have made. The qualities which seem to be most characteristic of the Administration's program to date are the following:

a. Enforcement of federal laws and defense of federal authority have been vigorous.

b. A bias toward civil rights has been built into the federal government, and should give steady momentum to civil rights advance.

c. In the South, the Administration has had almost no goal except compliance with federal law. It has not, in schools or any other area, exerted its influence in behalf of integration, beyond respect for law.

d. The Administration has developed strong and potentially effective policies in the field of contractor employment. In other fields, where strong policies might encounter the resistance of state governments, the Administration has avoided action as yet. This includes research grants for public higher education, vocational training programs, Hill-Burton hospitals, the National Guard, and housing.

The housing issue is an appropriate concluding note for a study of the concept of executive action, and what has been accomplished by it. For housing more than any other raises the fundamental questions. Here the issues of civil rights intersect clearly with the more basic problem, which is the question of whether this nation wants to confront and solve the racial conflict that has bedeviled and tortured our history. And in the problems of housing - which are, simply put, the question of

where a family may live and raise its children - we see that racial relations are, in live meaning, the relations of individual human beings to each other. Government can give no higher service than the creation of environments in which the nation's individuals can live with each other in trust and good will.

APPENDIX

Recommendations
of the
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
for
Executive Action

from the 1959 Report

1. p. 327

The Commission recommends that the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in cooperation with the Bureau of the Census of the Department of Commerce, conduct an annual school census that will show the number and race of all students enrolled in all public educational institutions in the United States, and compile such data by States, by school districts, and by individual institutions of higher education within each State. Further, that initially this data be collected at the time of the taking of the next decennial census, and thereafter from official State sources insofar as possible.

2. p. 538

It is recommended: That the President issue an Executive Order stating the constitutional objective of equal opportunity in housing, directing all Federal agencies to shape their policies and practices to make the maximum contribution to the achievement of this goal, and requesting the Commission on Civil Rights, if extended, to continue to study and appraise the policies of Federal housing agencies, to prepare and propose plans to bring about the end of discrimination in all federally assisted housing, and to make appropriate recommendations.

That the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency give high priority to the problem of gearing the policies and the operations of his constitutent housing agencies to the attainment of equal opportunity in housing.

3. p. 538

It is recommended that in support of State and city laws the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration should strengthen their present agreements with States and cities having laws against discrimination in housing by requiring that builders subject to these laws who desire the benefits of Federal mortgage insurance and loan guaranty programs agree in writing that they will abide by such laws. FHA and VA should establish their own factfinding machinery to determine whether such builders are violating State

and city laws, and, if it is found that they are, immediate steps should be taken to withdraw Federal benefits from them, pending final action by the appropriate State agency or court.

4. p. 539

It is recommended that the Public Housing Administration take affirmative action to encourage the selection of sites on open land in good areas outside the present centers of racial concentrations. PHA should put the local housing authorities on notice that their proposals will be evaluated in this light. PHA should further encourage the construction of smaller projects that fit better into residential neighborhoods, rather than large developments of tall "high-rise" apartments that set a special group apart in a community of its own.

5. p. 540

It is recommended that the Urban Renewal Administration take positive steps to assure that in the preparation of overall community "workable programs" for urban renewal, spokesmen for minority groups are in fact included among the citizens whose participation is required.

from the 1960 report on Public Higher Education

6. p. 267

The Commission recommends that the Federal Government, either by executive or, if necessary, by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin.

The Commission agrees that in any such Federal action taken it should be stipulated that no Federal agency or official shall be given power to direct, supervise or control the administration, curricula or personnel of an institution operated and maintained by a State or a political subdivision thereof. (one dissent).

from the 1961 Report

7. Vol. 2, p. 182-3

(a) That the President direct, or the Congress enact legislation authorizing, the Commission on Civil Rights, if extended, to serve as a clearinghouse to collect and disseminate information concerning programs and procedures used by school districts to achieve an organization and operation of their schools in accordance with

constitutional principles, including data as to the known effects of such programs on the quality of education and the cost thereof; (b) That the Commission further be authorized to establish an advisory and conciliation service to assist local school officials in developing plans designed to meet constitutional requirements and local conditions, and to attempt to mediate and conciliate disputes between school officials and school patrons, upon the request of either, as to desegregation of schools--proposed plans for desegregation, or the implementation of plans already in operation. The Commission agrees that the use of such an advisory and conciliation service should not be a prerequisite to the bringing of legal action in a Federal court nor a ground for delay in the prosecution of a pending action; that its purpose is to obviate the necessity of legal action where possible and, in the case of pending suits, to speed, not delay, a final determination.

8. Vol. 2, p. 183

That the President or the Congress direct the Attorney General to take such action as may be appropriate, in any case where a school system is operating under a plan to bring it into conformance with the requirements of the 14th amendment, to protect the school board members carrying out such plan, supervisory officials and teachers in school systems executing the orders of such school boards, school children of both races attempting to attend schools affected by the plan and their parents, and citizens helping such children or their parents, from bodily harm, harassment, intimidation, and/or reprisal by officials or private persons.

9. Vol. 2, p. 183

That the President direct the Department of Defense to make a complete survey of the segregated-desegregated status of public schools attended by dependents of military personnel living on-base or in the absence of sufficient housing on-base, living in the vicinity of a base, and report its findings to him. Further, that insofar as such dependents are found to be attending compulsorily racially segregated schools, the President instruct the Commissioner of Education to make suitable arrangements for their education in public schools or on-base schools open to all such dependents without discrimination because of color or race.

10. Vol. 2, p. 184

That the President direct the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to make a survey of the practices of all public libraries receiving Federal financial aid under the Library Services Act of 1956 to determine whether or not they are offering free service to all residents of the community as required by the terms of that law and by the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment of the Constitution. Further, that the

Commissioner, as provided in the law granting such Federal aid, withhold Federal funds from States which include under the State plan libraries not serving all residents of the community or not serving all of them in a manner consonant with constitutional principles.

11. Vol. 2, p. 184

That the Federal Government, either by executive or by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of Federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly-controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin.

The Commission agrees that in any such Federal action taken it should be stipulated that no Federal agency or official shall be given power to direct, supervise or control the administration, curricula or personnel of an institution operated and maintained by a State or a political subdivision thereof.

12. Vol. 3, p. 162

That the President issue an Executive order providing for equality of treatment and opportunity, without segregation or other barriers, for all applicants for or members of the Reserve components of the Armed Forces, including the National Guard and student training programs, without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin; and directing that an immediate survey, and report thereon, be made regarding Negro membership in the Armed Forces, the Armed Forces Reserves, the National Guard, and student training programs, including data, where appropriate, on branch of service, rank, type of job or assignment, years of service, and rates of pay.

13. Vol. 3, p. 162

That the President issue an Executive order making clear that employment supported by Federal grant funds is subject to the same nondiscrimination policy and the same requirements as those set forth in Executive Order 10925 applicable to employment by Government contractors.

14. Vol. 3, p. 163

That the President direct that appropriate measures be taken for the conduct, on a continuing basis, of an affirmative program of dissemination of information--

(a) To make known the availability on a nondiscriminatory basis of jobs in the Federal Government and with Government contractors; and

(b) To encourage all individuals to train for and apply for such jobs, and particularly those jobs where there is currently a shortage of qualified applicants.

15. Vol. 3, p. 163

That steps be taken, either by executive or congressional action, to reaffirm and strengthen the Bureau of Employment Security policy, in rendering recruitment and placement services, of encouraging merit employment and assisting minority group members in overcoming obstacles to employment and in obtaining equal job opportunities. -----In addition, regulations and statements of policy with respect to the operation of State employment offices should be re-examined to insure that such regulations and statements conform to the overall USES policy of discouraging employment discrimination and encouraging merit employment.

16. Vol. 3, p. 164

That the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant Federal funds for the operation of State employment offices only to those offices which offer their services to all, on a nonsegregated basis, and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job orders.

17. Vol. 4, p. 150

That the President issue an Executive order, stating the national objective of equal opportunity in housing and specifically directing all Federal agencies concerned with housing and with home mortgage credit to shape their policies and practices to make the maximum contribution to the achievement of this goal; and that the President use his good offices to stimulate the participation of all elements of the housing and home finance industries in the achievement of the national objective of equal housing opportunity.

18. Vol. 4, p. 150-1

That the President (a) direct FHA and VA, on a nationwide basis, to take appropriate steps to assure that builders and developers will not discriminate on the grounds of race, color, or creed in the sale or lease of housing built with the aid of FHA mortgage insurance or VA loan guarantees; (b) direct FHA, VA, and FNMA to take appropriate steps to assure nondiscrimination by lending institutions with which these agencies have dealings; (c) direct FHA and VA, in selling or leasing reacquired housing, to take appropriate steps to assure that such Government-owned housing will be available on a nondiscriminatory basis; (d) designate open occupancy housing for FNMA special assistance.

19. Vol. 4, p. 151

That the Federal Government, either by executive or by congressional action, take appropriate measures to require all financial institutions engaged in a mortgage loan business that are supervised by a Federal agency to conduct such business on a nondiscriminatory basis, and to direct all relevant Federal agencies to devise reasonable and effective implementing procedures. (one dissent and one dissent in part)

20. Vol. 4, p. 153

That the Federal Government, either by executive or by congressional action, take appropriate measures to require communities as a prerequisite to receiving Federal urban renewal assistance: (a) to assure that there is a supply of decent, safe, and sanitary housing for displacees in fact adequate to the needs of the families displaced; and (b) to provide sufficient relocation facilities to assure the relocation of such displacees into decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings.

21. Vol. 4, p. 153

That the President direct the Urban Renewal Administration to require that each contract entered into between local public authorities and redevelopers contain a provision assuring access to reuse housing to all applicants regardless of race, creed, or color.

22. Vol. 4, p. 153

That the President direct all Federal agencies concerned with housing and with home mortgage credit to develop procedures for obtaining information on the availability of home mortgage credit to nonwhites and other minority groups, and the extent to which they participate in the benefits of the housing programs administered by these agencies.

23. Vol. 5, p. 165

The Commission recommends that the President utilize his leadership and influence and the prestige of his office in support of equal protection of the laws for all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States in all aspects of civil and political life: by explaining to the American people the legal and moral issues involved in critical situations when they arise; by reiterating at appropriate times and places his support for the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions as legally and morally correct; by undertaking the leadership of an active effort to stimulate the interest of citizens in their right of franchise; and by all other means at his disposal marshaling the Nation's vast reservoir of reason and good will in support of constitutional law not only as a civil duty but as essential to the attainment of the national goal of equal opportunity for all.

CHATTANOOGA

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH

The second of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities

A Report based on a survey by the
Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
Dr. Major J. Jones
Research Coordinator

FOREWORD

The first study in this series was of Houston, Texas and was published in November, 1961. A note at the beginning of that pamphlet indicated the purpose of the series. We know of no better introductory statement to this second report than the following paragraphs from an editorial in the *Durham Morning Herald,* September 19, 1961:

> Every obstacle which keeps Negroes from fitting themselves for skilled jobs must be paid for over and over again by every one of us. Indeed, the price mounts each year.
>
> For by discouraging the training of more skilled Negro workers, the state is promoting the very technological unemployment the nation as a whole is trying to combat. It is ironic in the extreme to figure out ways of promoting new skills among workers in depressed areas while blocking others from learning skills that would keep them from joining the ranks of the chronically unemployed.
>
> . . . We condemn a significant percentage of our labor force to scramble for the ever dwindling proportion of laborers' jobs. Their requests for training toward higher skills are often ignored, or worse turned down with the fatuous claim that it is no good training them because there would be no openings for Negroes even if they were skilled.
>
> The results of this self-defeating response to the Negro's need for job training are abundantly clear. They are clear in the out-migration of North Carolina's most able and intelligent Negroes. They are clear in the wasted capabilities of other Negroes who, for one reason or another, choose to remain despite the lack of opportunities. They are clear in many other ways.
>
> And in each one it is also clear that the Negro is not the only loser. For so long as he makes an artificially small contribution toward the development of the state, the entire state is poorer.

The material in this report is based upon interviews carried out during the summer of 1961. The Southern Regional Council and the co-sponsor of this study, the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, not only acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Major J. Jones but also that of the 28 member organizations of CCCA and its president, Rev. Horace Traylor, and of the many citizens of Chattanooga without whose cooperation this study would not have been possible.

James A. Moss

Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

NO PLACE AT HOME

Last spring 300 young men and women were graduated from Chattanooga's Howard High School. They were a class of normal American youth. They liked football, dancing, movies, television, popular music. They came from all walks of life, all religious faiths. Some aspired to professional careers. Some wanted to be housewives; some, to learn trades.

There was, in brief, nothing extraordinary about the situation except one thing: these young people were Negroes.

What does this mean?

To the 30% who wanted to go to college it meant that they had to enroll in schools at least 100 miles away, despite the existence of a fully accredited university in their home town; for this university bars members of their race.

And what of the remaining number?

Thirty-two per cent left Chattanooga altogether to seek employment in other cities.

Three per cent entered the armed forces.

Thus, 65% of a graduating class of 300 for one reason or another migrated elsewhere.

Of the more than a third who remained in Chattanooga, 14% have since married and established new households.

Twenty per cent were forced to take menial jobs with little or no opportunity for advancement.

One per cent were employed as apprentices in skilled trades.

The record can be verified by statistics on file at the high school.

Taken out of context — without being aware that the young people were Negroes — one might suppose that the city of Chattanooga is in the midst of an economic recession. Aware of the race, one familiar with

employment practices in the South regards the situation as standard operating procedure.

The evidence strongly indicates that discrimination in employment against Negroes is practiced in a wholesale manner throughout the entire South. This fact being acknowledged, it seems pertinent to inquire if there are any evidences of change on the way. If so, in what areas? Let us explore the Chattanooga employment scene in more detail.

UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY BEGINS AT SCHOOL

Essential to such an investigation is an analysis of educational and training opportunities.

Vocational training at all-white Kirkman High School encompasses a range of course. Here the white student may learn automotive mechanics, auto motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, drafting, electricity, industrial chemistry, industrial electricity, industrial instrumentation, machine drafting, basic and advanced machine shop procedures, printing, radio and television repair, refrigeration, air conditioning, sheet metal, welding, practical nursing, photography, pre-flight aeronautics, and assorted business subjects, including office machine operations, commercial arithmetic, and salesmanship. Of these courses, only automotive mechanics, automotive motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, practical nursing, and basic business courses are taught in the city's two Negro high schools. In addition, all-Negro Howard High offers tailoring, shoe repair, carpentry, commercial baking, and bricklaying, courses that are not available to white students.

The disparity here is palpably evident, as is the over-all pattern. Negro youth, observers say, are offered training only in fields currently open to them in the labor market. The lack of accessibility to an open job market negatively affects both students and teachers. Negro teachers are denied the knowledge that comes from direct participation in meaningful roles in industry as well as the opportunity for placing their students in the more highly skilled and better paid jobs. Coupled with these disadvantages is the inadequate and often outdated equipment provided in the Negro schools. Because of this, Negro leaders maintain that the quality of training at Howard High in courses seemingly comparable to those taught at Kirkman is inferior to that in courses offered white students. Furthermore, they state, vocational guidance programs are geared more toward disciplining of delinquent students than counseling toward vocational opportunities.

The majority of guidance personnel, in fact, is reportedly not even in contact with the job market.

Opportunities for Negro adults to gain additional training are limited to some of the previously mentioned courses offered in the two Negro high schools, plus classes in electronics, welding, sewing, rug making, and cake decorating. These courses are taught in the evenings, when the high school facilities may be used. No other vocational training is available to Negroes in the entire city.

All money supporting public school vocational training in the state of Tennessee for both white and Negro schools comes from the Federal Government.

CUSTOM-BUILT DISCRIMINATION IN PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT

In approaching the subject of Negro employment in the South one inevitably encounters almost a fixation among white employers against breaching "local custom." It is local custom that Negroes in white-owned industries work in menial roles. It is local custom that Negroes do not work on an equal basis with whites. It is local custom that Negroes, with few exceptions, do not supervise whites. Few will insist that the situation is morally justifiable or consistent with democratic and Christian ethics; some will admit privately, in fact, that it goes against their individual convictions. Rare, however, is the white employer who will take voluntary action to bring about change. In Chattanooga, such employers are so rare as to be practically nonexistent.

The results of several interviews illustrate the point.

- A furniture store employs a total of five Negroes. Three are truck drivers; one is a truck helper; one is an elevator operator. There is no written policy against upgrading Negroes, and an official states that "a Negro could become a salesman, but it would depend on the situation at the particular time." No Negroes, he says, have ever filed applications for jobs above the menial level.

- A department store which estimates its Negro trade at between 20% and 30% employs 87 Negroes, approximately 90% of whom are in "maintenance and service jobs." It has one Negro display assistant and

six stock clerks, who are actually classified as porters. Some maids assist salesclerks. The president of this store at one time thought of hiring a Negro salesclerk, but feared adverse reaction from white customers. The store has no policy for upgrading Negroes.

● Recently a downtown grocery store employed one Negro in its meat market, promoted another from cleaner to stock room worker, and hired a third for stock room work. The transition — hardly a breakthrough of major proportions — is regarded as "successful" by the store manager.

● A large bank which does 15% of its business with Negroes employs no Negroes in any capacity whatever. An official says that its Negro customers pay their bills better than many whites, and in the past 13 years it has never foreclosed on a Negro home. Somewhat curiously, the reason given for not employing Negroes is the bank's policy of employee recruitment from people "known" to it. One might, it seems, inquire if its Negro customers do not fit into this category.

● Officials at another bank will not reveal the volume of its Negro business and state only that it employs eight Negroes, all as porters with no opportunity for training leading to higher level jobs.

● A third bank employs no Negroes directly but has Negro janitors and maids supplied through a janitorial service. A spokesman here maintains that he has "liberal views on racial matters," but feels bound by local custom in employing Negroes.

● A major department store employs 100 Negroes, all as maids, janitors, or porters. The highest job level obtained by a Negro here is head porter. The store has no immediate plans to promote Negroes to higher level jobs due to local custom and tradition. However, it concedes that "a gradual approach to upgrading might be feasible." A store official estimates that more than a quarter of its business is with Negroes.

● A spokesman for a utility firm refused to answer questions put to him which he deemed "controversial" or designed "to create tension." His company, he responded, hires "those compatible with others in a work group." Promotion of Negroes, he says, is governed by "traditions and customs of the community."

● Another utility company employs more than 40 Negroes, all of

them in the category of laborers. Three, however, are truck drivers, and one assists a white machinist. There are no Negro supervisors.

● A major pipe company with a total of 682 persons on its payroll employs 250 Negroes. Eight of these hold jobs classified as molder finishers and utility men. But, according to a management spokesman, none is able to qualify for promotion. The remaining Negroes are classified as laborers.

● An intrastate bus line has 11 Negro and more than 200 white employees. Its Negro employees are all in maintenance service, but none has been advanced beyond the level of mechanic's helper.

● Local offices of two large insurance companies employ no Negroes above custodial rank. Fifty per cent of the life insurance business of one is with Negroes; yet all of its 200 agents are white.

● Of 600 employees at a hosiery mill, 10 are Negro, and all hold jobs as either janitors or maids.

● A variety chain store which reports "good experience" with Negro employees has one Negro who works as a general utility man. He installs and repairs air conditioners, does building cleaning, and supervises other janitors. His official classification is "porter." At one time the store had a Negro window decorator and currently has a Negro stock boy. Its one Negro maid "does other work" which was not specified.

● Another variety store — part of a nationwide chain — employs a Negro window decorator and a maid in its stock room. The management of this store "fears repercussions" if it upgrades Negroes to sales or supervisory roles.

● A major egg processor with more than two thirds of its total work staff Negro has no Negro supervisors, nor any Negroes working in a clerical or middle management capacity. Neither does it have any policy for Negroes of in-plant training leading to promotion. The work week here is six days, and the minimum wage is $1.03 per hour.

● A local pharmaceutical firm employing 16 Negroes out of a work force of 175 has one Negro who holds a semiskilled post as steam fitter and another who is supervisor of the remaining Negroes, all of whom work in menial capacities. A company official here says Negroes are not con-

sidered for advancement into jobs on a level with whites due to "personality conflicts."

● The Chattanooga plant of a national coffee processing company employs two Negroes who work as maintenance men, coffee roasters, and coffee blenders. A spokesman for the company says that, although qualified Negroes may be upgraded to foremen, none has yet been promoted to this position. Queried as to the likelihood of a Negro's being added to the sales force, the official says that the matter has never been considered, but it is not entirely out of the question. A Negro salesman working with Negro customers might, he feels, be quite effective.

Firms operating under Federal Government contracts were most reluctant to participate in the survey. Some refused to cooperate at all, and most were evasive in their responses. From information finally elicited their hesitancy is not difficult to understand, for it is manifest that few practice the nondiscriminatory ideal outlined in President Kennedy's executive order on employment policies in firms operating under Federal Government contracts.

Consider a few examples:

● A large iron foundry with nearly a thousand employees — half of whom are Negro — has no Negro foremen, even in a supervisory capacity over other Negro workers. The base pay for white employees is 25¢ an hour more than for Negroes. White employees start at a job and pay classification two steps above the Negro. There is a dual seniority system — one for employees of each race. Some Negro employees allege that union and management work together to keep the Negro level of employment low and also to bar Negroes from machine-shop apprenticeships. Whatever the reason, Negroes hold only menial and "heavy" jobs and have never been accepted as apprentice machinists.

● The situation is similar at another and larger foundry. Here, too, Negroes are relegated to menial work. Here, too, workers feel that union and management are working together to keep from upgrading Negroes to jobs with better pay and higher responsibility. The company once had an in-plant training program for Negro "blue caps," but those who participated were never upgraded. The program has since been abandoned. There is, similarly, a dual seniority list for white and Negro employees.

● The owner of a third large foundry refused to discuss the status of

Negroes employed at his company. Interviews with individual employees indicate, however, that few, if any, measures have been taken to comply with President Kennedy's fair employment practices directive. Negroes for the most part hold menial positions. Specific jobs include iron pourers, truck drivers, loaders, cupola workers, blasters, and grinders. Negroes are barred from apprenticeship training. There are no Negro foremen, administrators, or clerical workers. There is a feeling here that the union, which is an AFL-CIO affiliate, does little to upgrade Negroes; in fact, some Negroes state that the union actually dictates a policy of discrimination despite a nondiscrimination clause in its contract. To substantiate their claim they cite the fact that all jobs are classified by race and that there is never any overlapping of a Negro into a "white" job or a white into a "Negro" job.

● A smaller foundry appears to be somewhat more lenient. Here, Negro molders are classified as skilled or semiskilled, according to their experience. The management is considering employing Negro welders and has an informal apprenticeship program of "crew training" for Negroes working in semiskilled roles. It has, however, no Negro supervisors, foremen, nor any Negroes working in an administrative or clerical status.

● The employment practices of the local division of one of the country's largest chemical companies are described as "most conservative" by both white and Negro employees. No Negroes have been hired in five years. Those who are already employed hold jobs as truck drivers, waste handlers, clean-up men, and cutting- and lifting-machine operators. There is no union, and Negroes are not allowed to participate in apprentice training programs.

● Conflicting pictures emerge from interviews with employees and management of the local division of a national producer of enameled iron and sanitary ware. A company official says that his firm, whose total work staff is 28% Negro, hires strictly on the basis of individual qualification. This official reports that employees have equal opportunity for promotion. Negroes, he says, are selected by qualification and seniority for training programs leading to promotion; however, as a rule, he insists, they do not "follow through" on the training given them. Upgrading of all employees, he reports, is made only with union agreement. Of interest is his statement that Negroes are not barred from supervisory roles, but that the company is reluctant to promote them "for obvious reasons." Negroes and whites do work side by side on many jobs, he states, and good relations exist between

members of the two races. Negroes, the official adds, work at all type jobs in the company "except technical and engineering."

Employees present a different view. Training programs, it is alleged, are not open to Negroes, and an "unwritten law" bars Negroes from becoming machinists. An instance is cited of a Negro machinist trainee who was given a tryout and was transferred as being "too slow" after only six days on the job. White trainees in the same shop have been given as much as two years to acquire the speed and skill necessary to do the same job. Another case is told of a Negro who was about to qualify as a highly skilled enameler and at the last moment was transferred to another department in a menial role at far less pay and with no opportunity for advancement. Allegations are also made that the union blocks Negroes from moving into more skilled jobs.

Both informants agree that the highest level job held by a Negro at this company is brickmason.

● Negro employees at a textile chemical firm hold more than their share of jobs at the unskilled level — as appears to be the case with numerous firms holding Federal contracts in the Chattanooga area. The company employs no Negro clerical workers, chemists, laboratory technicians, or supervisors on any level. A Negro was once offered a supervisory role over other Negroes; but he declined, because the pay was not as much as he earned as a laborer.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT: THE GREAT ILLUSION

In the field of public employment Negro job opportunities in Chattanooga are somewhat brighter than in private industry, but there is still vast room for improvement.

Exclusive of the teaching profession Negroes employed by the city hold 16 jobs which may be considered above menial status. Ten of these are city policemen; one is a license inspector; three are juvenile court officers assigned to Negro cases only; and two are caseworkers in the Negro division of the Bureau of Relief.

The 10 Negro policemen actually do not have full status as they are assigned only to Negro neighborhoods and are prohibited from arresting white law violators within their jurisdiction. There are no Negro supervisors

in the police department. Over the years a few white officers have been sent for further training; no Negro patrolmen have ever been chosen to attend police institutes or FBI schools.

In the Hamilton County courthouse, Negro employment for the most part is janitorial. One Negro holds a post as a semi-inventory clerk, and another is employed as a plumber's helper. A court official, denying any personal bias, reports that Negroes are not upgraded because of "local custom." Although this official appears to recognize that local custom is dictating an essentially immoral situation, he hesitates to take steps in opposition to prevailing white sentiment. At the close of the interview, however, he indicated that he would give consideration to placing qualified Negroes in jobs above their present level of employment.

The city administration says it would like to hire several engineers without regard to race and also would like to staff fire stations in the Negro community with Negro firemen. Queried as to his position on Negro employment in city government, the mayor of Chattanooga makes this comment: "I will cooperate with efforts in this city for its betterment by setting an example."

Basic educational requirement for employment by the city-owned Electric Power Board is a high school diploma. Vocational training of Negro high school graduates is considered by Power Board officials to be well below that of white high schools — not surprising in view of inadequate training facilities at the two Negro high schools. Job placement in theory is based on an applicant's qualifications. Yet when three young Negroes trained in commercial subjects recently sought to fill openings in secretarial and clerical work, their qualifications were judged "unimpressive," and the jobs went to white applicants. Of 34 Negroes employed by the Power Board, 16 are classified as janitors, four as hostlers, two as truck drivers, five as laborers, two as helpers, and five as elevator operators. An official of the board admits that, although all jobs supposedly are open to qualified members of both races, Negroes have no chance at all of becoming foremen. Local custom would forbid it.

The Chattanooga School Board employs no Negro carpenters, painters, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, plumber's helpers, or steam fitters, although there are Negroes in the city qualified to hold such jobs.

Of 50 school custodians 40 are Negro. Here Negroes appear to be

losing out in a field they once dominated. Ten years ago all 50 were Negro, but as the Negroes have retired they have been replaced by whites, whose jobs are reclassified as "building managers," with higher pay than that received by their Negro predecessors.

The Chattanooga Housing Authority employs no Negroes at the policy making level, and, in its central offices, Negroes are working only as janitors. Elsewhere, the agency employs Negroes, for the most part, as laborers. However, three do hold semiskilled jobs — all classified as mechanics or supervisors but performing higher level tasks such as electricians, painters, and plumbers. All are nonunion men, because trade unions in the city bar Negroes from membership. These men are paid on a lower scale than called for by the skills they are performing.

Urban renewal projects are first let to the general contractor, who then subcontracts various phases of construction. The selection of subcontractors is the decision of the general contractor. An official admits that unless Negro contractors know in advance about a particular job they would have no chance to bid for it, as subcontracts are not advertised.

It is reported by some Negro laborers that while working for white contractors they frequently do skilled work but do not draw additional pay.

The Negro division of the State Employment Service is under the supervision of a white director. The reason for this, a spokesman says, is that no Negro can be found in the city of Chattanooga who has the proper qualifications, *i.e.,* a college degree plus civil service supervisory experience. The agency feels no obligation to seek out jobs for Negroes; however, it reportedly does perform this service for whites. At the central offices jobs are not referred to the Negro division unless the employer specifically requests Negroes. Most such requests are for work in menial roles.

In contrast, interviewers noted some concern on the part of a Social Security official that no Negroes work in his office on any level. He was disturbed lest the national administration think the office practices racial discrimination. The truth is, the official insists, that few Negroes take Civil Service examinations in the city.

An interview with personnel administrators at the Tennessee Valley Authority revealed that 112 Negroes are employed out of a total work force of 600. Of the Negroes employed, 52 are janitors, nine are messen-

gers, four are garage attendants, three are linemen, two are lineman apprentices, two are truck drivers, four are bindery workers, and two are building guards. There are 22 Negroes employed in various clerical roles, including 11 file clerks, two typists, seven mail clerks, and two store clerks. In addition, four Negroes are duplicating machine operators, one a computing machine operator, and one is a collating machine operator. Two Negroes hold jobs as engineers — one, a civil engineer; the other, electrical. There is one Negro electrical engineer trainee, one Negro draftsman, one photographer, and one Negro personnel administrator.

Officials of the agency feel that many Negroes seeking employment at TVA have inadequate vocational training.

At the Chattanooga post office no Negroes are employed as supervisors.

BARRIERS TO PROFESSIONAL PRIDE

Even on the professional level Negroes find discrimination. Negro doctors are barred from membership in the local medical association; they are denied admittance to practice in the city's two major hospitals and rarely have any contact with white colleagues, except on rare occasions when one calls upon the other for consultation.

Negro teachers are in the particularly frustrating position of having no local educational outlet and must travel at least 100 miles to Negro colleges to do advanced work in summer teacher seminars. The highest position held by a Negro in the city school system is that of principal.

The city's one Negro lawyer feels that he is handicapped in his practice by a general feeling within the Negro community that a white lawyer can more successfully handle their affairs in an all-white courtroom. Their thinking seems to be that the mere presence of an educated Negro lawyer would inflame white prejudices against them.

There are a few Negro registered nurses on the staffs of two city hospitals; Negro leaders feel, however, that the number is inadequate in view of the fact that the two segregated wings of an otherwise all-white hospital are manned almost entirely by semiprofessionals — practical nurses and nurses aides.

KNOCKING — BUT THEY CAN'T GET IN

Researchers discovered few instances of actual job breakthroughs for Negroes into all-white categories. Jobs considered "unusual" for Negroes appear to be isolated cases with no attempt made permanently to erase racial barriers in these roles. A few such examples, however, are noteworthy.

- A mail-order house employs a Negro mail-order clerk.

- A leading flower farm with a large southeastern clientele employs a Negro flower designer who works on equal status with her white colleagues.

- An automobile dealer has a Negro salesman on its staff. (It is perhaps pertinent to note here that all other dealers employ Negroes as clean-up and grease men, although many of these men, it is said, know enough about automobiles to hold mechanic's jobs.)

- The local outlet of a nationwide variety store has recently upgraded a maid with 15 years seniority to the level of clerk. This woman feels that she has been well accepted by both white customers and her fellow white clerks. Her salary is the same as that of other clerks with the same amount of seniority.

But as has been observed, instances such as these (insignificant really when one considers the vast waste of Negro labor potential in Chattanooga) are exceptions. Employment of Negroes at levels below their training, Negro leaders say, is most certainly the rule.

An index of the extent to which this is true may be gauged by a look at the responses of college-trained Negro substitute teachers, questioned as to the type of jobs they are able to find other than teaching.

One baby-sits. One operates a department store elevator. One carries baggage at the airport. One works as floor sweeper in a bakery. Another works as a household domestic. Many say they are unable to find other jobs at all.

SUMMARY

In almost any discussion with a segregationist a statement somewhat like this will occur: "I don't dislike Negroes personally, but they should seek to raise their economic level first before pressing for integration."

The conclusions of this survey make it obvious that there is more involved here than an effort of will on the part of Negroes. Discrimination begins long before a Negro youth files his first job application. He is denied equal training opportunities, and when he seeks skilled jobs he is rejected — ostensibly at least — because he is inadequately trained. If he does acquire trade skills, he is barred from most trade unions and apprentice programs. He is likewise barred from admission to the only college within 100 miles. Almost without exception, industries with Federal contracts fill their required Negro quotas at the lowest level of employment. Local custom works as a brake on the few white employers who might desire to upgrade their Negro employees to positions of greater responsibility.

Is there any wonder, then, that 65% of a local Negro high school graduating class seek opportunities outside Chattanooga? The wonder is that as many remain as do.

Governor Buford Ellington, campaigning for election in 1958, stated: "All of us are fighting youth migration. We need to be in the position to stretch our arms toward these youths who have left our state and say: 'Come home, come home. The opportunities are here.'

"And we need to expand the system of trade schools so that we can say to our youths remaining with us: 'Stay home, stay home. The opportunities will be here. You will be trained to take advantage of them.' "

Whether he intended to do so or not, the governor summed up the plight of the Negro youth in the city of Chattanooga. And this raises the most pertinent question of all.

How much longer can Chattanooga afford to sustain and support a policy that fosters youth migration and forces those who stay at home to accept a permanent rung at the bottom of the employment ladder? It is not too late — even in Chattanooga — to do something about it. But as Governor Ellington indicated four years ago — time is running short.

The Daily Tar Heel

The TECHNIQUE

The GAMECOCK

THE SPRINGHILLIAN

The Tulane Hullabaloo

THE DAILY TEXAN

VANDERBILT Hustler

The Daily Reveille

Crimson

The Driftwood

GEORGIA STATE SIGNAL

The Fire Thresher

The White

The Tulane Hullabaloo

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1962

The riots at the University of Mississippi this Fall made headlines round the world. And the students of that university won for themselves on the night of September 30 a reputation that will not soon be forgotten. But largely overlooked in the scores of stories about Ole Miss students was the reaction of other southern students to the Oxford crisis. That reaction is eloquently expressed in this selection of editorials and columns from southern student newspapers which appeared in the days following Oxford.

Editorials

Liberty And Social Justice

Leading a just cause is not the most difficult activity one can conduct. The unpopular cause requires strength of character and perseverance.

James Meredith is to be commended for the sheer intestinal fortitude of sticking out the situation at Ole Miss. Few men have the courage of their convictions and the desire to follow through against almost insurmountable odds.

The federal marshals will not be with Meredith forever. Sooner or later he is going to be alone, a minority of one facing the majority of many, leading a just cause that is unpopular with his geographical contemporaries.

He is seeking an education that he is entitled to receive. The experience Meredith will remember longer than his book learning is the social education he will undergo when he walks from his room to eat in the cafeteria and attend his classes. Each and every day Meredith must face many people who do not want him and some people who would physically harm him.

He must endure the taunts and jeers of some of the students at the University of Mississippi to get the education many collegians take for granted. He is to be commended.

The Fire Thresher

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 3, 1962

"The South, the poor South."
—John C. Calhoun, 1850

What is the future of the South? As we have known it, it has none.

Burdened with a social system which offends the moral judgments of the world, it is unable to communicate the values and the substance of its way of life.

THE DAILY TEXAN

Thursday, October 4, 1962

University of Texas

Jim Fowler—

THE GAMECOCK — October 5, 1962

University of South Carolina

The Face Of Fear

The Driftwood

Louisiana State University of New Orleans

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There is much of worth in the Southern Socio-political tradition; in spite of anachronisms and injustices, it persists as a vague alternative to the smoke, squalor, and vast impersonality of industrial society.

It could not endure indefinitely, as the growth of business in the present-day South proves; but the Southern tradition does suggest answers to crucial and perplexing questions which the world still faces. Although the South, through its distinctive experience, is uniquely qualified to offer these answers, last week it lost its final chance both to survive and to be heard. An era has ended.

Had it ended with dignity and honor, it would be tolerable.

Edwin Walker leading a charge of children armed with bricks and broken bottles is neither dignity nor honor.

It is tragic that the end should come, but it is inexpressibly sad that it should come like this.

—G. S.

THE DAILY TEXAN

Thursday, October 4, 1962

University of Texas

Jim Fowler—

Having watched the residents of the sovereign state of Mississippi and listening to them discuss their plight, I have come to the conclusion that the only thing they respect is a rifle butt in the ribs or a hob nailed boot in the face. These people are so emotionally and psychologically opposed to integration that they are incapable of rational judgment. As a result they must receive constant shock treatments with the hope that they might eventually realize the futility of their antiquated tradition.

It has been almost a hundred years since the Emancipation Proclamation, and eight years since the Supreme Court decision to integrate public schools. If we are to remain a great nation, preserving the institutions which have made us great in the past and will help us in the future, we must observe and preserve the law of the land. The people of Mississippi have decided against this. This small group, however, can't be allowed to jeopardize the United States in these troubled times. Because of this the government was justified in using all the means at its disposal for its preservation.

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University of South Carolina

The Face Of Fear

The face of fear is impassive. The face of fear is bland and unresponsive. The face of fear is ebony skin drawn tightly over bones. The face of fear is white with clenched, hating mouths. The face of fear sometimes says, "Equality may be the worst form of discrimination." It also may say, "Force is admission of failure of diplomacy."

One face is named James Meredith. After a day at the University of Mississippi, it is evident that Meredith's efforts ("for America" not "for himself") to be the first Negro in the all-white school have caused violence, bloodshed, and a college-wide guilt complex.

Student rioting — often led by adult outside elements —has at present caused several deaths, numerous injuries, and a cessation of classes.

The face of fear stands in the Russell House hall where one Negro janitor says to another, "Go ahead and drink out of that fountain, it won't hurt you."

His answer: "Water sinks battlesnips."

Yes, water sinks battleships and a fountain can become a major incident to a campus inflamed by professional racists or misled students.

South Carolina is one of the last states to fall to the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, but in falling, it will rise — to prove that education can conquer mob violence.

"What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun?
. . . Maybe it just sags like a heavy load.
Or does it explode?"

We at USC must ask this question about integration and use objectivity in answering it.

Through education, the face of fear can become the face of faith.

The Driftwood

Louisiana State University of New Orleans

Thursday, October 4, 1962

Federal Support of Meredith Upheld

The events that have been taken place in Mississippi over the past week are inspiring, to say the least. The American people stand proud — as the rest of the world can be impressed — that the government of the United States will not tolerate the flaunting of its courts and the insulting of its citizens, and is in no mood to treat the mobs of Mississippi as the "special citizens" they apparently think they are.

One might think that in an age of atomic warfare, and universal conscription, and a population of 185 million people, the federal government would have neither the time nor the interest to stand up for only **one** of its citizens. But there it is: the full power and influence of the United States argument to the support of one man in his argument with the State of Mississippi.

The Driftwood approves of the actions of the federal government — if for no other reason, than that it approves of judicial procedure and the rule of law, rather than of mobs. The people of Mississippi must understand that in this country at least, when you take a case to court, you are bound to honor the decision, and that no one gets, or merits special treatment.

VANDERBILT Hustler

October 12, 1962

A Southern Politician's Coloring Book—Ha Ha

By KIM CHAPIN

See the Southern politician. Color him white. See his banjo and hear him sing. People won't vote for him unless he does. Smart people do not want to vote for him anyway. But they do. That is because they are all Democrats. Every one of them.

See the poor Republican. He is a normal Southern Republican. He has two wives. That is too bad, because he is not a Mormon. Color the Republican embarrassed.

People down South don't like Republicans. They don't like Negroes either. So they vote Democratic. Northern Negroes vote Democratic too. Politics are funny. Ha ha. Southern Negroes don't vote.

Here comes a Southern politician. He is the governor of Mississippi. His name is Ross Barnett. Color his neck red. Color Mississippi black and blue.

Ross Barnett thinks he is big stuff. Bigger than the President even. Ross Barnett wants Mississippi to secede from the Union. Lots of other people want to see Mississippi secede too. And they are not Southerners.

See John Patterson. Color his neck red too. Color the sheet he is wearing with the funny peak white. He likes Ross. He said he would sent guns to Ross. But he didn't. All those marshals wouldn't let him out of his house. Not with all those guns.

Ross and John are Southern politicians. They are stupid. That is redundant.

The Daily Reveille

Louisiana State University
October 16, 1962

Politica Lee, Hargrave

Gov. Ross Barnett was wrong. He should have pleaded for responsibility and restraint instead of encouraging defiance. Ultimately, he must assume responsibility for the violence at Ole Miss.

The citizens of Mississippi should have been prepared for integration instead of given free rein to defy the court's orders.

The innocent victim of the whole affair is the university. It was prepared to accept James Meredith and to comply with the law. Yet, as a result of the action of the Mississippi government, it is the one facing loss of accreditation and the resulting ostracism from other colleges that such action would bring.

Ole Miss students, too, deserve clemency. They were inflamed by agitators from outside the university. Alone, they would not have caused rioting of the magnitude that occurred. Also, wiser handling of the riots by federal marshals would not have inflamed the saner students to violence.

Yes, the violence was inevitable when the governor had set the state on a collision course with federal authority. There was no doubt as to the outcome of the collision. Little Rock had set the precedent for the use of federal troops to enforce court orders in integration matters. Barnett certainly knew this. He also knew that his actions would make him a martyr.

The Davidsonian

Davidson College, North Carolina

Comment On Mississippi: "Cry Sorrow, Sorrow . . ."

BY BILL FERRIS
Davidsonian Staff Writer

"Cry sorrow. Sorrow. Yet let good prevail." All who saw **Agamemnon** last week will remember this prayer of mixed hope and despair. The elders repeat it as they find themselves helpless before fate and brute power. Their prayer speaks to us as we face the present tragedy in Mississippi.

In Mississippi the stronger power of the federal government is attempting to bring justice to the Negro. A nightmare of blood, tear gas, and bayonets has shown that power alone can never establish this justice. The people must first be willing to accept it for themselves.

I think the recent events in Mississippi raise a number of serious questions about our society. Why must our government call out militia to enforce a law demanding that a man be judged by his ability and not his color? Does power alone determine our sense of right and wrong?

The answer seems to be "yes," even in the church, which claims to work for higher ends than power. The church has failed to lead in interracial problems. Fear of criticism has so sterilized the church that God's law is now modified to conform to the prevailing law of power. One minister in Oxford, Miss. has said, "We hesitate to make rash statements, but we feel the law should be upheld."

Man has good reason to "cry sorrow" when his society is being destroyed by forces he cannot understand.

Crimson White

University of Alabama

A Bell Rang . . .

If I had a bell,
I'd ring it in the morning,
I'd ring it in the evening,
All over this land.
I'd ring out justice,
I'd ring out freedom,
I'd ring out love for my brother and my sister,
All over this land.

. . . . American Folk Song.

A bell rang this week in Oxford, Mississippi.

It tolled not the ending of segregation as some had thought it might. Its message was rather the seeming success of Gov. Ross Barnett, who literally "stood in the schoolhouse door" and denied admission to James Meredith, Mississippi Negro.

We are concerned that Meredith did not gain access to the University of Mississippi. We think he should have been admitted.

Morally, there is no justification for his rejection.

Legally, there can be no doubt he is entitled to become a student at Mississippi.

But this is not our prime concern.

James Meredith's rights have been denied before and will, no doubt, be denied again. This is not to suggest that these denials are justified, for they are not. But it is to suggest that he probably has been forced to rationalize his existence in the society to which he was born.

We are more concerned with the precedent that has been set at Oxford, and the trend that may have been established.

People say that Meredith should not be allowed to attend the University of Mississippi if a majority of the people there and throughout the state do not want him.

This argument has frightening implications in terms of where it might lead. Does freedom of speech mean that the majority is to vote to determine whom they wish to hear? Is freedom of religion to be extended only to those persons whose beliefs conform to what the majority has decided is orthodox?

More specifically, if the bigot or the demagogue can muster a majority to turn on the Negro, will he necessarily stop there? Or will he next turn to the Catholic, and the Jew, or the member of any other minority group?

People who have studied prejudice attribute much of it to the necessity of the individual to have a tangible scapegoat upon whom to vent his wrath. The Federal Government makes a mistake and it's because the damn Catholics are in control.

And the sheer necessity of having to have someone to look down upon forces the element closest to that of the Negro to oppose any betterment of the Negro's lot.

P. D. East, editor of the **Petal Paper** and author of

• The Technique • Friday, Oct. 5, 1962

Georgia Institute of Technology

Ole Miss Scars U. S.

A European newsman killed . . .

A wounded law enforcement agent, refused ambulance service and aid . . .

Twelve-thousand troops, quartered in a town of 4,000, struggling to control mobs made up primarily of outside agitators . . .

The Lincoln Memorial, defaced with painted slurs . . .

The Governors of Alabama and Arkansas, making political hay of a tragedy . . .

All this, in the space of a week, taking place in the United States—the country to which most of the world looks for leadership in the struggle for peace among men. We're setting quite an example, aren't we?

With the issues of Berlin, Cuba, Africa, and disarmament facing us, what are we doing fighting among ourselves (especially over an issue which most people agree was settled 100 years ago)?

Every citizen has the right and duty to promote his beliefs, but one of the premises of our system is that laws are made either to be obeyed or to be changed—not to be disobeyed. No sane person can condone mob rule and bloodshed. Our energies must be put to more positive tasks if this country is to survive.

Mississippi may recover, someday, from this debased spectacle of anarchy, chaos, and blind stubbornness. We hope that the United States recovers from this and other internal strife, so that Mississippi may have a strong union to return to.

Mike Rogers

As I read of the Mississippi crisis, I found that I am not entirely "the emotional engineer." Several times, while perusing accounts of the chaos, I realized that there were tears in my eyes. Whether they were tears of anger, directed at people so gripped by hysteria that they lost all traces of reason, or tears of sorrow, felt for my country's smeared image, I don't know.

What Happened At Ole Miss

Following is a letter sent by a graduate student at the University of Mississippi to a friend at the University of Texas. A copy of the letter reached a Michigan State student who submitted it to the State News. Names have been omitted to protect the people involved:

Tuesday night,
10 p.m.
October 2

Dear -----,

Perhaps you may recall some of our group's discussions at Columbus, in which Will ----- and I repeatedly predicted that this would be a mess here. Many of the seminar participants, especially you and Ron, really could not believe what I was anticipating! Remember?? Well, unfortunately I was only too right.

Tonight, surrounded by 12,000 soldiers and marshalls, we have relative quiet--with only occassional tear gas guns exploding, a few jeeps rushing by, and, perhaps, only 2,000 guards at entrances to the University--that's a big improvement over Sunday and Monday, when the campus was truly a battleground. Two dead, more than 100 wounded! About 1,500 students have withdrawn from school. More leave daily.

You have by now heard the complete story: I'll only mention a few personal incidents.

I saw the Mississippi highway patrol flee the campus--at the height of the battle leaving the marshalls to the mercy of the crowd--after Barnett had promised they would help preserve the peace.

I charge the Governor and his "efficient" highway patrol with not only abandoning their rightful responsibility to keep law and order but also with willingly and knowingly contributing to the general disorder of the mob.

The U.S. marshalls were beaten, cursed, and attacked for hours without provocation by students (not outsiders) before the marshalls opened fire in self defense. I personally watched (from a distance) several hundred animals demolish a reporter's car, in which he and his wife were driving toward campus. It was horrible!! State policemen mearly said, "Let's get our of here!" and left.

Afraid? Scared? I was terrified all nite long! Several liberal friends from the north and I sat in darkened rooms watching students wreck the campus and listened to gunfire all nite. The tear gas covered the campus for two days.

We wept for hours Monday--I from digust and shame, as well as the gas.

No one has spoken to Mr. Meredith yet. He is attending classes under guard. He lives about 100 yards from here, but his dorm is off limits (we are practically under martial law--it's necessary) and he is guarded by about 100 airborne troops. Only 15 students remain in his dorm built for 3 or 400--the rest have left in protest to his presence.

Champions of States'

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And the sheer necessity of having to have someone to look down upon forces the element closest to that of the Negro to oppose any betterment of the Negro's lot.

P. D. East, editor of the **Petal Paper** and author of the **Magnolia Jungle**, puts it this way. "If I were a Catholic in Mississippi, I'd be worried. If I were a Jew, I'd be scared stiff. If I were a Negro, I would already be gone."

This is our point of prime concern. The basis of the democratic system is equality before the law, and the system is but a mockery if the laws are only to extend to a portion of the citizenry.

Every time the rights of one citizen anywhere are denied, every citizen is harmed.

Every time we trim our legal sail to meet the whirlwinds of the times, the course of the Ship of State is altered, and the destination toward which we have steered for 170 odd years grows more remote.

Bias is a force that strikes at one and all. We have come much too far, and fought far too long, to abandon our democratic system to appease the great god, Expediency.

We lost something American in Oxford this week, and every American citizen is the less for it.

John Donne said: "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; . . . I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

There was no need to send to Oxford this week to see what bell rang. It wasn't the bell of justice and freedom; it rang for you and me.

The Daily Tar Heel

University of North Carolina
October 2, 1962

'America'

OXFORD, Miss.—In the eyes of the world Mississippi is America. The Missisippi of General Walker, of Governor Ross Barnett, and of the confederate flags which fly everywhere in this little town, is what America means . . . because a great nation cannot be allowed to lapse into cruelty and violence, even within the smallest part of one of its smallest states.

At this moment America is the Army General who led a mob of teenagers, armed with rifles and rocks, against United States Marshals.

America is the Mississippi State Trooper who urged a group of students to "go get Meredith."

America is the "Ole Miss" student who crushed to pieces a newsman's camera and was cheered by his fellow students.

America is a State Trooper who screamed at reporters for not showing "proper southern courtesy" to a woman—and then later stood idly by while a reporter was being beaten by five students.

America is the unbelievably vile names which students called the Federal Marshals.

America is the person who shot and killed the French reporter and the Oxford man.

Perhaps the saddest of all of what America is today is the University administrator who used a loudspeaker to urge the students to return to their dormitories after the riot on Sunday saying; "You have done nothing to be ashamed of . . . Return to your dorms . . . you have done nothing to be ashamed of . . ."

Look closely at all this — look closely and see what your America has become. (JC).

and blind stubbornness. We hope that the United States recovers from this and other internal strife, so that Mississippi may have a strong union to return to.

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Rogers

As I read of the Mississippi crisis, I found that I am not entirely "the emotional engineer." Several times, while perusing accounts of the chaos, I realized that there were tears in my eyes. Whether they were tears of anger, directed at people so gripped by hysteria that they lost all traces of reason, or tears of sorrow, felt for my country's smeared image, I don't know.

But we can and must do more than simply deplore the situation —we had better learn some things from it, and act accordingly in the future.

We Need Statesmen

We must realize that we need fewer politicians and more statesmen in all levels of government—men who will do that which they know is best for their nation, not that which will net them the most votes.

Governor Barnett of Mississippi will never be termed a statesman; he spent his energies inciting his constituents to mob rule. His state will suffer educational and economic damage from which it will be long in recovering, but his actions will probably gain him many votes. He will be available to receive the votes, because he was conspicuously absent from the scene of the killing and violence which he so piously "abhorred."

In future elections, we must try to elect men who are more interested in what is right than in what will fill their personal ballot boxes.

The Signal

Georgia State College

October 10, 1962

JIMMY BURTON

Man Must Seek A Peaceful World

Man seems to have a continuous struggle to live at peace and prosperity with one another. The term struggle denotes effort. It appears only logical and reasonable, that if all men put forth effort towards reaching harmonious living, their goal would be relatively simple to attain.

Each day offers new problems and new misunderstandings to be overcome. Problems may be caused by a lack of communication or by a lack of understanding.

Either of these causes can be dismissed with sincere effort. Patience, humility, kindness, and a genuine respect for others can add vast amounts of understanding to our lives.

This writer was prompted to write these lines because of recent headlines and news stories concerning the unreasonable feelings in Mississippi. One can not fully realize how much improvement is needed for peace until violence occurs so near one's own home state.

All of the Little Rocks, Congos and Mississippis could have been avoided had each person wanted peace instead of violence and disorder.

The real test is not the big decisions; but the real test is an earnest effort in our daily living. It takes a great deal of courage sometimes to be kind or patient to someone who has seemingly mistreated you.

Strength is found in being fair and just with others. And there is also weakness and trouble when man tries to cheat or hate.

Peace can only be achieved when all men are peaceful. But you can not begin tomorrow or next week or next year. Now should be the time for each of us to begin creating a world of decency and love. The result must be prosperity and harmony.

sional tear gas guns exploding, a few jeeps rushing by, and, perhaps, only 2,000 guards at entrances to the University--that's a big improvement over Sunday and Monday, when the campus was truly a battleground. Two dead, more than 100 wounded! About 1,500 students have withdrawn from school. More leave daily.

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Champions of States' Rights Deprive Others

The Emory Wheel
Emory University
October 17, 1962

John Harrell

Hail to thee, O champions of states' rights.

Hail to thee, O champions of THE people.

HARRELL

Yes, All the people. All the duly registered and ordained people of the United States.

Where were you? Where were you when the power was seized from your hands? Where were you when they put the chains on your mother and led her away to slave land?

Let us beat our brows for freedom and individuality. Let us beat our neighbors.

We will not speak of Mississippi, of her sons, tried and true, who waged a last stand to see if the Constitution would not protect the rights of individual citizens.

Some have said that the race issue was lost in Mississippi—and elsewhere? What is the issue then?

History records that the Civil War has ended. We had race issues then, and issues of states rights, and other issues. But for what was this war? Did it not reveal a federal structure?

We still argue states rights, freedom of the individual and proper ranges of federal power. And this is good.

But what do we mean by "individual"? Do we mean the rights of some individuals? What do we mean by "states' rights." Do we mean the rights of some of the people in the states?

I seem to remember from my more profound studies of the Constitution that rights and liberties are granted equally to all American citizens.

The Springhillian

OCTOBER 9, 1962
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

For just a minute forget the issue of segregation and discrimination and think about how this is going to affect the everyday life of Ole Miss students. If they don't lose all the efforts which some may have spent up to three years earning with the loss of accreditation (the Mississippi school system's accreditation has been jeopardized by Gov. Barnett's interference in academic affairs), going to class every day will be like an exercise period at a prison.

Who's to blame for this selfish offense against all the students at Ole Miss?

Ralph McGill, publisher of the *Atlanta Constitution* and long-time progressive thinker and leader of Georgia in the integration problems, soundly railed the "power structure" of both Mississippi and Alabama over a nation-wide TV program, blaming the whole mess on the sick attitude of the backward thinking Mississippi people. In the power structure, McGill listed politicians, businessmen, clergy, and the press.

There is no one else to blame—not even the Kennedys.

And Alabama's people are just as sick. This year's winner of the Democratic gubernatorial primary, George C. Wallace, defeated moderate Ryan DeGraffenried on the same grounds that Ross Barnett won in 1959: by being the most outspoken racist in the race. Senator Lister Hill (D-Ala.) issued a statement saying, "Mississippi's fight is Alabama's fight . . . I and the other members of our Alabama delegation stand steadfast with them in defense of our rights and the sovereignty of our State in these critical times."

Critical times is right. And they will continue to be critical in the South until such men as these are put out of office and until other leaders accept their responsibility to lead the South in a straight-thinking manner.

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HOWARD ZINN

Albany

A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

by

HOWARD ZINN
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
SPELMAN COLLEGE

1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

INTRODUCTION

THE wreckage of Oxford may have caused some Southerners, and more of their fellow-countrymen, to wonder if the South is a region capable of self-government. Oxford was unprecedented in drama and in its threat to constitutional government. It was, however, but the foreordained outcome of the ideology of "massive resistance," taught and applied since 1954 by chieftains of politics from Virginia to Texas. All but a few areas of the South have by now got well from this intellectual and political sickness. But Mississippi would not have acted as it did this autumn if the legislatures, governors, and Congressmen of the other southern states had not acted as they did earlier.

The power of state or local law enforcement was first used to thwart federal authority in Mansfield (Texas) in 1956. This happened again, with immense consequences, in Little Rock in 1957. There can be no confidence, even after Oxford, that there will not be other similar rebellions.

Howard Zinn's report is about another kind of southern response to social and legal change. He writes about Albany, Georgia, where since November 1961 Negroes have worked hard and suffered much to have their humanity recognized. If the country must be prepared for the possibility of other Oxfords, it needs to be prepared for the likelihood—almost the certainty—of other Albanys.

Albany has also been a scene of mass disorder. The notorious riots in the South over desegregation have been of several types. Some have been more or less spontaneous, as were, for example, the Chattanooga riots during the sit-ins of 1960; these have not been, however, the deep-wounding variety. Some have been deliberately incited by conspirators, as were the Clinton (Tennessee) riots over school desegregation in 1956; there is at least persuasive evidence that the University of Georgia riot of early 1961 was also the handiwork of an organized few. Of much greater importance have been those mob actions tacitly but knowingly invited by public officials and permitted by the police: the mobs of Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery during the 1961 Freedom Ride were of this kind, and so too was that of Oxford. It is worth noting that there has been only one important instance when a white mob formed, knowing that the police would probably be uncooperative, and deliberately challenged the police. That was in Little Rock in 1959, and the mob was easily dispersed.

The disorders of Albany have been basically different. They have been like those of others since early 1960, in Orangeburg (S. C.), Tallahassee (Fla.), McComb (Miss.), Baton Rouge (La.), Lebanon

(Tenn.), Talledega (Ala.), and elsewhere. They have been caused by Negro demonstrations, not by a white mob.

Professor Zinn describes the Albany history with clarity. He shows how there has interacted in that city forces, institutions, ideas, and personalities in unique patterns of profound seriousness. The Southern Regional Council publishes his study because we believe the country urgently requires an understanding of what is and has been at issue. We think that, for two reasons, Albany has a crucial importance for the national interest.

First, as the civil rights movement penetrates the Deep South, and into smaller cities and rural areas, there will be other localities, and perhaps many, where a similar pattern of events will occur. As Albany has had its predecessors, so it will have its successors. This will be so because the twin forces which have produced the Albany crisis also exist in hundreds of places in the South. These are, on the one hand, Negro determination and willingness to act; and, on the other, the willful or inert resistance of white persons and their institutions. Furthermore, the methods used are likely to be the same: peaceful though firm Negro protest, and firm, relatively quiet, police suppression.

Second, in a sense that the turmoil at the University of Mississippi was not, Albany was a national responsibility. Oxford was a result of southern history. Given that history, there is no sure ground for believing that the crisis could have been prevented by any policy or action of the federal government. The whole nation is implicated in Albany. It is the price of eight years of inaction by Congress, of hesitancy by Presidents, of timidity by southern moderates in making good the promise of the decision of 1954. The Negro demonstrations, in the streets of Albany and Talladega and Orangeburg and dozens of other places, are the direct result of disillusion over the good faith and intentions of national and regional leadership.

* * * * *

There have been three principal actors in the Albany struggle: the municipal government, including its police; the federal government; and the Negro populace. A brief look at the policies of each, which Professor Zinn examines in detail, may be instructive:

(1) In Albany, both Negro protests and white reactions have been characterized by non-violence. Not only has the police force refrained from violence, but it has prevented white mobsters from gaining even momentary control. In these respects, the police methods used in Jackson (Miss.) for Freedom Riders have been copied. Because of their temporary success in both cities, their use will likely spread to other localities where Negro demonstrations may occur.

Good police practice means more than the prevention of violence. It also means, the protection of rights. There are legitimate grounds for saying that in Albany sophisticated police work has done the traditional—almost legendary— job of the mob, *i.e.*, the suppression of Negro dissent and assertion of rights. The city government of

Albany is still a white man's government, and the police is its instrument.

(2) The federal government, represented solely by the Department of Justice, has hovered about Albany from the beginning. Incredibly, in this whole time, it has not acted. As we said some months ago:*

> The Department [of Justice] apparently decided not to exercise any enforcing power in Albany; it confined its efforts to attempted persuasion and mediation. . . .
>
> The Department can be extraordinarily helpful in resolving issues when it can, and intends to, act. When it does not intend to, as in Albany, its "presence" adds little, except possibly confusion. Where it has little authority to act . . . there is still a role for the federal government to play. One can question, however, whether the Department of Justice is the best to carry it out, for it is a role of persuasion. By its nature, as an enforcing agency, the Department is not a good instrument of mediation and persuasion. The Administration has made it its principal, almost its only, spokesman and representative in the South. The Administration would do better by applying at congressional and state capital levels the influence which it possesses, and to insist in those quarters that southern officialdom give respect to Constitutional rights and ordinary decency.

The Department of Justice during the past two years has, with vigor and skill, brought voting suits under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. It has been equally decisive and even more successful in defending the integrity of federal courts in several situations, such as that of New Orleans during 1960 and 1961, in combatting bus and train terminal segregation, and in responding to utter breakdowns of law and order, as in Alabama during the Freedom Ride and in Oxford. It seemingly has not known what to do in an Albany-type situation.

We do not necessarily endorse all of Howard Zinn's analysis of federal powers or his recommendations for their use.** We do point out that the record of the federal government in Albany says as clearly as would a public announcement that the federal government will not act unless there is uncontrolled violence. There has been no acknowledgment of a federal duty to protect federal rights, the rights of speech and peaceable assembly and equal protection of the laws.

Is the South helpless to handle its own problems? No. In fact, the overlooked but primary responsibility for the deterioration in Albany rests on the state of Georgia, and the federal government should always give a state the opportunity to act. (The federal government, through its months of discussions with Albany officials and relatively scant intercourse with state authorities, has done little to encourage the state to see its responsibilities.) But federal rights of individual citizens must be protected, and, when local and state governments fail, that is a federal obligation.

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*Executive Support of Civil Rights, March 13, 1962, page 18.
**See pages 28-36, below.

(3) This is not the time to ask whether Negroes are wise and justified in carrying on public demonstrations, as in Albany. The time for that question will be *after* the first important racial reform *anywhere* by the white South without Negro pressure.

In a recent telecast, the director of the Citizens Council of Mississippi said, with admirable candor, that he and his organization oppose Negro equality because of their "vested interest" in a system of inequality. There is as much, if not more, truth to this than to the usual belief that Southerners are more racially prejudiced than other Americans. In areas such as Albany all the institutions of government and society are organized to defend segregation, and on the premise that Negroes are not entitled to the full and free use of community benefits. Against these entrenched systems, Negro resort to unconventional pressures can hardly be condemned.

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The South is still engaged grimly in internal social and political combat, but the present is a time of optimism as well as of anxiety. In most of the South's large cities, and in some other areas as well, there now exists an unbreakable momentum behind the extension of civil rights. Indeed, the very fact that the civil rights movement has finally reached into the Black Belt, producing the eruptions of Albany and Oxford, is the surest mark of the progress made in the South. At the same time, it means that the civil rights movement is approaching its climax, and that the days ahead may well be the severest yet.

The South is, as traditionalists often say, being subjected to a second Reconstruction. There is no reason for friends of civil rights to deny that this is so. What is different, however, is that the leadership in this Reconstruction comes from the South itself—from the millions of Negro Southerners who have supplied the initiative and the will for this change. By their effort, they have made the South a better place to live, freer than it has ever been of emotional torments and political leadstones.

But the need now is for initiative to pass out of Negro hands. Racial relations in the United States is not merely the Negroes' problem, is not merely a Negro problem. It is a problem of the health of our democracy, the strength of our economy, and the integrity of our minds. What the country critically requires is governmental assumption, at both the state and national levels, of responsibility and initiative for the reform of racial relations, and for the uplifting of the economic and educational levels of the bottom tenth of our population.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Albany, Georgia

Many Georgians call it All-benny. . . . This was slave plantation country, and Albany was its trading center, incorporated in 1841 to become the seat of Dougherty County. . . . At the turn of the century, blacks outnumbered whites . . . and Albany was a placid little town, slavery gone and segregation firmly in its place. Today the city is a four-hour drive straight south from Atlanta, past scraggly cotton, clusters of Black Angus cattle, and beautiful fields of pecan trees . . . . it is wide-avenued and clean, a commercial center for southwest Georgia, trading corn, cattle, and pecans, attracting tourists, new industry, and travelers heading towards Florida. "Tenth fastest booming city in the USA," the man at the Chamber of Commerce said proudly. "There's the rating—in black and white."

ALBANY has always rated higher for whites than for blacks. Negroes make up 40 per cent of its population (23,000 out of 56,000), and zero per cent of its political officials. The entire machinery of justice in the city and county is capable of instantaneous conversion into a machinery for repression where Negroes are involved—for the judges, juries, prosecuting attorneys, sheriffs, deputies, city police are all white.

Negro businessmen and professionals must confine their talents to the Negro community. Albany State College, for Negroes, the one institution of higher education in town, is a source of employment, and the several military bases in the area offer some opportunities. But for most Negroes, regardless of ability, there are only menial jobs: porters, maids, handymen, laborers, laundry workers. Higher paid positions are for whites.

A Negro teen-ager, standing outside a church late one night as a voter registration meeting was coming to a close, said: "I'm getting out of this town as soon as I can. No one I know wants to stay here. I sure don't intend to die in Albany." Other youngsters standing nearby agreed vigorously. For a young Negro with education and ambition, Albany, Georgia is a bleak and depressing place to live.

Note: Quoted material heading the various sections of this report is drawn from the author's first "Special Report" on Albany, published by the Southern Regional Council January 8, 1962.

An Albany Negro is born in a segregated hospital, grows up in a segregated neighborhood, goes to a segregated school, is buried in a segregated cemetary. Restaurants, hotels, parks, public libraries, playgrounds, taxicabs, theaters, filling-station restrooms, water fountains—all possible aspects of daily life—are designated according to the color of one's ancestors. No Negro in Albany can grasp a doorhandle or cross a threshold without first thinking of his color.

Even after the supposedly ironbound Interstate Commerce Commission order went into effect November 1, 1961, Negroes were being arrested in Albany for using "white" terminal facilities. Today, after more than a 1000 arrests in the city, it is said that the Trailways Bus Terminal on Broad Street is finally desegregated, but observance of the ruling by city police has been so fitful that a Negro walking into that restaurant today is still not completely sure he will not be arrested.

"Progress" in Negro living conditions in Albany—new schools, a library, a playground—has been kept completely inside the system of segregation. White people both North and South are only beginning to understand that such "progress" is not sufficient for Negroes who are imbued with twentieth century visions of racial equality.

Prevented by segregation barriers and a hostile local newspaper from communicating their old hurt and their new expectations to Albany whites, ignored by the city's Board of Commissioners, Albany's Negroes began to express their feelings dramatically, powerfully, in the mass demonstrations of December 1961. The truce which ended those demonstrations was followed by six months of intermittent skirmishing. Then, in the summer of 1962, the city erupted again. Demonstrations resumed, and once more Albany, Georgia became the focus of national and international attention.

This time, violence appeared: a pregnant Negro woman was knocked unconscious by county officers; a Negro lawyer was clubbed by the sheriff; a white sympathizer had his jaw broken by a prison trusty; Negroes hurled rocks at patrolmen. Albany's police chief "kept the peace" by applying the same technique he had used in the December demonstrations: he put into prison, by the hundreds, Negro men, women, and children who in one way or another were protesting segregation. As Labor Day approached, the number arrested since December totalled over 1,100.

To all of this, the national government in Washington reacted slowly and awkwardly, showing embarrassment rather than compassion, and timidity instead of vigorous leadership. A powerful nation appeared by turns clumsy or impotent in enforcing its own constitution in a tiny segment of the country. In Albany, on moral issues of national importance, the authority of the president of the United States was distant and feeble, the power of the local chief of police immediate and absolute.

The December Demonstrations

In a market where social goods are unevenly distributed, peace must always be paid for. The price, paid in the South by blacks, and received by whites, has begun in recent years to seem not quite right. . . . The white South has been notably unequipped with the kind of social seismograph that would detect the first faint tremors of unrest. In Albany, deep in the Black Belt, the shock of the pre-Christmas protest was particularly great. Slowly developing anger and publicized dignified protest by Negro adults—a dramatic outburst of Negro students to bring the issues to public attention—and then a new synthesis of adult-student leadership marshaling the forces of the entire Negro community: this has been the developmental pattern in a number of southern protest movements these past few years, and so it was in Albany.

EARLY in 1961, the century-long quiescence of Albany Negroes began to break, perhaps shaken by the sit-ins, freedom rides, and boycotts which had been successful elsewhere in the Deep South, perhaps vaguely stirred by the rise of colored peoples in Africa and Asia, or, more likely, by a combination of factors too complex for easy categorization. At Albany State College students began to speak out. A group of adult Negro leaders presented a petition to the city commissioners requesting desegregation of certain city facilities. In October, a decisive event occurred: the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee sent two of its field workers, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, both youthful veterans of southern prisons, to set up a voter registration office in Albany. They were joined by Charles Jones, who had also been jailed many times for student demonstrations, and the three, working from a rundown little building two blocks from the Shiloh Baptist Church, fired the already aroused Albany Negro Community to an enthusiasm never before seen in the Black Belt City.

On November 1, 1961, the day the ICC ruling prohibiting terminal segregation went into effect, SNCC (known as SNICK) planned a test of the Trailways Terminal in Albany, and a white college girl from Memphis named Salynn McCollum served as witness when a group of Negro students walked into the white waiting room and were ordered out by the police. On November 22, five Albany State students tried to use the restaurant in the Trailways Terminal and were arrested by Albany Chief of Police Laurie Pritchett. Five days earlier, on November 17, the Albany Movement

had been formed, by a coalition of the colored ministerial alliance, SNCC, the NAACP, and other Negro organizations. Local osteopath, Dr. W. G. Anderson was named president; Slater King, a real-estate man, vice-president; and retired railroad man Marion Page, secretary. "The kids were going to do it anyway," one of the founders of the Movement said later. "We didn't want them to have to do it alone."

On Sunday, December 10, the ICC ruling failed of enforcement in Albany for the third time in a row. That day, an integrated SNCC group of eight rode from Atlanta to Albany, sitting together in the "white" car. Entering the white waiting room at the Union Railway Terminal in Albany, they were ordered out by Chief Pritchett, and then arrested as they were getting into automobiles. They were charged with obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey an officer (a list of offenses which became the standard charge against demonstrators in Albany). A. C. Searles, editor of the Negro weekly *Southwest Georgian,* watched the scene and reported: "There was no traffic, no disturbance, no one moving. The students had made the trip to Albany desegregated without incident. Things had gone so smoothly I think it infuriated the chief."

The newly-formed Albany Movement now responded. During the next seven days, a series of huge meetings in Negro churches and marches downtown by more than 100 Albany Negroes, singing and praying and asking freedom for the arrested students, ended in mass arrests ordered by Chief Pritchett. It was on the fifth day that Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, invited by the Albany Movement, arrived from Atlanta to speak to a mass meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church. They led another march downtown, which ended in the arrest of hundreds more. The total arrested now stood at 737, and Chief Pritchett, representing the city, began negotiations with Negro leaders: attorney Donald L. Hollowell of Atlanta, local attorney C. B. King, and Marion Page. Verbal agreements were reached on calling off demonstrations, the release of jailed demonstrators on the signing of simple property bonds, and a hearing for Negro demands at an early business meeting of the new city commission.

Negro men, women, and youngsters, pouring out of the jails in nearby counties where they had been sent—"Bad Baker" County, "Terrible Terrell," and others—told stories ranging from mere miserable discomfort ("We were 88 in one room with 20 steel bunks and no mattresses") to worse ("I don't want to hear nothing about freedom," Sheriff Mathews of Terrell County told Charles Sherrod as he struck him in the face). It was not the wretchedness of jail conditions that rankled the insides of those Negroes who were arrested, but the reason for it all. "I didn't expect to go to jail for kneeling and praying at City Hall," a young mother said.

With people out of jail on bond and the promise of a hearing before the city commission, the first mass demonstrations ended, just before Christmas, 1961, and an uneasy truce settled over Albany.

The Truce Falls Apart

. . . no long-term assessment of the Albany actions can be based on what was or was not conceded at the moment of settlement. This is a Deep South city, with a hundred-year history of Negro silence and white complacency which has now been shattered for all time. Anyone who sat in the Shiloh Baptist Church at the prayer meeting following the settlement knows that expectations have been raised which will not be stilled without a change in the social patterns of the city. "Albany will never be the same," attorney Hollowell told the crowd that night, and he was right.

ON Friday, January 12, 1962, an 18-year-old Negro girl named Ola Mae Quarterman, a former student at Albany State College, sat down in a front seat of an Albany city bus. The driver left his seat, put his finger near her face, and the conversation went something like this: He said: "Don't you know where you're supposed to sit?" Her reply: "I paid my damn 20 cents, and I can sit where I want." He called a policeman, she was arrested and jailed for using "vulgar language."

"I used the word 'damn' in regard to my 20 cents, not to the driver," Miss Quarterman later told a federal court hearing. The city attorney at that hearing tried to establish that she was arrested for using vulgar language rather than for sitting in front of the bus. It was all part of an elaborate judicial game now being played in southern courtrooms, in which everyone pretends that the *race* of the arrested person was the farthest thing from the policeman's mind, and tries to invent interesting new charges for the arrest. But Ola Mae Quarterman did not want to play. "You weren't tried for sitting where you were sitting, were you?" the city attorney asked her. "That's what they said," she replied quietly, and then repeated more loudly for the benefit of the court, *"That's what they said."*

Miss Quarterman was found guilty in city court of using "obscene" language, and a boycott by Negroes of the city bus system, already under way, was intensified. In less than three weeks the company, dependent for much of its revenue on Negro customers, halted operations. White businessmen, fearful of the effect of this on their trade, met with representatives of the Albany Movement and with people from the bus company to get the buses back into operation, and reached what was probably the first important de-

segregation agreement in Albany history: that the buses would resume on an integrated basis and would accept applications from Negroes seeking jobs as bus drivers.

But obstinacy on both sides got in the way. The city commission, with Mayor Asa D. Kelley the lone dissenter among its seven members, refused written assurance that it would not interfere with bus integration (there is a municipal ordinance requiring bus segregation). And then the Albany Movement decided not to accept an agreement on the buses without some sort of assurance on other requests. The bus company tried to run again, but finally closed up shop for good and disposed of its equipment. The city has been without bus transportation since March.

Two days before the Ola Mae Quarterman incident, several groups of Negro students trying to get cards at the white Carnegie Library had been turned away, directed to the Negro library, and questioned by police. One week after the arrest of Miss Quarterman, SNCC workers Charles Jones and Charles Sherrod, sitting in the Trailways lunchroom, were arrested by city policemen for "loitering." Again, the color of their skin was neatly avoided. "We don't allow people to go in there and just make it their home," Chief Pritchett said.

Everybody had been waiting for Tuesday, January 23, when, by the verbal agreement of December, the city commission would hear spokesmen for the Albany Movement. That evening Anderson and Page presented to the commission a petition with requests for the desegregation of various city facilities, and were told to await a reply. One week later the commission issued a statement denying all the requests of the petition, saying: "The demand for privileges will scarcely be heard, wherever and whenever voiced, unless . . . arrogance, lawlessness, and irresponsibility subside." Negro leaders could "earn acceptance for their people," the statement said, "by encouraging the improvement of their moral and ethical standards."

Mayor Kelley, supported by Mayor pro-tem Bufford Collins, dissented from the commission response approved by the other five members, saying that it evaded the basic issue. "In my judgment the city of Albany has got to recognize that it has a problem and cannot solve that problem by sticking its head in the sand and ignoring that problem. No solution can be reached unless there are lines of communication."

A month later, with little left now of the December truce agreement, city officials decided to begin trials for the more than 700 people arrested during the pre-Christmas demonstrations and, oddly enough, in view of the often expressed desire to keep Martin Luther King, Jr. out of Albany, they decided to begin with Dr. King himself. On February 27, a three hour trial took place in Recorder's Court (the city court of Albany) with King, Ralph Abernathy, and two

Albany Negroes who had been involved in the mass march of December 16 toward City Hall. They were charged with parading without a permit, obstructing the sidewalk, and disorderly conduct.

The defense said the arrests were based on the desire to maintain segregation, and that they violated First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and assembly, as well as the Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection of the laws. The city denied that race had been an issue in the arrests, and said it was merely enforcing a statute requiring a permit for parades. When defense attorney Donald L. Hollowell asked Chief Pritchett how a "parade" was defined, the chief answered that there was no definition. "Then it's anything you want to make it?" Hollowell asked. "In my opinion, yes," was the reply.

A month later, with decision in the King-Abernathy trial still pending, the beginning of a similar trial in Albany Superior Court (the county court) was disrupted by official violence. The SNCC group of young white and Negro people, who had come down on the train from Atlanta December 10, 1961, and been arrested outside the terminal, were being charged with disorderly conduct, obstructing traffic, and refusal to obey an officer. As the trial began Monday, March 26, SNCC worker Charles Sherrod walked toward the front of the courtroom, traditionally reserved for whites, to take a seat. Chief Deputy Lamar Stewart knocked him to the floor and dragged him to the rear. When defendants Bob Zellner, a SNCC field secretary, Tom Hayden, a writer, Sandra Hayden, his wife, and Per Laursen, a Danish Journalist—all white—sat down with Sherrod in the rear, they were dragged by deputies out of the courtroom and through a revolving door. One deputy pulled Mrs. Hayden over a row of seats and then pushed her through the door. The only comment of the presiding judge, watching all of this, was: "The officers were enforcing a rule of the court."

In April, more trouble took place. Dr. Anderson, Slater King, Emanuel Jackson, and Elijah Harris, four leaders of the Albany Movement, were found guilty of "disorderly conduct." They had been picketing a downtown store as part of the general Negro boycott of stores which did not hire Negro employees. Also, Charles Jones, Cordell Reagan, and two teen-age Negroes were sentenced to 60 days on public works gangs for refusing to leave a drugstore lunch-counter where they sat requesting service. And 26 more people were arrested in lunch-counter sit-ins.

About the same time, a Negro in Albany named Walter Harris was shot to death by a policeman who claimed the man attacked him with a knife while resisting arrest. Perhaps there was a need to make up for the silence that had followed previous slayings of Negroes by police officers for "resisting arrest." Perhaps there was a recollection of the killing in late 1961 of a Negro man by a sheriff

in Baker County under similar circumstances. Or perhaps the Negro community was still conscious of the imprisonment since July 1960 of Charles Ware, who was shot twice through the neck by officers of Baker County for "resisting arrest." At any rate, 29 adults and teen-agers appeared in front of City Hall on April 21 to protest what they considered the needless death of Harris. Refusing to disperse, they were arrested, and when some youngsters lay down on the sidewalk they were picked up and carried into police headquarters.

In May, the first and only arrest of segregationist whites in the entire period occurred when four boys were arrested and convicted for throwing eggs and tomatoes in the Negro section. In June, nine more young Negroes were arrested for picketing stores downtown. A police captain admitted to a reporter that there was no evidence of violence, but said the youths had "talked to" older people. Atlanta *Journal* writer Walter Rugaber noted: "The anti-buying campaign started five months ago and was sharply effective for a time. But police considered two picketing efforts a danger, and broke them up with disorderly conduct arrests."

The Long Hot Summer

The Negro porter on the steps of an Albany church said, "No, we're just beginning. Just beginning." And a woman on the Executive Committee of the Albany Movement declared, " . . . anybody who thinks this town is going to settle back and be the same as it was, has got to be deaf, blind, and dumb."

WHEN King and Abernathy were found guilty and sentenced by Recorders Court in Albany on July 10, 1962, to 45 days or $178 for leading the December 16 demonstrations, defense attorney Hollowell asked Judge Durden for legal citations on which his decision was based. The judge said he did not have any, that it was based on "general research of the law."

The defendants chose to go to jail. Excitement rose to a high pitch not only in Albany but throughout the nation. Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania told the Senate that the convictions were evidence "that there are still, unfortunately, areas of our country in which the Constitution of the United States, as represented by the Fourteenth Amendment, is not in effect." That evening, when police cars showed up near the two Negro churches where mass rallies were taking place, bricks and rocks were thrown at them, and Chief Pritchett put his whole force on a standby alert.

The following day, Wednesday, 12 men, nine women, and 11 teen-agers—32 Negroes in all—began walking downtown. They were led by Dr. C. K. Steele, a Tallahassee minister who had headed desegregation battles there, and the Rev. Robert Alfred, an Albany minister. Two blocks away from the downtown area they were stopped by Chief Pritchett and arrested. They marched to the city jail, two squads of police behind them, singing "We Shall Overcome" while curious whites watched quietly. That night, with hundreds of Negroes gathered outside the Shiloh Baptist church, bricks and bottles were thrown at police across the street.

The jailing of King, as no other event in the history of Albany troubles, sent Washington officialdom into a flurry of activity. President Kennedy asked Attorney General Kennedy for a report on the Albany situation. Robert Kennedy and Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, made a number of phone calls to Albany. Marshall phoned Mrs. King in Atlanta and said that the Department of Justice (according to the New York *Times*) "would use whatever influence it could to obtain his release."

The next morning, King and Abernathy were released. How this happened has never been clear. According to Chief Pritchett's report, an unidentified, well-dressed Negro man showed up at City Hall, paid the fines, and the two ministers, who were anxious to stay in jail as a sign of the sacrifice required of those in the struggle, reluctantly left. Dr. Abernathy told a mass meeting that night, "I've been thrown out of lots of places in my day, but never before have I been thrown out of jail."

Dr. King attempted to open negotiations with the city commission. Personal conferences with the police chief had been fruitless, and a wire was sent on Sunday, July 15, asking for an audience. The commission, in a closed meeting on Monday, said that it refused to deal with "law violators." On Tuesday, the Albany Movement sent a wire to the city commission urging that it reconsider its refusal to meet. In a page and a half "position paper" it outlined its grievances, requested the right of peaceful protest under the First Amendment, and asked that a bi-racial commission be established to set a timetable on the desegregation of lunch-counters, library, schools, parks, swimming pools, and other facilities. Again the commission refused.

Now, with a battery of high-power legal minds in Albany discussing judicial action against segregation—William Kunstler, Clarence Jones, and Constance Motley from New York, Donald Hollowell of Atlanta, and C. B. King of Albany—the Albany Movement began a series of moves to lay the ground work for court cases. On Tuesday, July 17, 25 Negro students showed up at the Carnegie Library to ask for library cards and books, and were turned away. The next day, 40 teenagers staged sit-ins, in teams of eight, at five different lunch-counters downtown, which were immediately closed. Reporter Fred Powledge noted in the Atlanta *Journal* that in at least two cases the students were asked to leave not by managers, but by police. At the Trailways Bus Station, a 15-year-old Negro boy tried to enter the restaurant and was refused. "I asked him why," the boy related. "He said it was because we were Negro—he didn't say Negro though. He said nigger . . . you know."

That Wednesday afternoon, 80 young Negroes tried to use the athletic facilities of Tift Park and were ordered to leave by Detective Captain Ed Friend, and a group of other officers. On Thursday, seven Negro youngsters were jailed in a lunch-counter sit-in, and 50 others were turned away from the white picnic area of Tift Park. On Friday, more groups were turned away at lunch-counters and ordered away from a swimming pool by the assistant chief of police.

With a mass prayer scheduled by the Albany Movement for City Hall on Saturday afternoon, Albany's city attorney Henry Rawls and Mayor Kelley flew to Atlanta to confer with Governor Vandiver's legal staff, then to Columbus to see federal District Judge J. Robert Elliott. Elliott, longtime associate of the Talmadges in Georgia politics

and a public supporter of segregation, had just been appointed to his post by President Kennedy. At midnight on Friday, July 20, Elliott issued an omnibus injunction, barring "unlawful picketing, congregating or marching in the streets . . . participating in any boycott in restraint of trade" and, in fact, "any act designed to provoke breaches of the peace." The injunction was to be in effect until July 30 when a hearing on a similar permanent order would take place.

With the temporary restraining order in effect, the planned Saturday afternoon demonstration did not take place, but in the evening a group of 160 persons, young and old, began walking from Shiloh Church toward City Hall, and were arrested under orders of Chief Pritchett. The Trailways lunchroom was also closed that day when Negroes tried to enter. But the Atlanta *Journal* reported: "The same attendant was seen admitting white people to the lunchroom."

More than 100 of the Saturday marchers were under 18, many of them 13 and 14 years old, and they were sent to Camilla in nearby Mitchell County. "They call it a juvenile detention place," one youngster said. "But it's just an old jailhouse." Sixty-four were put in a cell designed for 12 children, 52 others in a cell designed for eight.

On Monday, July 23, about 5:30 p.m., Mrs. Slater King, wife of the Albany Movement's vice-president, and in her sixth month of pregnancy, drove to Camilla with a group of other Negro women to take food to the daughter of a friend. She had her three children along, and was carrying one of them, a three year old. Two deputies ordered the group away from the outer fence around the jail. "All you niggers get away from the fence," one of them demanded. The women began to move away, Mrs. King walking slowly toward her car. One of the deputies pointed her out, cursed her, and said if she did not hurry, she would be arrested. She turned and said, "If you want to arrest, go ahead." The next thing she knew she was kicked and knocked to the ground. An officer hit her twice on the side of her head and she lost consciousness. She revived in about ten minutes, and since no one else in her car could drive, managed to drive back to Albany.

Monday evening, after a rally at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, a group of seven led by Mennonite minister Vincent Harding, a Negro, and troubled by the beating of Mrs. Slater King, stopped in front of City Hall to pray. When they refused to obey Chief Pritchett's order to move on, they were arrested. The next night, when 40 more were arrested in a march toward City Hall, what had started as a non-violent parade (reported Atlanta *Constitution* correspondent Bill Shipp) "degenerated into an angry, cat-calling crowd" and an estimated 2,000 Negro youngsters gathered at the edge of the Negro area. Dozens of rocks and pop bottles flew out of the crowd at the police, injuring one state trooper.

Earlier the same day, Tuesday, July 24, Judge Elbert P. Tuttle, of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, had set aside Judge Elliott's temporary restraining order. He pointed to a fatal flaw in its constitutional argument: the Fourteenth Amendment provision on "equal protection of the laws" was not designed to protect the state against individuals, as the temporary injunction suggested, but was intended to protect individuals against state action. In other legal moves that day, the lawyers for the Albany Movement—Donald Hollowell, William Kunstler, Constance Motley, C. B. King, Clarence Jones—filed two suits against the city of Albany: one to desegregate the city's public facilities; the other to prevent the police from interfering with peaceful demonstrations.

That evening, in the face of a request by Negro leaders to appear at its regular Tuesday meeting, the city commission postponed the meeting. A newspaperman pointed out: "The City Commission steadfastly refused to confer with any Negro leaders about racial problems during a seven month intermission in mass racial demonstrations."

Wednesday was quiet, having been declared a "day of penance" by Dr. King and Dr. Anderson for the violence of the previous evening. Thursday was uneventful, too, but on Friday at 2:15 p.m., King and Abernathy led a group of ten to City Hall to try once again to talk with the city commission. Chief Pritchett asked them to leave, pointed to a nearby group of newspapermen and photographers and said, "You can see you're causing a disturbance." As Abernathy began to pray, Pritchett ordered the group arrested. Two hours later, a group of 18 youngsters left Shiloh Church for City Hall. They knelt on the sidewalk to pray, refused to move when the chief ordered them to do so, and were arrested.

One of the young people arrested was a white SNCC field worker from Cincinnati named William Hansen, who was promptly put into the white section of Dougherty County jail. As Hansen sat on the cell floor reading a newspaper, a prison trusty attacked him and beat him into unconsciousness. His jaw was broken, his lip was split, and a number of ribs were broken. He was then transferred to the city jail. Hansen said later that a deputy sheriff putting him into the cell, had told the trusty: "This is one of those guys who came down here to straighten us out," and the trusty replied, "Well, I'll straighten him out."

The very next day, Saturday, July 28, a 36-year-old attorney, C. B. King, the first and only Negro to practice law in the city of Albany, and the legal backbone of the Albany Movement from its inception, visited Sheriff Cull Campbell of Dougherty County. He wanted to check on the condition of William Hansen, who at that moment was sitting 100 yards away behind the barbed wire fence and steel mesh windows that enclose the county jail. A few minutes later King came staggering out of Sheriff Campbell's office, blood streaming from a wound in his head and splattering his clothing.

The Rev. James C. Harris, whom King had asked to meet him at the sheriff's office, later reported: "When I entered the sheriff's office at about 4:45 p.m., Mr. King was standing and two men, presumably deputies, were seated. As I walked in, the Sheriff, Mr. Cull Campbell, walked in and said to Mr. King: 'Nigger, haven't I told you to wait out there?' or words to that effect. As Mr. King was about to reply, Mr. Campbell picked a walking stick out of a basket containing several, and hit Mr. King viciously over the head, breaking the cane. Mr. King escaped from the office, and I did as well."

New York *Times* reporter Claude Sitton quoted Campbell as saying, "He didn't get out so Goddammit, I put him out." Police Chief Pritchett, across the street in his office had King taken to a hospital. Sitton noted in his story that: "Chief Pritchett had more than 160 city, county and state law enforcement officers standing by to prevent violence." Pritchett who had just arrested 28 Negroes for praying and singing for 15 minutes in front of City Hall, called the beating of King "very regrettable."

Sheriff Campbell told me in his office a month later: "Yeh, I knocked hell out of him, and I'll do it again. I let him know he's a damn nigger. I'm a white man and he's a damn nigger."

During the first week in August, 30 persons, including one white woman from New York, were arrested as they prayed in front of City Hall. An integrated group of five was arrested trying to get service at the Holiday Inn restaurant. The total of arrests since the start of the December demonstrations now passed 1,100.

All that week and into the middle of the next, the city and the Albany Movement argued before Judge Elliott in federal District Court on the city's petition for a permanent restraining order on demonstrations. At the hearing, Police Chief Pritchett, to support the request for such an order, testified that (according to a UPI dispatch in the Washington *Post*) "racial tensions have reached a boiling point." Two days before that testimony, he had said as reported in the Atlanta *Constitution*, "People go about their normal business. This city is nowhere close to an explosive point."

At the close of the hearing, Tuesday, August 7, the Justice Department, which had received dozens of telegrams, and a number of delegations, all asking action on behalf of Albany Negroes, filed a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the Albany Movement's request to deny the injunction against demonstrations, noting that the city, because of its failure to desegregate public facilities, did not come into court "with clean hands." Judge Elliott reserved decision in the case. At a press conference on August 1, President Kennedy, responding to a question on Albany, said that he found it "wholly inexplicable why the city council of Albany will not sit down with the citizens of Albany, who may be Negroes, and attempt to secure them, in a peaceful way, their rights."

King, Abernathy, Anderson, and Slater King were released, after two weeks in jail, on Friday, August 10. Meanwhile the Albany Movement was waiting for Judge Elliott's decision on the city request for an injunction, and for him to set hearing dates on its own suits asking desegregation and the right of peaceful protest. But it did not let up its other forms of activity. It stepped up its registration campaign, hoping to effect the election of two new city commissioners in the fall.

On Saturday, individuals tried to enter the library and parks, which were immediately padlocked. Negroes also tried to attend services at white churches on Sunday, August 12, and were admitted to a Catholic and an Episcopal church, but turned away from a Baptist and a Methodist church. On Tuesday, two persons were arrested for picketing a Negro theater whose white owner refused to admit two white persons, other Negroes were turned away from the snack bar at Phoebe Putney Hospital, and a white couple and six Negroes were arrested attempting to use a bowling alley.

Among the youngsters at the bowling alley was 16-year-old Shirley Gaines, who had spent time in jail in Camilla back in April when she protested the killing by police of Walter Harris. Arrested at the bowling alley, she sat on the steps waiting for the paddy wagon to park nearby. As she waited, she later told me, two policemen threw her dress over her head, held her by the legs, dragged her down the stone steps to the bottom, and left her lying there. A man came along and kicked her in the side, and when she cried out a policeman standing nearby said, "Nigger, you can holler louder than that," then dragged her into the paddy wagon. With her back hurt, she lay on the floor inside City Hall. A man kept opening a swinging door near her, hitting her head each time. As she kept crying out, a policeman dashed water in her face to quiet her, and another called, "Holler, nigger."

A policeman then carried her, meanwhile kicking her with his knee, into the paddy wagon again, pushed her on the floor, and took her to Putney Hospital. But when she wouldn't rise, her back still hurting, she was taken to a city doctor. The doctor shone a light on her back, announced he found no injury, and said: "There ain't nothing wrong with that nigger. She got a good kickin'." She spent a day in city jail, then was examined by Dr. Anderson, who found her back bruised and scarred.

On Wednesday, August 15, the city commission finally met a Negro committee face to face. Secretary Page of the Albany Movement read a petition asking four questions of the city: 1) would it abide by the ICC ruling on bus and train terminals; 2) would it refund cash bonds on those arrested and accept tax receipts; 3) would it refrain from interfering with desegregation in city buses if they would operate again; and 4) would it desist from interfering with peaceful protest? Mayor Kelley responded by saying that these

matters were under consideration in federal court, that the decision of the court would be obeyed, and the meeting adjourned.

After the meeting, the mayor told newsmen (according to a dispatch in the Atlanta *Journal*) that "he did not believe the city would take any action on the Negro requests." A mass meeting of 1000 Negroes that evening heard Martin Luther King, Jr. and Page denounce the commission's refusal to negotiate, and Anderson told the crowd voter registration and the downtown boycott would continue, as well as other activities designed to budge the rigid stance of the city officials.

With Labor Day coming, 75 Protestant ministers, Catholic laymen, and Jewish rabbis drove down to Albany from the North to register their support for Albany Negroes. Praying in front of City Hall, they were arrested by Chief Pritchett, and sent off to various county jails, where they stayed for periods of two days to a week, a number of them fasting the whole period. Before arresting them, Pritchett said, "You have come to aid and abet the law violators of this city and county. If you come as law violators, you will be treated as such. Go back to your homes. Clear your own cities of sin and lawlessness."

Another activity which received increased attention was the boycott against white businesses downtown. Indications were that the boycott was not as tight as Negro leaders claimed, but more effective than white merchants were willing to admit. In early October, for example, eight Negro youths were picked up, questioned, and subsequently released by local police after they appeared on downtown streets wearing T-shirts with large lettering that urged shoppers not to buy from Albany merchants.

In federal court, Judge Elliott began hearings on three cases which he ruled were to be consolidated: the city request for an injunction against demonstrations; the Movement's request for the desegregation of city facilities; and the Movement's petition for noninterference with peaceful protests. The trial was completed in late September, and the principals awaited Elliott's decision.

Meanwhile, the Albany Movement had turned from mass demonstrations to an increased emphasis on voter registration. Some indication of the Movement's success in its voter registration drive came in late October when the first Albany Negro to run for city commissioner in modern times finished second in a three-man race for the office. The Negro, Thomas C. Chatmon, 39-year-old owner of a beauty and barber supply firm, received 3,030 votes in the election and was slated to face former commissioner B. C. Gable in a runoff for the office. The date for the runoff was still undetermined as this report went to press.

Black and White in Albany

There is a basic hurt to being an American Negro—both North and South—which cannot be conveyed by any cold list of specific grievances. In Albany there has been no way for fair minded white people to know these things. There has been contact, but it has been superficial. There has been exchange of words, but not of feelings . . . Modern science . . . radio . . . television . . . air travel . . . national newspapers and magazines . . . Air Force or Marine Corps units in the area . . . college. . . . All of these influences have acted on Albany Negroes and created expectations far beyond the crawling progress and kindly tolerance which Albany's white leaders thought—and think—sufficient. The white community somehow has not faced the idea that Albany cannot escape the general upheaval shaking the South today. Something was necessary to shake the white community into the first pang of such awareness. So. . . . the Albany Movement was born.

DESPITE the customary romanticization of the past—both by leading whites and a few Negroes—there has never been real communication between whites and Negroes in Albany. The demonstrations of the past year have been an attempt to vault the old barriers and shock the white community into listening.

The first reaction to this unsettling intrusion was resentment and hardening of the lines. Albany's city commission has behaved as if its job were to represent only that 60 per cent of the population which is white. Its consistent refusal to negotiate grievances with the Negro community has been opposed on several occasions by one of its members—Mayor Kelley—but so far the commission shows no signs of relenting.

A simple mythology supporting the idea that Albany can remain untouched and unchanged is perpetuated by the city's only daily newspaper, the Albany *Herald*. The *Herald's* publisher, James D. Gray, a transplanted New Englander,* was (until September 1962) chairman of the State Democratic Committee, and a power in Georgia politics. Mild and affable in person, he is a fierce segregationist in print. The news coverage and editorial writing in the *Herald* are the main sources of fact and opinion for Albany's white citizens, and the newspaper scrupulously attempts to shield its readers from those

*But as the Rev. Abernathy has said: "In America there is no such thing as an 'outsider'."

realities of the contemporary world which journalists like Ralph McGill and Eugene Patterson of the Atlanta *Constitution* have put before the residents of Georgia's capital city.

On July 31, 1962, in its Peoples Forum section, the *Herald* printed three letters, each representative of that mutual magnification of hate which has long taken place between the Albany newspaper and its readers. The three letters took up the entire space of the section. The first, a long one, said among other things: "For a century, the white race has lent considerations and provided assistance to the Negroes in overcoming the savage and uncivilized background from which they so recently emerged." The second spoke of the "pistol-toting, razor-toting, and ice-pick-toting and liquor drinking Negro." The third began: "Mr. Gray, thank God for you. . . . Don't we all know a Negro is a Negro even if they do try to grease their hair straight and bleach their skin white so as to mix with the white?" When the Georgia Council on Human Relations tried to place an ad in the *Herald* suggesting that the city should negotiate with the Albany Movement, the paper refused to print it.

The failure of the city's white leadership is crucial in the Albany situation, because there is evidence that the white population would respond to a leadership which moderately and quietly arranged for compromise agreements with the Negro population. Through all the mass demonstrations and national publicity which have upset the city since last December, whites have shown no signs of rash or violent action. In the many dozens of Negro actions, white citizens have shown curiosity, even antagonism, but no desire to throw the city into turmoil.

A number of businessmen have shown a willingness to negotiate differences (and were censured by a majority of city commissioners for the attempt). White ministers have met with Negroes and attempted to lay the basis for continued bi-racial discussion on an even wider basis. When three Negroes were arrested trying to attend services at the First Baptist Church on Sunday, August 19, the church's pastor, the Rev. Brooks Ramsey, said: "This is Christ's church and I can't build any walls around it that Christ did not build. And Christ did not build any racial walls." His Board of Deacons unanimously upheld his right to hold his own views.

The Rev. Ramsey's retention by his deacons is not evidence of a strong liberal sentiment among whites in Albany, but it does indicate that it is possible for a bold man of stature in the community to differ with prevailing opinion without suffering immediate reprisal. This may seem like very little, but in the Albany context it is important in suggesting that if a group of respected persons in the white community were to take at least a moderate stand in the racial crisis, they would stand a good chance of being sustained by their fellow citizens.

That risk is involved, and courage required for such leadership is shown by another happening of last summer. Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, decided on a novel move: she sent 10,000 letters to the white community of Albany, one for virtually every family in the city (with an equal number distributed among Albany Negroes), pointing out that other Georgia communities had solved similar problems by reasonable negotiation and that this course should be urged upon city officials by Albany citizens. Of the 250 responses received from the white community, all but two were critical of the letter, and some were filled with obscene denunciation.

On the positive side are several other developments. There was the birth of a small but earnest chapter of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, with ten or so white citizens meeting with a similar group of Negroes to discuss betterment of the Albany situation. And in the September primary elections for governor, Dougherty County, of which Albany is the seat, was the only county in that part of Georgia to vote for the moderate, Carl Sanders, in his landslide victory over the racist candidate Marvin Griffin.

Despite the cries about "outsiders" which have beset the Albany Movement from its inception, the facts are quite clear: a movement of protest was started by Albany's citizens even before SNCC workers arrived; it has received mass support by thousands of people in the Negro community, with perhaps the greatest active participation seen in any Negro community in the South in recent years; Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ralph Abernathy came to Albany last December to lead demonstrations only after the mass action was underway; in the furor of this past summer, it was the city of Albany which brought King there to stand trial—he did not come of his own volition.

There has been no consistent, clear-cut plan of action for the Albany Movement, despite a number of assertions in the press about how Albany was "selected" as a point of concentration. Like so many other developments in the Deep South in recent years, certain specific streams of action were deliberate, but the confluence of these streams was a matter of chance. The original "Freedom Riders," whose arrest on December 10, 1961, at the Albany railroad station provoked a whole series of mass demonstrations, did not plan to be arrested. Martin Luther King, Jr. did not plan to go to trial in the summer of 1962. Today, the movement continues with a kind of haphazard organization sustained only by that flood of common resolve which has marked the Negro militants.

While there are advantages to such fluidity, there are also drawbacks. Sometimes there has been a tendency simply to repeat old actions under new circumstances. The movement delayed legal action, for instance, which might have been initiated last winter, and continued to depend mainly on demonstrations, instead of link-

ing the two. There has been a failure to create and handle skillfully a set of differentiated tactics for different situations. The problem of desegregating Albany facilities involves various parties: some situations call for action by the city commission; some for decision by the federal courts; some for agreement with private businessmen. Moreover, there are advantages to singling out a particular goal and concentrating on it. This is an approach not only tactically sound for Negro protest but also creates a climate favorable to a negotiated solution. The community is presented with a specific, concrete demand rather than a quilt of grievances and demands which smothers the always limited ability of societies to think rationally about their faults.

Such a possibility existed, for instance, in the desegregation of Albany buses, which was on the verge of accomplishment, after a successful boycott; some leaders of the Albany Movement felt, however, that such a victory would not be meaningful if other concessions were not won with it. A massive and undifferentiated assault is powerful, but if continued too long it creates a massive and undifferentiated opposition.

It is, of course, easy for observers to criticize the tactics of the Albany Movement. There was a rush of unanticipated events, and if the response was not one of perfectly coordinated tactical efficiency, it was one of courage, passion, and sacrifice, and it brought forth on American soil—too often hard and cold in recent years—some of the noblest qualities that human beings have shown anywhere.

The Chief of Police

. . . the pattern of all these arrests is quite clear: the police kept a peace which had not been broken and with no signs that it was about to be broken by putting into prison over 700 men, women, and children who were exercising basic American rights to assemble peacefully and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

THE pattern started on November 1, 1961—the day that the ICC order against discrimination in terminals took effect—when the Albany police ordered two Negroes out of the bus station in a situation where there was no crowd, no threat, no indication of either violence or tension. Three weeks later, November 22, 1961, again with no sign of disturbance, three Negroes were sitting quietly in the Trailways Terminal restaurant waiting to get the food they had ordered, when the police ordered them out and arrested them on their return. The same afternoon, two more students were arrested for using the white waiting room. On December 10, the eight Freedom Riders were arrested—again no signs of imminent trouble, *as they were entering automobiles about to leave the scene.* The mass demonstrations that followed resulted in the arrest of more than 700 people for walking downtown to the vicinity of City Hall, singing and praying, with whites standing nearby doing nothing but staring in curiosity. In the midst of the marches, an Associated Press newspaperman reported from Albany: "White residents of this city have shown little close-range interest in the incidents."

Here is how the pattern continued through the first eight months of 1962:

Students asking for library cards: questioned by police.

Girl sitting in front of the bus: arrested.

Two young men in the Trailways restaurant: arrested.

Four men picketing a store downtown: arrested.

Thirty young people trying to get service at lunch-counters: arrested.

Twenty-nine people praying in front of City Hall: arrested.

Ten people picketing stores: arrested.

Five people picketing: arrested.

Thirty-two people on way to City Hall: arrested.

One white and two Negroes in front of City Hall: arrested.

Group trying to use Tift park: ordered out by police.
Students trying to get service at drug stores: ordered out by police.
Seven sitting at lunch counter: arrested.
Eight students trying to use swimming pool: ordered away.
One hundred and fifty people on way to City Hall: arrested.
Seven people praying in front of City Hall: arrested.
Ten people praying at City Hall: arrested.
Eighteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Sixteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Fourteen praying at Carnegie library: arrested.
Six singing at City Hall: arrested.
Nineteen praying at City Hall: arrested.
Five asking service at Holiday Inn restaurant: arrested.
Eight trying to use bowling alley: arrested.
Two students picketing theater: arrested.
Three Negroes seeking to attend church service: arrested.
Seventy-five ministers praying at City Hall: arrested.

Even accepting a restrictive view of the right of free speech and assembly, there needs to be a balancing between those rights and the police powers of the state. There was no balancing in Albany. There was no consideration of imminent disturbance, or impending violence, no concern with what is the prevailing judicial rule for determining the limits of free speech—the existence of a "clear and present danger." Police Chief Pritchett has earned the plaudits of newspapers throughout the nation for what the executive director of the Georgia Municipal Association has called "the number one job of law enforcement in recent Georgia history." He has done this by simply putting into prison every man, woman, or child who dared protest in any way the infringement of rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

The standards for freedom in the United States have been pushed to the ground when a police force meets its requirements merely by not torturing or blackjacking its citizens. (But it should be noted that Chief Pritchett, who has arrested more than 1000 people for praying, singing, marching, or picketing, did not make a single move toward arrest when Sheriff Campbell, just across the street, bludgeoned C. B. King and the attorney staggered, still bleeding, into Pritchett's office.) Pritchett has run the city of Albany in the silent, sure manner of an efficient police state.

A report on the Georgia Council on Human Relations noted: "The City Commission of Albany has officially given to the Chief of Police the power to be its spokesman in dealing with the Negroes. The Judge constantly refers to 'The Chief.' 'The Chief and I de-

cided'. . . . 'The Chief told me'. . . . 'The Chief will set the date.' So not only does the influence of 'The Chief' extend over the City Fathers, but it also permeates the Court itself. As long as this condition remains, there can be no healthy, democratic government in Albany. There may be no large-scale violence, but there is little chance for the growth of justice and truth."

Police brutality is evil. Chief Pritchett should be commended for not engaging in it, and also for acting as he has, forthrightly and effectively, to prevent white mobsters from gaining any degree of control. But it is also an evil thing for a policeman to deprive an entire community of human beings of their liberties. In an incident reported last summer by New York *Post* columnist Murray Kempton, a tiny boy showed up in the line of Negroes being booked at Albany's City Hall after a protest parade. "How old are you?" Chief Pritchett asked.

"Nine," the boy replied.

"What is your name?" the chief queried.

"Freedom, freedom," was the response.

The chief patted him on the head and said: "Go home, freedom."

Terrible Terrell

"This is a feudalistic system. But I don't know if, or how it will be changed," James Griggs Raines, former Mayor of Dawson in Terrell County, once told a Commission on Civil Rights investigator.

Surrounding Dougherty County, in which Albany is situated, lie several old Black Belt counties where the smell of slavery still lingers. Just to the north are Terrell County ("Terrible Terrell"), of which Dawson is the county seat, and Lee County, of which Leesburg is the seat. To the south are Baker ("Bad Baker") and Mitchell Counties. It was in Bad Baker, in 1943, that a young Negro mechanic named Bobby Hall was beaten to death with a metal blackjack while handcuffed, by Sheriff Claude M. Screws and two other officers. Federal prosecution of Screws (which would have resulted in one year in jail) failed on a point of law. In 1958 Screws was elected to the General Assembly of Georgia.

Terrell County has a long history of brutality against Negroes. In 1958, a Negro named James Brazier was beaten to death by local police under circumstances described in the Commission on Civil Rights' 1961 volume, *Justice*. A local grand jury failed to indict. A year after this incident, Brazier's widow was told by Terrell County's Sheriff Zeke T. Mathews: "I ought to slap your damn brains out. A nigger like you I feel like slapping them out. . . . I'm gonna carry the South's orders out like it oughta be done." Former Mayor James Griggs Raines of Dawson told Commission on Civil Rights investigators: "In my opinion the Sheriff, Mathews, is unfit and has violated the Civil Rights Acts. I've seen him beat a pregnant Negro woman. He's unfit to hold office. You can quote me." Mathews himself has observed to a Washington *Post* reporter: "You know, Cap, . . . there's nothing like fear to keep niggers in line."

Sheriff Mathews is still sheriff of Terrell County; he was the law officer who struck SNCC worker Charles Sherrod when Sherrod was jailed in the December 1961 Albany demonstrations. And he was the one who told his prisoners: "There'll be no damn singin' and no damn prayin' in my jail."

Negroes comprise a majority of the population of Terrell County, but for a Negro to vote has always involved an act of supreme courage. As of 1960, out of a population of 8,209 Negroes, 51 were registered voters, while of 4,533 whites, 2,894 were registered. The first suit filed by the Justice Department under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was against the Board of Registrars in Terrell County, charging systematic discrimination. This resulted in a 1960 injunc-

tion forbidding discrimination. When this proved ineffective, the stronger Civil Rights Act of 1960 was expected to help. But the most powerful factors operating against Negro registration still exist in Terrell County: the threat of economic reprisals, an atmosphere of intimidation and repression, a history of brutality. These keep the Negro from even entering the registration office where, according to the Civil Rights Act, he is entitled to equal treatment.

In November 1961, just before the first wave of demonstrations in Albany, SNCC workers Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan began a campaign to register Negro voters in Terrell County. They stayed at the home of Mrs. Carolyn Daniel, a young Negro woman who operates a beauty parlor in Dawson. Early in January 1962, police cars began prowling around the Daniel home. The following month, Sherrod, visiting another SNCC worker who had been jailed on a traffic violation, was put into jail for "disorderly conduct." In March, Sherrod sent out a news release from the SNCC office in Atlanta criticizing "the slow progress of the U.S. Justice Department in following through on complaints of brutality, intimidation, and harassment aimed at Terrell County Negroes." In April, Sherrod again pointed to intimidation in Terrell County, asking action from the Department of Justice.

At the start of the summer, the tiny SNCC group registering voters in Terrell County was joined by Ralph Allen, a white student from Trinity College, Connecticut. On July 4, he and Joseph Pitts, an Albany student, reported that they were attacked by a white man while talking to Dawson Negroes about voter registration. The man had struck Pitts on the head with a cane and slapped Allen. Complaining to the sheriff, they were referred to Chief of Police W. B. Cherry of Dawson, who was himself involved in the Brazier killing. Cherry referred them to the sheriff. Wanting to swear out a warrant against their assailant to prevent future attacks, they went to the home of Justice of the Peace Daniel English, who ran out and shouted to Pitts: "Get off my porch, nigger." The Atlanta SNCC office again asked the Justice Department to act.

On Saturday, July 21, Ralph Allen was walking down Railroad Street in Dawson when a truck tried to run him down. The driver jumped out and said: "You came here to show our niggers how to vote. I should kill you." Allen put his hands behind his back in the customary SNCC posture of non-violent response. The man hit him on the side of the head. He put his hands behind his back again. The man knocked him to the ground and began kicking him. Two others came along, one putting his foot on Allen's throat, the other kicking him in the side. One drew a knife and said: "Should we kill him now?" They finally let him go. The F.B.I. in Albany was notified of the incident.

The following Wednesday, July 25, a remarkable voter registration meeting took place at the Mount Olive Baptist Church in Sasser,

a rural hamlet on the road between Albany and Dawson, in Terrell County. The meeting was reported vividly to the nation by Claude Sitton of the New York *Times*, Pat Watters of the Atlanta *Journal*, and Bill Shipp of the Atlanta *Constitution*. The 40 persons at the meeting consisted mostly of Negroes from the area. Also attending were SNCC workers Charles Sherrod, Charles Jones, Ralph Allen, and Penelope Patch, a 19-year-old Swarthmore college student. As Sherrod was reading from the scriptures, 13 white men, led by Sheriff Mathews and including the sheriff of nearby Sumter County, entered the church. Sheriff Mathews began questioning people, took names, warned Allen to leave the county, told the group it would not be to their interest to continue the meeting, and said to reporters: "We are a little fed up with this voter registration business . . . we want our colored people to live like they've been living for the last hundred years—peaceful and happy." When the meeting was over, a deputy sheriff said to one Negro leaving the church: "I know you. We're going to get some of you." Before going to the Sasser meeting, one of the newsmen had invited the F.B.I. along, but the invitation was declined.

On Sunday, July 29, Ralph Allen and Charles Sherrod were arrested by Sheriff Zeke Mathews while accompanying Negroes to the voter registration office. They spent five days in jail before being released on bond. When Allen asked what was the charge against them he was told: "Investigation, vagrancy, and all that crap." Reporter Bill Shipp of the Atlanta *Constitution* wrote: "Terrell County Sheriff Zeke T. Mathews refused to let reporters see the warrant on which Sherrod and Allen were arrested. He also refused to show them the docket where the cases had been booked."

Perhaps spurred by the July 25 incident at Sasser, the Justice Department, on August 13, asked the U.S. District Court to prohibit law enforcement officials from intimidating prospective voters in Terrell County and to halt prosecution of Sherrod and Allen for their recent arrest. Judge Elliott refused to grant an immediate temporary injunction, saying there was no evidence of immediate danger to the civil rights of those involved.

Two days later, a church used as a voter registration center in neighboring Lee County burned to the ground*. Two weeks later, the homes of four Negro families active in voter registration were riddled by bullets, which narrowly missed taking the lives of sleeping children. On September 5, a SNCC registration worker was wounded by a shotgun blast in Dawson. And on Sunday, September 9, the same Mount Olive Church in Sasser which had been the scene of Sheriff Mathews' invasion in July was burned to the ground. As of the writing of this report, Judge Elliott has still not issued an injunction.

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*On October 3, the F.B.I. arrested two men, charged with setting the fire.

Where Was the Federal Government?

Over 700 Negroes in Albany, and a few sympathetic whites, spent time in prison in December of 1961, as a mass substitute for federal action to compel recognition of a legal right.

OF all the forces involved in Albany, the national government is the only one whose actions do not match its expressed convictions. The Negroes of Albany have strained to the limits of their capacity to endure pain and rebuff. The white community has behaved in accord with the customs of the majority of southern whites in resisting attempts to change the status quo. The chief of police has acted like a chief of police. But the federal government has not operated according to its pretensions.

The national government has failed to protect the liberties of its citizens in the city of Albany. From the feebleness of its actions, a detached observer might conclude that the federal government is still operating under the Constitution of the United States as once expounded by Chief Justice Taft.

The First Amendment of the constitution of the United States says: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." Supreme Court decisions in the early part of this century made it clear beyond question that these rights of free speech, petition, and assembly, are also guaranteed against state or local action by the words of the Fourteenth Amendment, that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, with due process of law." In Albany, hundreds of Negroes were locked up in some of the most miserable jails in the country for peacefully attempting to petition the government for a redress of grievances. Is the national government powerless to protect the right of petition?

Section 242 of the U.S. Criminal Code, which comes from the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Enforcement Act of 1870, creates a legal basis for federal prosecution of: "Whoever, under color of any law . . . wilfully subjects . . . any inhabitant of any State . . . to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States. . . ." Three times in succession in November and December 1961, the

police of the city of Albany, by arresting Negroes and whites in connection with their use of the terminal facilities in that city, violated a right which has been made clear beyond a shadow of a doubt in the courts, and nailed down tight by a ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Yet, the federal government took no action.

When a sheriff, in the presence of witnesses, slapped a young Negro for asking the right to sing and pray in prison, the federal government was silent. Throughout the December troubles, there were phone calls from the Justice Department to Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley, conversations between the Department and leaders of the Albany Movement. The F.B.I. dutifully sat in its office in Albany and took dozens upon dozens of affidavits from Negro citizens complaining that their constitutional rights had been violated by city and county officials. But eight months later, there was not a sign of action on these charges.

In the spring and summer of 1962, hundreds of Negroes, and some whites, were again deprived of their constitutional rights by city and county officials. They were put into jail again and again for taking actions supposedly protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. A pregnant woman was beaten, a lawyer was caned, a white youth had his jaw and ribs broken, three young people were forcibly dragged from a courtroom under the eyes of a county judge. Still no action. Eighteen-year-old Cordell Reagan, a veteran SNCC worker, emerged from Dougherty County jail in late August, after 16 days of confinement for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor" (which, translated, meant that Reagan had been sitting on the fender of a nearby car while two students were picketing a theater) made this comment to me about the Department of Justice and local police: "They're letting them get away with murder."

In December 1961, in the midst of hundreds of jailings in the Albany demonstrations, the New York *Times* reported from Albany: "The Justice Department was watching developments here closely." In September 1962, after shotgun blasts ripped into a home in Terrell County where Negro and white registration workers were staying, a Justice Department spokesman said in Washington: "We are watching the situation very, very closely."

In June 1962, six months after several flagrant violations of the ICC ruling, the Atlanta *Journal's* Washington correspondent reported: "The U.S. Justice Department has launched an investigation of alleged bus station segregation in Albany." In July, several Justice Department lawyers were sent to Albany. On the 26th of that month, according to an Atlanta *Constitution* report, Albany's Mayor Kelley conferred in Washington with Attorney General Kennedy. The *Constitution* said: "Kelley said he told Kennedy that Albany's racial problems are dealt with by local people. Kelley said Kennedy agreed with him."

Atlanta *Journal* Washington correspondent Douglas Kiker reported in July: "Justice Department officials described the Albany trouble Monday as 'a tense situation' but added that Mayor Asa Kelley and Chief of Police Laurie Pritchett 'have certainly indicated a strong desire to maintain order.' They said they had received no evidence that Albany police are not furnishing adequate law protection." This was immediately after attorney C. B. King, with more than 100 city and county police nearby, had received his bloody beating at the hands of the Dougherty County sheriff. Kiker disclosed that the Department of Justice was "investigating" the beating of King. But if there was ever a case where one hour of investigation would be sufficient to establish grounds for federal action, this was it.

Near the end of the summer, after receiving dozens of angry telegrams, after the picketing of the White House by citizens from both North and South, and after face-to-face pleas from Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and William Kunstler of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Justice Department made two legal moves: 1) it entered a friend-of-the-court brief to support the Albany Movement's request that an injunction against further demonstrations be denied; and 2) it asked for an injunction (after a violation of voting rights in Terrell County so outrageous that usually calm reporters on the scene were upset) to prevent certain officials in southeast Georgia from interfering with registration activities.

The available administrative machinery for enforcing federal law should be outlined: the Department of Justice has the duty to enforce laws passed by Congress and provisions of the U.S. Constitution. In the Department there is a Civil Rights Division, headed by an Assistant Attorney General, which handles the bulk of the legal work of the Department dealing with civil rights cases. The Division depends for its information on another branch of the Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which has offices in cities all over the country. F.B.I. agents undertake investigations on orders from the Department, to determine if federal law has been violated. The F.B.I. can make arrests, usually on orders from the Department, sometimes on its own in situations of urgency. After investigation, in civil rights cases, it is up to the Civil Rights Division to decide whether prosecution should be initiated. If so, this is usually done through the United States Attorney in that judicial district, who prosecutes the case in federal District Court, after indictment by a grand jury or the filing of an information. Also upon the Department's advice or order, the U.S. Attorney may file civil suits (although this may be done by a Civil Rights Division lawyer from Washington) asking that the federal court issue injunctions forbidding certain parties to engage in specified practices which may deprive individuals of their rights under the Constitution. Attached to the federal district court are U.S. marshals, who serve subpoenas, give notice of injunctive action, and otherwise carry out the orders of the court or the Attorney General. From District Court, there is

the right of appeal to the Court of Appeals, and then, in certain cases, to the United States Supreme Court.

The Department of Justice has on occasion defended its restraint in the Albany situation and in other crises by the following arguments, which deserve examination and reply:

1. Argument: Prosecutions in the Deep South stand little chance of succeeding, since juries are white and prejudiced.

   Reply: Even if acquittal results, prosecution may act as a deterrent. Right now, southern police officers, knowing the government's reluctance to prosecute, feel free to do as they wish with Negro citizens, and Albany has demonstrated this. If nothing else, a series of prosecutions would exert a powerful educational and moral force in a situation where Negroes feel deserted by the national government and southern whites are not clear where the government stands.

2. Argument: The Supreme Court decision in the *Screws* case of 1945 interpreted section 242 in such a way as to make convictions difficult, because of the need to show "intent" on the part of the accused, with "intent" interpreted very narrowly.

   Reply: The only way to get new interpretations of the law is to bring new cases before the courts.

3. Argument: The Department of Justice needs specific legislative authorization from Congress—as it has in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 regarding voting—to take injunctive action against local officials in other situations involving civil rights and civil liberties.

   Reply: In the *Debs* case of 1895 there was no specific legislative basis for an injunction; yet the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government could get one, saying: "Every government . . . has a right to apply to its own courts" in matters which the constitution has entrusted to the care of the national government. The Court said: "The entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care."

   The government may choose to interpret its own powers narrowly, or it may interpret

them broadly. The degree of its compassion may dictate the choice. When you combine the present reluctance of the Department of Justice with the unhesitant exercise of power by local police, the result is to blind the First and Fourteenth Amendments with the first flash of a police officer's badge.

Moreover, Albany has implications for American freedom beyond the question of equal rights for Negroes. Can American citizens, anywhere in the land, have freedom of speech and assembly in the face of a determined police force and an uncertain national government?

4. Argument: Our federal arrangement requires that the national government should interfere as little as possible with "local" situations.

Reply: It was precisely the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment to take the enforcement of racial equality out of the hands of local governments, which had proved the most flagrant violators, and put ultimate authority in the hands of the national government. Local governments may do anything they want in the field of ordinary crime. They may punish people for disorderly conduct, for blocking sidewalks, for disobeying police officers. But the moment such offenses are applied to one race in a way that they are not applied to another, the Fourteenth Amendment is violated, and the federal government, with all the power at its command, has proper constitutional jurisdiction. To take the view that the arrests of Negro citizens, for reasons obviously connected with their race, are purely "local" matters, is to take a pre-Civil War view of the American federal system.

5. Argument: There is no need for federal interference so long as large-scale violence does not break out, so long as local police maintain order.

Reply: If the government's only requirement is the maintenance of "order," even without the existence of freedom, then we have moved close to the ideology of the totalitarian state.

Something needs to be said about the role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and then about the influence of the President of the United States.

There is a considerable amount of distrust among Albany Negroes for local members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. "They're a bunch of racists," a young Negro told me bitterly. Whether true or not, this is the feeling of many Negroes who have had contact with the F.B.I., and, even if distorted, it is a general reflection of the efficacy of the F.B.I.'s role in the area of civil rights. F.B.I. men appear to Albany Negroes as vaguely-interested observers of injustice, who diffidently write down complaints and do no more. With all the clear violations by local police of constitutional rights, with undisputed evidence of beatings by sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, the F.B.I. has not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens. The one arrest made by the F.B.I. in connection with the Albany situation came in early September, and this when an F.B.I. man himself was attacked by a white man near the site of a burned church.

In its 1961 volume, *Justice*, the Commission on Civil Rights implied that the F.B.I. may be fundamentally incapable of enforcing the civil rights of American citizens. This is because of its natural attachments to local police on whom it is dependent for the solution of ordinary crimes, and because it is these same local police who are the most frequent violators of the rights of Negroes in the South. The Commission suggested the possibility of "a new administrative arrangement within the Department of Justice to ease the problem of F.B.I. agents having to investigate police officers with whom they work daily on other cases."

One solution might be the creation of a special corps of federal agents—similar to the T-men used by the Treasury Department—for the sole purpose of enforcing federally guaranteed constitutional rights in many parts of the country where they are consistently violated. Such agents need not be "outsiders," for there is a whole new generation of young Southerners—Negro and white—who are intelligent, courageous, capable, and genuinely concerned about civil rights, and from whom such agents could be selected. The F.B.I. is most effective as an agency for the solution of ordinary crimes, and perhaps it should stick to that.

As for the President of the United States, he could play, but so far has not played, a key role in crises such as Albany. The Commission on Civil Rights last year called for "the exertion of leadership by the President and others in the National Government. . . . These recommendations are based on the belief that the Presidency, and indeed the whole Federal establishment, is preeminently a place for moral leadership. The Commission has been impressed with the influence which those in responsible positions can exert on the civil rights climate of the Nation. By using the instruments for education and persuasion which are available to them they can stir the conscience of the country."

President Kennedy's first substantive public statement came after eight months of trouble in Albany when, responding to a question

at his August 1, 1961, press conference, he called the situation "unsatisfactory," declared he could not understand why Albany city officials would not negotiate with Negroes, and said: "We are going to attempt as we have in the past to try to provide a satisfactory solution for the protection of the constitutional rights of the people of Albany, and we will continue to do so." The trouble with this latter statement was that "in the past" the national government had done extremely little, and if its future attempts were to be of the same magnitude, this was a puny promise indeed.

In another press conference on Thursday, September 14, 1962, again in response to a question, President Kennedy strongly denounced the burning of the Negro churches in Lee and Terrell Counties, calling the actions "cowardly as well as outrageous." This was commendable. But it also indicates the level of tolerance at which our national leaders—and perhaps most white Americans—operate. They will be aroused by open violence, particularly against places of worship (Governor Vandiver of Georgia, hardly a friend of the Albany Movement, offered a $250 reward for the apprehension of the arsonists). But they will not be made sufficiently indignant by mass jailings, by the deprivation of free speech and assembly, by beatings and intimidation, by the perpetuation of segregation. The nation as a whole—not only the President—needs to expand its capacity for outrage.

Only once in the Albany troubles did the national administration show a real burst of energy; that was when Martin Luther King, Jr. was jailed on July 10. The President asked for a report, the Attorney General got busy, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights made phone calls, and the next day King was out of jail. But there was no such deep concern for the hundreds of ordinary citizens in Albany who went to jail about the same time for basically the same reason. Special favors to distinguished individuals are too easy a substitute for genuine assistance to troubled groups. Jackie Robinson, who last summer received elaborate greetings from the President on the occasion of his election to the Baseball Hall of Fame, noted the Albany situation and wrote: "I'd rather have freedom than flowers."

The President's general silence, (except for the two instances noted above) and the feebleness with which the Justice Department has acted are often attributed to the practical realities of national politics, which require, it is said, that the President woo the support of Southerners in Congress for other laudable national goals. But there are some means so morally hurtful that they corrupt the ends. Besides, there is serious reason to doubt that the Administration gains substantial advantage from such tactics. The Senators from the state of Georgia had an opportunity, in 1961, to vote on 12 key issues important to the Administration: they both voted with the Administration in only two of the 12 instances, and these were farm bills that they probably would have supported in any event. In a

third case, on the housing bill, Talmadge supported the President and Russell did not.

Finally, it can be argued that the President's concern for civil rights *and* his concern for political advantage are both demonstrated by his choice of federal judges, knowing clearly that those appointed in the South will have tremendous authority over the progress of race relations, and will have it for many years. Certain judicial appointments of this Administration have appalled Southern liberals.

The federal government, *if it wants to,* can take the following actions in Albany:

1. Begin immediate prosecution under Section 242 of local officials who have deprived Negroes of their constitutional rights in the Albany area. Such trials, since they involve misdemeanors, do not even require grand jury indictments, but may be initiated on the presentation of an information by the Department of Justice, and the Commission on Civil Rights has urged this procedure "in appropriate cases." The F.B.I. has in its hands piles of affidavits from Albany citizens—accumulated over a period of nine months—testifying to violations of federal law; but the Justice Department has not acted.

2. Station in the area a substantial number of federal agents to protect citizens from intimidation, beating, and false arrest. Such agents should not confine themselves to standing by and taking notes, which the F.B.I. has been doing on occasion in the Deep South in the midst of scenes of brutality, but should have the authority to make arrests on the spot.

3. Go into federal court and ask for injunctions to prevent local officials from a) enforcing segregation statutes, and b) interfering with peaceful assembly, picketing and speech. Violations of such injunctions would then be subject to judicial punishment without trial. Both such legal actions have been initiated by the Albany Movement, but they could have been started by the federal government last December, and should now be backed by it. The government, after prodding, did enter a friend-of-the-court brief in a defensive action against the city's attempt to make demonstrations punishable, but has not taken any steps to make peaceful assembly a positive right.

4. The President should address himself directly to the people of Albany, white and Negro, speaking forthrightly about racial discrimination, making it plain to Albany whites that they are entitled to express their views and hold their private beliefs, but that public law now entitles Negroes to equal use of all public facilities, and that the entire power of the federal government will stand behind this. The Southern Regional Council, in its report *The Federal Executive and Civil Rights,* said: "The South should be informed where the President stands. . . . The millions of Southerners, white and Negro, who want to break loose from enfeebling customs, would respond with gratitude to Presidential leadership."

5. There is a procedure outlined in the U.S. Attorney's Manual, Title 10, Civil Rights Division, which says that where there is insufficient evidence for federal prosecution but "repetitive civil rights violations" exist, the U.S. Attorney may initiate a mediative conference "with responsible local officials." The manual says: "Situations in which such a conference may be useful include those involving enforced racial segregation and illegal police practices. . . ." It says further: "Such a conference should serve the purpose of putting the officials on notice regarding the applicable federal laws and giving them an opportunity to remedy the situation. . . ." It would be difficult indeed to think of a situation more badly in need of such a procedure than Albany this past year, but there is no indication that the Department of Justice has used it, choosing instead to rely on informal —and ineffectual—efforts at mediation.

6. The President should refuse to appoint segregationist federal judges. Judgeships left vacant are preferable to those filled for life by men who, on their public record, are opponents of racial equality.

7. The Commission on Civil Rights might well investigate the Albany situation and make appropriate recommendations. There are a hundred potential Albanys in the Deep South.

These proposed actions require boldness, imagination, vigorous initiative—precisely those qualities that were promised by Mr. Kennedy in his campaign for the Presidency. As yet, however, no New Frontiers have been carved out in the social wilderness which surrounds Albany. They will probably be established, as elsewhere in the Deep South, by determined Negroes and farsighted whites, compelled by court rulings and smoothed by compromises, but with that intermittent conflict, and suffering, which accompany progress. What the government can do is help ease the pain.

Postscript

This report, based on time spent in Albany during the crises of December 1961 and the summer of 1962, owes a great deal to the excellent reporting of newspapermen, particularly: Claude Sitton of the New York *Times;* Pat Watters of the Atlanta *Journal;* Walter Rugaber of the Atlanta *Journal;* Fred Powledge of the Atlanta *Journal;* and Bill Shipp of the Atlanta *Constitution.* It owes much also to the many people, white and Negro, who spoke to me in Albany.

Perhaps there is a quality of harshness in the report. If so, it may come from some of the things I heard and saw in the Albany area. I recall particularly driving from dirt road onto dirt road deep into the cotton and peanut land of Lee County to talk to James Mays, a teacher and farmer. He showed me the damage done by 30 bullets which, hours before, in the middle of the night, had been fired through doors and windows and crashed into the walls around the heads of 19 sleeping persons, most of them children. With the coming of dawn he had quickly lettered a sign of protest and stood with it out on the main road to Leesburg in front of a Negro school. It was clear that, although he was a member of a nation whose power stretched around the globe and into space, James Mays was on his own.

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH

ATLANTA

The third of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities

A Report based on a survey by the
Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
and the
Atlanta Council for Cooperative Action

Carl Holman
Research Coordinator

FOREWORD

This is the third in a series of Negro employment studies in southern cities. Reports have previously been issued on Houston, Texas and Chattanooga, Tennessee.

This report is based on interviews carried out in the summer and fall of 1961 and on continuous observation since then.

Our gratitude is extended to the Atlanta Council for Cooperative Action and the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, co-sponsors with us of the study. We are indebted also to Carl Holman, Professor of English at Clark College, who served as research coordinator, and to the interviewers, firms, and citizens of Atlanta whose cooperation has made this report possible.

James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

On the classified ad page of a Sunday newspaper, jobs listed for whites cover more than five columns and include openings for engineers, salesmen, accountants, machinists, bookkeepers, and technical writers. In the same paper there is a total of six listings for Negro men, all as handy men, car washers, and porters.

Of 124 graduates of the Atlanta University's School of Social Work, only seven have been able to find jobs locally in their field during a four-year period.

At a meeting of automobile workers addressed by a national union official, a Negro refusing to take a seat in an area customarily segregated for members of his race, is beaten with a chair by an irate white worker. The affair, witnessed by all present, is quietly hushed. No disciplinary action is ever taken against the assailant.

TIME: 1961

PLACE: Atlanta, Georgia

EDUCATION AND TRAINING: OPENING TO A DEAD END STREET

The roots of employment discrimination against Negroes in the South seem inextricably bound with discrimination in vocational training offered in the public schools. Negroes are limited to training for jobs considered theirs by "local custom" and denied opportunities in other and more lucrative fields. In Atlanta, though counselors make all career information available to Negro youth regardless of whether job opportunities actually exist, the curriculum in the city's all-Negro vocational school — Carver High — falls far below the courses available to white students at Smith-Hughes. Both schools provide training in homemaking, business education, radio and television repair, beauty culture, practical nursing, food service, painting and decorating, carpentry, and blueprint reading. But there the parallel ends. The white student may also study machine shop, electronics, tool and die design, industrial instrumentation, plumbing and steam fitting, iron working, and electricity, courses that are not available at Carver High. Instead, the curriculum at Carver includes laundering, dry cleaning, plastering, and shoe repair.

Many Negroes look to a proposed area trade school for Atlanta's west side as a solution to many vocational training problems. Negro educators have worked with the state advisory committee on the setting up of this project. These Negro leaders have not yet raised the issue as to whether the proposed facility will be segregated or integrated. "Our biggst fight right now," at least one Negro reports, "is to make sure that Negroes get everything the whites are getting."

With one exception, trade unions do not participate in Negro vocational training at the city's Negro vocational school. The exception is the Negro local of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators, members of which serve on the advisory committee of Carver High School's painting, paperhanging, and decorating course.

On the other hand, plumbing and steam fitting, machinist, iron worker, electrician, and sheet metal locals have representatives who work with white trainees at Smith-Hughes.

Private schools for business and vocational training for the most part bar Negroes, though one said it did hope to enroll Negroes in the future and another said it would take an all-Negro class if as many as ten Negroes applied.

Vocational training for Negro adults is provided through evening courses at Carver High School.

The United States Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, working in connection with local firms and unions covering the building trades, sponsors apprenticeship training programs in the Greater Atlanta area. However, administration of the programs is left to the contractors and unions and Negro participation is not greatly encouraged. Only the local lathers union, in fact, currently offers integrated training programs. In this same local, six Negroes serve on the union's 12-man planning committee. The cement masons and plasterers local plans to integrate its training program in the near future.

As far as is known, except for the lathers, there are no apprenticeship programs—integrated or segregated—for Negroes in Atlanta.

A spokesman for a carpenters local, for instance, states that there are no racial qualifications for participation in its apprentice program, then adds, "But you know how things are in this area." None of the union's 60 current apprentices is Negro, nor has there ever been any in the past.

The experience of a young Negro building trades worker seems particularly significant here. This young man had consistently been denied admission to any apprenticeship program. He had sought training at all-white Smith-Hughes vocational school but had been rejected. Seeking help from the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, he was told the agency provided only tools, data, and assistance in setting up on-the-job training programs; actual training is done through the unions operating with contractors and subcontractors. The man called on several subcontractors and was informed that they had all the apprentices they could handle.

A bricklaying apprenticeship program for him and several other Negroes was attempted but failed to materialize because of the difficulties in finding white contractors who would employ them.

Nor are the educational opportunities for Negro professionals substantially greater. An index of the frustrations facing the Negro professional or would-be professional in Atlanta is the fact that many of the educational inequities still exist which were cited two years ago.* For example, it is still true that "without the added expense and inconvenience of leaving the city, white Atlantans may study for advanced degrees which are not offered locally to Negroes. Among these are the Ph.D. and the B.B.A."

Georgia Tech now admits Negro students and thus engineering and scientific fields are available. But it is still true that no Negro Atlantan may study for an advanced degree in medicine, dentistry, law, or nursing without leaving Atlanta.

DISCRIMINATION: A TIME-HONORED TRADITION

A principal source for recruiting by private industry, whether operating with or without government contracts, is the Georgia State Employment Service. Until recently the service processed job requests for Negroes and whites separately. Some changes have been reported in the policy governing the acceptance of orders by the Employment Service, but insufficient time has elapsed for an evaluation to be made of their effectiveness. Plants with federal government contracts place job orders with the service without specifications as to race, and the orders are reportedly processed jointly by both the white and Negro sections of the service. So also for

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**A Second Look: The Negro Citizen in Atlanta*, Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action.

orders from employers without government contracts, who do not indicate race as a criterion. If such an employer does, however, initially designate race or state such a preference upon inquiry from the service, then the order goes to one or the other of the segregated sections.

There is great reluctance on the part of private employers to violate local custom. Local custom, it appears, dictates two cardinal rules to which exceptions are rare indeed.

1. Negroes must not work on an equal status with whites.

2. Negroes must not — if it can at all be avoided — supervise whites.

These laws of custom give insight into the following examples of Atlanta's practice:

- The city's largest department store, which desegregated its lunch counters after weeks of Negro boycotts, does not employ a single Negro in a sales capacity.

- Another large department store, owned by a New York firm, employs Negroes only in menial jobs such as stockmen, stockwomen, elevator operators, maids, porters, and waitresses. A Negro at this store once held a "semi-selling" job, but unfavorable reaction from some white customers caused the management to transfer him back into a more menial role.

- A smaller department store, in addition to the usual maids, porters, stock clerks, and elevator operators, does employ a Negro as a part time salesman.

- The local outlet of a nationwide variety store has Negroes working as stock clerks, porters, waitresses, and produce concession clerks. It has also a Negro with 15 years service, who is described as being "next to the manager," though his official title was not specified.

- A large paper products manufacturer employs Negroes in its packing and machinery maintenance divisions. A spokesman said that opposition by white employees is a barrier to Negro promotion.

- An automobile manufacturer, working under federal contracts, has a union agreement which forbids racial discrimination. Rest room and eating facilities are reportedly integrated, although Negro employees customarily eat at separate tables and seem to feel that they are expected to do so. Two Negroes were, in the fall of 1961,

upgraded to assembly line positions. Other jobs held by Negroes are menial. No Negroes serve as officers in the union, and at union meetings Negroes are required to take seats in the balcony.

- Lockheed, one of the country's major aircraft producers working under federal contracts, has had national publicity with regard to its Negro employment practices. Lockheed reports some notable improvement in compliance with Executive Order 10925 on Equal Employment Opportunity for the last six months of 1961. According to the *New York Times,* January 26, 1962:

  > Negro employment at the once-segregated Marietta plant showed the following changes in the six-month period:
  >
  > —While the over-all plant force increased by roughly 2,500 to 12,815, or a 25 per cent increase, the number of Negro employees increased from 494 to 696, a gain of 202 or 40 per cent. This increase occurred despite a "recall list" of some 3,000 previously laid-off workers, mostly white, who had first rights to new jobs at Marietta.
  >
  > —Eight Negroes in white-collar jobs joined the plant's Management Club and attended the club's Christmas party in the Hotel Dinkler in Atlanta. Other Negroes participated in the company golf tournament and joined a desegregated firm choral group.
  >
  > —Three Negroes were admitted to an eighty-six-man electronic technicians course; one Negro was enrolled in a twenty-three-man apprenticeship training school.
  >
  > —The number of Negroes in supervisory jobs at Marietta increased from sixteen to twenty-four, in professional and administrative posts from zero to six; in technical classifications from zero to one; in office jobs from zero to five; in skilled crafts from four to eight; in semi-skilled and unskilled from 366 to 547.

- The personnel director at a major steel plant told researchers that his company employs 400 Negroes out of a total work force of 1,700. On the company bulletin board here the Ku Klux Klan is allowed space to recruit members.

- As far as is generally known, utility firms do not hire Negroes in any but menial capacities.

UNIONIZED FOR JOB DISCRIMINATION

One of the ironies of employment in Atlanta and other cities in the South is the fact that local affiliates of some labor unions — well known on the national level for nondiscriminatory policies—contribute directly to discrimination against Negroes on the local labor scene.

Consider several cases in point. The union hall of an automobile workers union is segregated and until a year ago Negro members were required to hold their meetings on separate dates. At a large steel plant Negro union members state that they are not allowed to bid for jobs held by whites. Only two unions in the city employ Negroes in their own offices — a packing house local and a garment workers local. Negroes are barred altogether from at least two trade unions — sheet metal workers and plumbers. In the electricians union, Negroes hold memberships in the industrial section, but not in the craft section, and the musicians union has one local for Negroes and one for whites.

All this contributes to a feeling of estrangement on the part of Negro members of the unions. The unions' frequent lack of interest in their jobs is countered by a failure on the part of Negroes to support union objectives, as has been evidenced several times in strike votes.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT: REFUGE OR SUBTERFUGE

All city jobs in Atlanta are filled by civil service examination. Negroes hold 1,400 of these jobs and the majority are on lower-pay custodial levels. The city personnel director admits that discriminatory practices exist, and has taken some measures to change the situation.

Negroes are discouraged from seeking jobs which tradition has deemed "white men's jobs." Negro workers, in Atlanta as in so many places, frequently complain, too, against the workings of the "rule of three" (whereby a supervisor may select one of the highest three applicants for promotion). They see it as an added hurdle to the Negro when he is in competition with whites. Of some 100 Negro applicants recently applying for the relatively unskilled position of water meter reader, all except one were turned down for not meeting requirements.

The city employs no Negro clerks or stenographers. There is one Negro secretary, who works for the city's one Negro assistant to an area superintendent in the public schools.

Though the city's experience with Negro policemen working in Negro neighborhoods has been good, the city fire department is yet entirely all white. Fire department officials maintain that the housing of integrated units would be very difficult without a great deal of resentment on the part of white firemen. Throughout the entire fire department Negroes hold only three jobs — two as custodians and one as a laborer.

For reasons never quite clear the city for years declined to allow Negro interns to practice even in segregated wards of the city's public hospital. Within the past few weeks, however, this policy has been reversed with the announcement that one Negro intern may be employed.

Elsewhere in the hospital some Negro nurses work in white wards, though most are still employed in segregated Negro sections. The hospital, in effect, has two schools of nursing — one for members of each race.

Atlanta, the first Deep South city to hire Negro policemen, also currently employs Negroes as prison matrons, recreational supervisors, and librarians, all restricted to service in the Negro community.

Fulton County, in which Atlanta is principally situated, employs a Negro investigator who works out of the Solicitor General's office, and four deputy sheriffs who work as turnkeys in the county jail. All other nonschool jobs held by Negroes in the county employment are in the custodial category.

The Georgia State Department of Personnel maintains two administrative divisions — one for whites, the other for Negroes. In the Negro division there are 11 interviewers, six clerks, and one personnel manager.

The State Welfare Department has no Negro clerks or stenographers but does employ Negro social workers, teachers, supervisors, counselors, and dormitory mothers at the state institution for Negro boys.

All money financing the State Employment Service comes from the federal government, but except in Atlanta, Negroes are not employed above the menial level. The Atlanta office is segregated.

Employment in the Federal Civil Service carries with it security and opportunities for advancement for Negroes not always found in private industry. Also there is growing sentiment for fixing responsibility on the federal government for assuring equal employment opportunities in all areas receiving federal funds. Negroes expect, in short, more equal access to jobs at the federal level.

The National Urban League, which has had 50 years of experience in the merit employment field, recently, through its southern regional office, completed a three-year analysis of complaints regarding employment in the Federal Civil Service. These complaints include those of Negroes disqualified for initial employment as well as from those seeking promotion within the service. Included in the analysis also are the findings from conferences, over the last two years, with government officials. The findings below reveal the most frequently cited means of disqualifying Negroes:

> If a Negro is a serious candidate, a promotion may be made within the department to eliminate the position.
>
> If a Negro is a serious candidate, the department may be reorganized to eliminate the position.
>
> If a Negro is a serious candidate, the position may be re-evaluated and a new job description drawn to eliminate the "exact" position.
>
> One department may request the active roster which includes the names of Negroes and hold it so that another department may request a new roster which does not include the names of Negroes.
>
> If the racial identity of a Negro applicant is not discovered until the oral interview, he may then be disqualified on any one of several grounds such as improper attire, undesirable manner, inarticulation, or "undesirable" personality.
>
> The hiring officer(s) may take advantage of a racial situation and the inexperience of the prospective Negro worker to "talk him out" of taking the job.
>
> Prospective workers report that the testing situations are difficult and sometimes discomfiting and indicate that the person responsible for the administration of the test may or may not always be impartial.
>
> Since the hiring officer(s) has the final word with regard to who is employed, he may legally determine that a Negro, because of race alone, "will not fit into the working scheme and program" or "work effectively in his particular work situation" or "may not be well received by his agency's public."

A look at the specific jobs held by Negroes in various federal agencies in the Atlanta area would seem to bear out these findings.

- Of 450 positions, above the menial level, at the Veterans Administration, only two are held by Negroes.

- Of 175 supervisors in the Atlanta Post Office less than five per cent are Negroes. Yet the carrier force is 80% Negro and a conservative estimate is that 60% of the carrier force holds college degrees.

Though lack of training, initiative, and persistence are often cited as reasons for the absence of Negroes in civil service posts, the experience of a young Negro man, cited below, illustrates that even the presence of these qualities will not assure equal employment opportunity.

This young man was employed in 1957 as a medical technician in the bacteriology section of a nearby military installation. His level at the time he began was GS-4. After one promotion to GS-5 he was assigned to routine work which did not permit him to gain additional experience. He held this job for two years at which time the Civil Service Commission established a distinction between technicians and technologists — the major requirement for promotion to technologist being a B.S. degree in Chemistry, which he held. Technologists can be promoted to the level of GS-11; technicians can be upgraded no higher than GS-9.

The young man expected, as a matter of course, to be promoted along with his white fellow workers, but was not. He spoke to his civilian supervisor about the matter. This supervisor told him he would speak to the commanding officer. The officer gave him an answer to the effect that he would "write letters all over the country and find out what they were doing in other labs." No progress on the promotion had been made at the time the officer was transferred several months later.

Meanwhile, the young man learned of an opening in chemistry in another department, was interviewed by the officer in charge and told that he was ineligible because he had not taken a course in quantitative analysis. This course was not listed as a prerequisite in the official announcement.

Hearing of still another opening for a technologist, the young man attempted to fill it and was told by the new officer in charge that he would have to consult with his superiors. Two months later the young man learned that the job had been filled.

When yet another opening developed, with a GS-7 rank, in which he was interested, the job was filled with dispatch by a white woman transferred from another laboratory. He then applied for the job she vacated as a GS-6 in dairy bacteriology. His military supervisor told him in an interview, however, that he was "inclined to turn him down." Since the officer had complimented him on his work only a few weeks earlier, he

was surprised and asked why. "Because," the officer replied, "you don't cooperate."

Further, the officer stated he definitely would not commit himself to giving the young man the job "voluntarily." He hinted vaguely that he had in mind someone with more experience, though he did not specify whom. The technician then concluded that his efforts to achieve promotion were being blocked solely because of his race and wrote a letter of complaint to the Deputy Employment Policy Officer. Immediately, thereafter, he was promoted to medical technologist. His grade currently is GS-6.

EMPLOYMENT WITHIN THE NEGRO COMMUNITY

The prominence of the Negro business class in Atlanta raises the question as to the extent the Negro community is able to provide employment opportunities for Negroes not available in the larger white community.

One result of the presence of Negro financial institutions in Atlanta, which have helped to break the credit logjam which hampers Negroes elsewhere, is the existence of a greater number of Negro-owned and operated businesses than can be found in most other American cities. Segregation itself, of course, also contributes to this situation.

As one Atlanta Negro businessman points out, however, "there is still a wide gap between the kind of credit available to Negroes and that available to the white businessman or would-be employer. What would be considered a 'big' Negro business is still not a drop in the bucket when compared with white firms in the same field."

The result is that there are comparatively limited employment opportunities for Negro jobseekers in Negro-owned and operated institutions.

An Atlanta-based Negro insurance company with assets of over 57 million dollars employs over 200 Negroes in Atlanta; a banking institution with approximately 11 million dollars in assets provides employment for over 50 people; a daily newspaper employs approximately the same number, exclusive of carriers; a successful contractor, during peak months, has a payroll of over 110 people; a drug chain employs approximately 60 people; one of the two largest firms in the Empire Real Estate Board (whose membership includes 29 Negro companies) employs 25 persons.

These examples could be extended by citing other insurance, financing, contracting, real estate, mortuary, beauty culture, restaurant, and merchandising firms. These do not include the scores of single-ownership operations involving personnel of a half dozen persons or fewer.

The over-all picture remains the same: Most of Atlanta's Negro businesses are small businesses which can provide employment for only a fraction of the city's Negro labor force.

The biggest payroll in the city derived from Negro-operated institutions comes from the Atlanta University Center. Between them, Atlanta University, the Interdenominational Theological Center, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Clark, and Spelman colleges employ some 710 Negro faculty and staff members.

FAMINE IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

In spite of the presence of the Atlanta University Center, described by the Chamber of Commerce as the "largest center of Negro higher education in the world," most Negro graduates must leave Atlanta to find positions on a par with their qualifications.

A representative of one local college — reporting on alumni who have distinguished themselves in medicine, in business and industry (including a dozen graduates who are now doing work in space research, electronics, and research chemistry) and in the Foreign Service (including a diplomat who headed the largest economic mission this country has ever sent to Africa) had this to say: "Most of these graduates would have had nothing more to look forward to than public school teaching or the post office if they had tried to stay here in Atlanta."

A second college, checking on the 80 graduates of one of the classes in the 1950's found that 24 of them were teaching in the public schools of Atlanta, 10 were teaching in public schools elsewhere in the South, 4 were teaching in public schools in the North, 7 were housewives in other communities, 6 were postal workers in Atlanta, 4 were housewives in Atlanta, 2 were social workers, 2 were mathematicians, 2 were ministers, and one was in each of the following categories: physician, medical technician, Air Force pilot, hematologist, research chemist, U.S. Department of Revenue official, college teacher, alumni secretary, private music teacher, credit interviewer, secretary, bus driver. Seven did not report their status.

A third local college lists graduates employed in the following fields: dietetics, bacteriology, medical technology, social work, public health, art

instruction, music instruction, fashion designing, physical therapy, speech correction, nursing, chemistry, college teaching, biochemistry, merchandising, dental hygiene, journalism, psychology, medicine, and public relations. The great majority of these are employed outside of Atlanta.

Finally, the placement office of a fourth local college comments that most of its graduates who enter the work force in Atlanta do so as teachers; the placement officer lists two graduates as having "unusual" positions for Negroes in Atlanta — one is heading a special long-term project for the Community Planning Council; the other is an assistant research scientist in the VA Hospital. This placement officer states that graduates who remain in Atlanta tend to be underemployed, with a considerable number working in the post office.

Again, the picture is different with graduates who go North, East, or West. A number hold accounting and secretarial jobs in these sections of the country. A microbiologist in Pittsburgh, a biochemist at Mt. Sinai Hospital in Cleveland, a corrections officer in New York City, an employment security counselor in Detroit — these and others are holding positions of a kind which would hardly be open to them in Atlanta.

The facts are compelling. Whether in the sciences or the arts, Atlanta loses most of its best-trained Negro graduates to other urban centers outside the South. Those who remain may continue their graduate training in some fields, but only to the masters degree. Employment opportunities, however, regardless of the level of college education attained is likely to be restricted either to the post office, Negro businesses, or teaching.

THE PROFESSIONAL MERRY-GO-ROUND

The Dean of the School of Library Service at Atlanta University reports that of the twenty-one 1961 graduates of the School of Library Service, all are employed (a reflection of the great demand for librarians). Ten are employed in school libraries, eight in college and university libraries, two in public libraries, and one in teaching library service in a university.

The graduates are employed in eight states and one foreign country; eight are in Georgia, three in Florida, three in Louisiana, two in Alabama, and one each in Connecticut, New York, Virginia, West Virginia. One is in India. Annual salaries range from a low of $4,000 to a high of $6,404, with an average salary of $5,236, and a median of $5,184. A prime factor

in the loss of talented Negro Southerners to the North is an aggravation of the North-South salary differential which also operates with whites.

Approximately three-fifths of those graduating from the School of Library Service in the past twenty years are employed in northeastern, middlewestern, and western states, with the remaining two-fifths employed in the southern states. Many hold positions in the South as heads of college and public libraries. Graduates are employed in responsible positions in the public libraries of Boston, New York, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Graduates also serve in the libraries of Harvard University, Chicago Teachers College, Ohio State University, University of Kansas, and the University of Southern California.

A graduate of the School of Library Service, librarian of West Virginia State College, is the first Negro president of the state library association in West Virginia.

Colleges and universities which now have or have had on their faculties Negro faculty members and alumni of the Atlanta University Center institutions include: the University of Chicago, Columbia University, Brooklyn College, University of Southern California, Michigan State University, Iowa State University, Syracuse, Western Reserve, Boston University, Ohio Wesleyan, Haverford College, Roosevelt College, St. Louis University, Washington University (St. Louis), American University of Beirut (Lebanon), Beloit College, Brown University, Northeastern University, and San Diego State College.

None of these Negro educators, no matter how excellent their talents and training, would have been offered a place on the faculties of Emory, Georgia Tech, Agnes Scott, Georgia State, or Oglethorpe.

A Second Look: The Negro Citizen in Atlanta pointed out that "though free cultural exchange is so basic to our civilization that Russia and the United States have met on this common ground there is disturbingly little mutually helpful exchange between the educational communities of white and Negro Atlanta."

The faculties of the Atlanta University Center include individuals who have earned degrees and honors at some of the principal universities of the United States and Europe. Yet most of them seldom see their counterparts at Emory, Georgia State, Georgia Tech, Oglethorpe, and

Agnes Scott — except at meetings of learned societies generally convening outside the South. Such exchange as there is, is likely to be one-sided. For example, a distinguished scholar, artist, or public figure who appears in the Atlanta University Center can be heard or seen relatively easily by faculty members and students from the white institutions of higher education in the area. Only on rare occasions do faculty members and students from the Center find themselves welcome at the white campuses.

The Negro professional who elects to practice in Atlanta accepts a considerable handicap to his professional growth. He similarly subjects both himself and his family to a paucity of opportunities for broad cultural exchange and development. For, unless he is content to wage a continuing battle to attend recreational and cultural facilities (open without restriction to his white counterparts), he is limited to the sparse offerings of the segregated Negro community.

Physicians: Although almost every third person in metropolitan Atlanta is a Negro, the availability of professionally trained medical and dental assistance to him is severely limited. Of some 30-odd diplomates (physicians granted formal recognition as specialists in their fields) who received their undergraduate training in the colleges of the Atlanta University Center, only three are now practicing in Atlanta.

What these three trained physicians, tested by the highest national standards, are giving up by living and working in Atlanta may be surmised by a quick glance at where the other 90% are and what they are doing.

Like the three diplomates now practicing in Atlanta, all the others except three are Southerners by birth. (One was born in the Midwest, one in a border state, one in South America.) More of them now are to be found in California than in any other state. Except for one in Washington, D.C., Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee, the remainder are living in the North, the Midwest, and the West.

They are staff members of the finest hospitals in their communities and several teach cn the faculties of integrated medical schools. They live in cities where free exchange enriches their professional lives, where their children may secure first-class schooling, and where the additional compensations of a concert, a play, or a movie are not limited or ruled out altogether by racial barriers and taboos.

The 1961 Resident Staff of Grady Memorial Hospital, the publicly supported hospital operated by the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority,

included 137 residents and interns. Seventy-one of these had received their training outside the state, including two coming from foreign countries.

Not one Negro was included in the group. The Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, under sharp attack by Negroes and some whites for the discriminatory policies at Grady, has announced that it is negotiating to have a Negro intern begin training in the fall of 1962, subject to the approval of the Emory University Medical School, which operates the training program. The Authority has not yet clearly answered queries as to whether the Negro intern will or will not be confined to Negro wards and Negro patients — nor indeed, where he will live and with what staff members he will work.

Negro physicians in Atlanta are still barred from membership in the Fulton County Medical Society — and thus excluded from membership in the American Medical Association.

Technicians: The employment of Negroes as technicians and technologists in public hospitals is extremely limited. One is employed as a tissue technician at Grady Hospital, and two as laboratory technicians; two as x-ray technicians at Hughes Spalding Pavilion; one as a medical technician at the VA hospital; and one technician is employed at the Communicable Disease Center of the U.S. Public Health Service.

Nurses: Although the Negro professional nurse still has some distance to go before achieving complete equality of opportunity with her white counterpart, she is at present farther along the way than are Atlanta's other Negro professionals.

Recently, Georgia became the last of the States to admit Negro nurses to full membership in the American Nurses Association. Two years ago the national body made clear that the Georgia State Nurses Association must admit Negro nurses or forfeit its own membership in the national organization. Within the past two months Negro nurses have officially become members of the Atlanta area's Fifth District, Georgia State Nurses Association.

Nursing officials estimate there are some 120 Negro professional nurses in Atlanta and some 450 white nurses. Negro professional nurses are employed at Grady Hospital, Hughes Spalding, the two private Negro hospitals (McClendon and Harris), the VA Hospital, the hospital at Fort McPherson, and at the new DeKalb General Hospital.

Though Negro nurses have in the past been employed at the Egleston Hospital for children, and though Negro private duty nurses are occasionally used on the "white side" at Grady when white nurses are not available, white hospitals and patients generally have been off limits for Negro nurses.

Several years ago a few Negro nurses were called to Emory and St. Joseph's hospitals for polio nursing since the Negro nurses had more experience with polio cases than did many of the white nurses. However, more recently when a white patient who had been attended by a Negro private duty nurse at Grady was moved to a private, church-supported hospital, his request to have his Negro nurse continue to attend him was denied.

Negro graduate nurses are employed at the four Negro undergraduate institutions in the Atlanta University Center and four full time nurses and a relief nurse are employed by the Visiting Nurses Association. Only three Negro physicians employ professional nurses in their offices.

Emory University offers a nursing degree and the white nurses have a training program in affiliation with Georgia State College, but neither of these programs is at present open to Negro nurses. Negro nurses trained at Grady are taught some of their work by Emory instructors and receive some of their training through the Emory doctors and interns connected with Grady. Through a special arrangement, Negro nurses are brought to the Spelman College campus to complete some college courses.

Two Negro nurses are employed in the teaching program at Grady — but they teach only Negro nurses. Negro nurses who have graduated from Grady report that it is "a good school" and point to nurses trained at Grady who are working in other parts of the country and "doing very well." Included among these are captains in the Army and the Air Force (not stationed at armed forces installations in the Atlanta area).

Though the national body has consistently recognized only one Grady alumni group, there have always been two: Grady Alumni No. 1, the white chapter; and Grady Alumni No. 2, the Negro chapter. "Students should contend for only one cap and only one uniform," a Negro Grady graduate pointed out, "but again, contrary to all legitimate procedure, there has always been one cap and one uniform for whites and another cap and uniform for Negroes at Grady."

Although two Negro nurses have been given supervisory ranking, it has been taken for granted at Grady that even on the Negro wards the supervisors will be white.

Recently, nurses at Hughes Spalding, the Negro private pavilion designated by the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority as a "pay ward" of Grady, mounted a serious protest against unsatisfactory working conditions and pay. Although it has been difficult for the Negro nurses to establish sufficient proof, leaders contend that there are pay differentials between Negro and white nurses similarly trained, of equal seniority, doing similar work.

Dentists: Included among Atlanta's 17 Negro dentists are dentists and dental surgeons who have attended patients of both races in the armed services or in civilian hospitals in other sections of the country.

However, these and other Negro dentists in Atlanta cannot belong to the American Dental Association through affiliation with the local dental society which is lily white, nor can they:

—practice or get training at Grady Hospital or the VA Hospital (whose medical phase of the training program is operated by Emory University Medical School).

—participate in the training program of the Emory University School of Dentistry.

In 1961, Negro dentists picketed the annual Thomas P. Hinman dental meeting at the Municipal Auditorium held under the sponsorship of the unaffiliated Fifth District Dental Society. The decision to picket came after all previous attempts to gain admittance to the clinic and to the convention had failed. This year (1962) Negroes again negotiated with the Fifth District Dental Society for admission, but without success. Negro dentists sent letters to program participants and other dentists all over the country asking for their support. This effort yielded an invitation to attend the scientific sessions. The basic problem of the admission of Negroes to membership in the local affiliate of the American Dental Association is yet to be resolved.

One Negro dentist has the title of Dental Director in the public health program associated with the Fulton County Health Department. His part time services, however, are restricted to the "Negro arm" of the program.

Pharmacists: A Negro pharmacist, a graduate of Claflin College (South Carolina) and Xavier University (New Orleans), was employed as a pharmacist in a leading downtown department store on the recommendation of the senior pharmacist there. The Negro pharmacist, during the first few days of his employment, found that he was complimented and accepted with some warmth and curiosity by most of the white customers of the firm. Others exhibited hostility or resentment.

After he had worked for a short time he was summoned by the Director of Personnel who informed him that complaints from white customers and employees—"mainly those from the lower economic brackets"—made it necessary that his services be terminated.

SOME CHANGES IN THE WIND

There are some encouraging signs that steps are being taken to recruit and upgrade Negroes in both the private and governmental spheres. Although the listing below is not complete it suggests the kinds of job areas in which progress is being made. In some instances, Negroes are performing jobs at the skilled level, being paid at prevailing rates, but not accorded the commensurate job titles.

For example:

- At one large industrial company Negroes work as electricians but carry other, menial, job designations.
- A printing company official said that his white foreman was "not as much good to the company" as one of his Negro workers who "does all of my silk screen work and the jobs that have to be done exactly right." The Negro was originally hired as a porter and has never been given a classification commensurate with the work he does, though he is paid more than most of his fellow workers. (Since Negroes cannot belong to the printers union in Atlanta, most Negroes employed in the printing field are paid less than the union scale.)

In other gains Negroes are holding both the jobs and the titles:

- Although many white building contractors reportedly are reluctant to use Negro bricklayers, others — among them one of the largest

builders and developers in the city — insist on Negro and white bricklayers working together.

- There is a trend toward the employment of Negroes in stores which, while located in predominantly Negro areas, are owned by whites. At least five Negroes have been hired as clerks in stores serving both white and Negro patrons.
- At least five Negroes are working as cashiers in stores previously employing only whites in such capacities.
- A Negro has been promoted to manager of the meat department in a large supermarket.
- A large dairy has employed two Negroes as drivers and one as a route representative.
- An automobile assembly plant has upgraded two Negroes from sweepers to the assembly line.
- A Negro woman was recently upgraded in the Federal Reserve Bank from maid to machine clerk.
- At least two Negro analysts, a secretary, and a mail clerk have been hired for the first time in the Housing and Home Finance Agency.
- Negro technicians have been added to the staff of the Federal Internal Revenue Service.
- Eight Negroes are employed on the staff of the Federal National Mortgage Association.

Two Negroes are employed as bus drivers by the privately owned transit company. The city has promoted a Negro to the position of sewage disposal plant operator, upgraded two others to the position of truck driver, appointed a Negro as a probation officer, appointed another as a housing code inspector, and for the first time employed a Negro as meter reader for the water department. At least two union locals are integrated. The cement masons and plasterers union is entirely integrated and has a Negro president, vice president, and business agent. A similar situation obtains in the lathers union. Though the number of whites attending the last election meeting of the cement masons and plasterers union exceeded the number of Negroes, the Negro candidate for president received all but 14 of 400 votes cast.

While some firms in Atlanta employ no Negroes in skilled or semi-skilled positions, one large manufacturing firm has for years quietly employed almost 2,000 Negroes, many of whom are in these categories.

The judgment as to whether these gains are impressive or not must be made against the backdrop of the large and diverse labor force serving Atlanta. The Atlanta newspapers have recently reported a 44% increase in their Help Wanted advertisements. There is a demand for a wide range of skills in a growing Atlanta, and there is a sizable, underused, and untapped labor reserve within its Negro population. All that is needed is to bring the two together. Yet as simple as this solution may seem it strikes at the heart of the impasse. For to bring equal employment opportunities to the Negro in Atlanta requires that he be looked upon as a person with varying skills to contribute to the job market and only incidentally, if at all, as a person of color. An indication of how widespread is the notion that the employment of Negroes carries with it some special hazards, in spite of their qualifications, is reflected in the editorial comment in the *Atlanta Journal* following the granting of visiting staff privileges to a Negro physician in the largest public hospital in the city:

> . . . On Monday, the authority acted favorably on the application of Dr. Asa Yancey, a leading Negro physician to join its visiting staff.
>
> Both the method and the motive of those who govern this hospital are to be commended. The hospital's primary aim is service. But it also is a great training ground for the doctors and technicians of the future. Negroes have been denied full use of these training facilities, in the past, but cannot be denied them forever.
>
> *But the transition must be made in slow and orderly fashion, with selectivity and care. The problem here is to take the middle road, disregarding the emotionally involved extremists of either side, and this the authority seems prepared to do. (Italics are the authors.)*

Caution in employment should not be influenced by color, but should rest solely on the qualifications and ability of an individual to perform a job competently.

TRANSITION
WITHOUT TRAGEDY

A
Community
Preparation
Handbook

TRANSITION WITHOUT TRAGEDY

A Community Preparation Handbook

by Florence Robin

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

December, 1963

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FOREWORD

Your daily newspaper gives fresh testimony every morning that the South is in transition. Banner headlines tell of race riots, demonstrations, ugly violence--violence that has already permanently scarred the face of Little Rock, New Orleans, Birmingham, Albany.

But sometimes the stories, though less spectacular, are more heartening--law and order preserved in Mobile, Atlanta, Chattanooga.

As thoughtful citizens, we recognize that we are in a period of transition, and that there is no turning back from the orders of the federal courts or the temper of the times.

What is still undecided is how that transition will be achieved. In your community, will it mean rock-throwing, angry mobs, federal troops, panic? Or will it be accomplished with dignity, with law and order preserved, without coercion?

These are the alternatives facing your community. Which path to choose is up to you.

As a parent, you can choose what you want for your child--a playground or a battleground.

As a businessman, you can choose whether you want the violence that might destroy your business, or an atmosphere of good will and confidence that will enhance its growth.

As a citizen, you can choose whether your town will be intimidated by a lunatic fringe of street corner brawlers or given guidance by responsible, respect-

able community leaders.

The reaction of Southerners to these alternatives covers the spectrum of human emotions. Some are bitterly resentful. Some sigh nostalgically for "the good old days." Some, like yourself perhaps, honestly want to take affirmative action but feel: "What can I do? I'm only one person," or "I have no experience in this sort of thing and I wouldn't know where to begin."

To this last group we would say: the people who have preserved law and order in other communities all over the South are not professional organizers. They are people from all walks of life, from every economic and social level. They are housewives, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, teachers.

They found that common sense can conquer hysteria; that planning can avert violence; that concerted action can win friends and influence politicians. Most of all, they found that through their efforts could come a climate of opinion in which transition could be peacefully achieved and the rule of law could flourish.

The experience of these communities which have already gone through a transitional period--whether school desegregation or opening up public facilities like libraries, buses and parks--is too valuable to be lost. For in that experience lie answers that may save your town the costly process of trial and error. In the problems faced by other communities, perhaps you can discover what techniques will work for you and what mistakes to avoid.

What follows, then, is an outline, with examples, of how transition without tragedy can be achieved.

VOLUNTARY GROUPS FOR LAW AND ORDER

The success story in this period of Southern history is the voluntary committee for law and order, usually directed and manned by women. HOPE in Georgia, Save Our Schools in New Orleans, the Women's Emergency Committee in Little Rock, all began with little experience and less money and scored impressive gains. More recently, groups such as ASSIST in Jacksonville and ABLE in Mobile have worked along the same lines, concentrating chiefly on school desegregation.

First Organizational Steps

Although your original group may be very small--as few as three or four--you should plan your future organization to allow for maximum growth and flexibility. The following steps are essential.

1. Formally create an organization. Consult an attorney about the rules in your state for voluntary organizations. Find out what papers need to be filed at the state capitol. It is important to frame a set of by-laws that will permit you to recruit members, set dues, levy assessments and otherwise raise money, decide policy questions and issue statements in the name of your organization--all with a minimum of red tape. Exhibit 1 might serve as a guide, although you will want to adapt it to your own situation.

2. Recruit members for your executive committee. Of course you will want knowledgeable, hardworking, respected

members of the community. Here are a few special suggestions to keep in mind as you look for executive committee members.

a) Try to get an attorney on your executive committee. His legal advice will be invaluable in getting started and in interpreting court decisions for your members.

b) Someone who is good with words is a big help. It doesn't have to be a professional writer, newspaper man or publicity person; the techniques needed can be easily learned. But a person who likes to write can be useful in framing your position, handling press relations, preparing pamphlets, etc.,

c) If you are dealing with school desegregation, someone with knowledge of the ins and outs of your school system is very useful.

d) Someone with a thorough knowledge of the community--its resources, its administrative set-up. The League of Women Voters, through its "Know Your Town" program, generally has two or three members who are a fund of information.

e) Someone with fund-raising experience. Many men and women in your town have worked hard on the Community Chest, United Appeal, hospital drive, etc. One such person on your executive committee could help get your fund-raising going.

f) Someone with bookkeeping experience to serve as treasurer or financial secretary.

If you can't get all of these types to serve, don't worry about it. For while each one would be a valuable addition, no single one is crucial. And frequently, a dedicated novice can step into a job like fund-raising or publicity and do as creditable a job as someone with many years' experience.

3. Recruit a chairman. Again, you will want knowledgeability and hard work. And you will want to consider the following:

a) She should have the time available to be an effective leader. (I use the word "she" because most frequently it is the housewife, not committed to a regular job, who has enough free time to serve as chairman. But of course a man would be equally satisfactory.)

b) She should have good public presence. She doesn't have to be a professional speaker or to have done lecturing. But she should have that indefinable quality of personal magnetism that makes others listen.

c) Most important of all, she should be respected in the community. This means that she should be well-established--not a newcomer. She should have served effectively in other respected voluntary causes. She should not be embroiled in community controversy. A chairman who has half the town up in arms because she is the leader of anti-fluoridation forces, for example, would impose a fearsome handicap on a new organization.

Now, having painted the picture of an ideal chairman: knowledgeable, hardworking, available, respected, attractive presence and non-controversial, we must admit that this paragon is hard to come by, if she exists at all. So try for a chairman who combines as many of the requisites as possible, realizing if she does not have the time, others on the executive committee can share the burden. If she doesn't have the platform presence or the volunteer experience--these can be learned. What is very important to remember is that your chairman helps create the

image the community will have of your organization. And you want to project the idea of level-headed, responsible, middle-of-the-road leadership.

4. Set down a statement of position. Put down what the problem is, what your organization proposes to do about it, who you are, and the need for community support. Exhibit 2 might serve as a guide.

Although subsequent material you issue may be mimeographed, it is best to have this introductory piece printed to create a sense of solidity in your organization. Money for this printing--something like $100 for 2,500 copies--will have to be raised privately, perhaps among executive committee members. If this is more of a contribution than your executive committee members can afford, arrange in advance that a portion (or the total cost) will be refunded after your organization gets fund-raising under way. Or perhaps you can get a printer to give you delayed billing.

Now that you have a formal organization, an executive committee, a chairman, and a statement of position, you are ready to go out into the community to win adherents.

H O P E, Inc.
(Help Our Public Education)

By-Laws
Adopted Oct. 9, 1959; amended Oct. 19, 1960
by the Board of Directors

Section 1. Name

The name of the organization is H.O.P.E., Inc. (Help Our Public Education).

Section 2. Principles and Objectives

"HOPE, Help Our Public Education, Inc." was incorporated in December, 1958 in Fulton County on the petition of 17 citizens of the State of Georgia. These men and women felt the need for an organization whose specific purpose would be to give direction, guidance, information, and program to all citizens of Georgia who desire to continue the operation of and improve the public schools of this State.

Section 3. Supporters

All persons residing in Georgia who indicate their agreement to the objectives of HOPE, Inc., as stated in Section 2.

Section 3-A. Board of Directors

Section 4. Officers, their election and term of office

A. The officers shall be the ones listed in the charter, or as amended according to Section 10 of the By-Laws.
   These officers are (1) Chairman of the Board of Directors, who may or may not be the Chairman of the Executive Committee, (2) Chairman of the Executive Committee, who may or may not be Chairman of the Board of Directors, (3) Vice-Chairman, (4) Secretary, (5) Treasurer.
B. The Board of Directors may remove an officer by majority vote.
C. In the event an officer resigns, or for any reason is unable to serve, the chairman shall fill the vacancy by appointment until the next Board meeting.

Section 5. Duties of Officers

A. Chairman of Board shall preside over all meetings of the Board of Directors and open meetings of HOPE, Inc.
B. Chairman of Executive Committee shall preside over its meetings; shall coordinate the activities of the various standing and temporary committees; shall perform such other duties as the Board may direct.
C. Secretary
   The secretary shall keep a record of all meetings of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, and shall perform other duties as may be delegated.

D. Treasurer
The treasurer shall be responsible for receiving all monies of the Corporation and for their accurate receipt and disbursements.

Section 6. Meetings

A. The Board of Directors shall meet quarterly: on the second Thursday of January, April, July and October. Special meetings may be called by the chairman, or by five members of the Board.

B. The frequency and time of the Executive Committee meetings shall be left to its discretion, provided that the interval between meetings shall not exceed two months.

C. Committee and sub-committee meetings shall be held as needed, at the discretion of the responsible persons involved.

Section 7. Executive Committee

A. The Executive Committee shall consist of officers of the Board, plus the heads of standing committees, plus the heads of currently functioning important committees by the vote of the Executive Committee.

B. The duties of the Executive Committee shall be to transact business between the quarterly meetings of the Board; to approve plans of standing committee chairmen; to fill vacancies; and to fulfill such other duties as directed by the Board.

C. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall be five.

Section 8. Standing Committees

The number and functions of the standing committees shall be as determined by the Board.

Section 9. Parliamentary Procedure

Roberts Rules of Order, Revised, shall govern all meetings, when the rules are not inconsistent with these By-Laws.

Section 10. Amendments

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon a two-thirds vote of those in attendance, provided five days written notice has been given on the proposed amendments.

Section 11.

(Duties of standing committees shall be determined by committee chairmen, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors. To allow for flexibility the duties, when approved, shall then be attached as an addendum to the By-Laws.)

Section 12. Board Members from Chapters

Each chapter shall select a director and alternates, who shall be approved by majority vote of the Board.

Section 13. Advisory Board

The Advisory Board shall be appointed upon the recommendations of the Board of Directors, or Executive Committee, or chapter.

(Exhibit 2)

Georgia's Time of Decision Is NOW!

Don't Let a Few Decide for the Many!

HOPE IS

- A state-wide non-profit organization, chartered on December 12, 1958 by 17 concerned parents and citizens "to give direction, guidance, information and program to all citizens of Georgia who desire to continue the operation of the public schools of this state."
- The only rallying point of moderate opinion on the school crisis.
- Supported voluntarily by any citizen who wants to invest in the maintenance and improvement of free education.

"HOPE asserts that public education is indispensably necessary if popular government is to function effectively; if the children of those who are not wealthy are to have a decent opportunity in life; and if our society is to continue to achieve economic progress. For these reasons, HOPE opposes the closing of the public schools of Georgia, and calls on all Georgians to unite in opposition to the closing of the schools."

—James Barrow, Attorney-At-Law, Athens.

HOPE DOES NOT

- Argue the relative merits of segregation, or de-segregation.
- Discuss whether or not the 1954 Supreme Court decision was right or wrong.
- Debate States Rights vs. Federal Rights.
- Advocate *any one* method of compliance.
- And will not at any time participate in action or litigation aimed at closing a public school in Georgia.

HOPE DOES

- Give wide distribution to the facts on the school crisis.
- Point out the high cost of private schooling, and its unavailability to the masses.
- Warn that our state will suffer drastic economic losses, *unless our schools remain open.*
- Work with individuals and groups throughout the state, by furnishing factual material and speakers. (Such work often results in HOPE chapters and committees.)
- Conduct public meetings.
- Stand ready to support any reasonable plan, acceptable to the courts, which will keep the public schools *open.*
- Hold that Boards of Education, Legislators, the Governor and all citizens owe allegiance to the Constitution of the U.S.A. —That we are all first *Americans,* then Georgians!
- Assert that the schools must be operated in accordance with established law, or not operated *at all in Georgia.*
- Believe that each of us has an individual responsibility to let elected officials know *now* where each of us stands: on the side of law, order, and *public schools.*

"In an era in which man has sent a rocket to the moon, it is utterly unthinkable that we could limit the education of our children. I am convinced that the *people of Georgia want public schools.* I am certain that if we remain mindful of the motto of our state: 'Wisdom, Justice, Moderation,' we shall yet find a way to conform to the law of our land and preserve our cherished system of public education."—Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, Atlanta.

Exercise Your Right of Citizenship NOW—

Breathe Life into Georgia's Motto—

WISDOM—JUSTICE—MODERATION

(Reverse side of this brochure listed officers, organization's address and telephone)

Getting People Together

All these groups started in a small way. Seven or eight mothers got together at a morning coffee to discuss the coming desegregation of the schools and how it would affect their children. From hundreds such coffees emerges a common pattern of how to start people talking and to enlist support.

1. You know a lot of people--members of your charitable committee, church group, alumni club, sorority sisters, garden club, golf club, your neighbors. Try to get at least six women to come, but don't invite more than sixteen or seventeen or the group will get too unwieldy.

2. At least one of the women present--not necessarily the hostess, who will be busy serving coffee and cookies--should serve as discussion leader. She doesn't have to make a formal speech--on the contrary, she should try to be as relaxed and spontaneous as possible--but she should be fully briefed and ready to answer questions. One other person, or two if the group is large, should be fully briefed, too, in order to keep the discussion on the track and to ask questions that will cover material not already discussed by the leader.

3. The discussion leader should explain in simple language exactly what the present legal situation is and why it is so urgent; that unless action is taken your community may be faced with closed schools, violence, or federal troops. Enlist the aid of your volunteer attorney and make sure you have all the facts straight.

4. Make it perfectly clear that your purpose is not to promote the pros or cons of integration vs. segregation. You

want the broadest possible base--everyone who agrees that law and order must be preserved. Theoretical discussions of moral rights and wrongs will alienate more people than they attract.

5. Explain what an organization like yours can do to insure peaceful transition. Explain who you are and what plans you have and how your guests can help. If the atmosphere seems appropriate, ask each person to contribute a small sum of money--a dollar or two--to undertake a specific project.

6. Leave time for a question and answer period. Try to get each person present to talk, but don't urge anyone who seems especially shy or unwilling. Ask everyone to talk about your new organization to their friends and to give you the names of any prospective members.

7. Get the names, addresses and telephone numbers of everyone who comes. You might give each guest an index card to fill out on which she would also list what tasks she could undertake: publicity, mailings, telephoning, etc..

8. Give each person a fact sheet (Exhibit 3) about the current position and the necessity for action and a brochure about your new organization.

9. Ask those new people present who show any interest to give coffees for their own friends, promising to supply the discussion leader, the resource person and the printed material.

10. The whole coffee, including refreshments, should not run more than an hour and a half.

What follows might serve as a rough outline of how a discussion leader goes about introducing her subject (Exhibit 4). Of course, you would want to adapt it to your own special needs.

A later section deals with some of the questions frequently asked at coffees and other gatherings, and what answers have proved most effective.

(Exhibit 3)

SCHOOL CRISIS 1961

WHY DO WE HAVE A CRISIS?

LAWS IN CONFLICT

United States Constitution

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; . . .nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

U. S. Constitution, 14th Amendment

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated ... are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

United States Supreme Court, May 17, 1954
Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas

"This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all Treaties shall be the Supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

U. S. Constitution, Art. 6, Sec. 2, Par 1

Georgia Constitution

"All citizens of the United States, resident in this State are hereby declared citizens of the State, and it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to enact such laws as will protect them in the full enjoyment of the rights, privileges and immunities to such citizenship."

Georgia Constitution, Art. 1, Sec. 1, Par. 25

"The provision of an adequate education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation. Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races."

Georgia Constitution 1945, Art. 8, Sec. 1, Par. 1

"Legislative acts in violation of this Constitution, of the Constitution of the United States, are void, and the Judiciary shall so declare them."

Georgia Constitution, Art. 1, Sec. 4, Par. 2

THEREFORE:

The Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is the law of the land and state laws that are in conflict are unenforceable. Any public school system must now recognize that the state cannot by law enforce racial segregation in the schools.

The Sibley Report p. 6

WHY IS THERE A THREAT NOW?

The Federal Court for the Northern District of Georgia in 1959 declared that segregation as practiced in the Atlanta School System was illegal and must cease. It ruled that the Atlanta School Board must submit a plan for desegregation.

The Court accepted and approved the plan on January 18, 1960. Applications for tranfer of negro pupils will be received between May 1 and May 15, 1961 for the 11th and 12th grades. Thereafter one grade a year shall be open for desegregation.

The Atlanta School Board plan has 18 standards for assignment. These include geography, curriculum, academic record, aptitude, psychological qualifications, morals,conduct, health, and the effect of new pupils on academic standards, other pupils and teachers. It also provides for tests, interviews, investigation and hearings.

"It is further ordered, however, that the motion for further relief be granted to the effect that said plan shall be effective as of May 1, 1961, looking toward the operation of the school system for the session beginning in September 1961."

Order of the Court, Judge Frank Hooper May 9, 1960
United States Federal District Court, Northern District of Georgia.

"This Board has the inherent power of pupil placement. To insure orderly procedures of uniform application for pupil assignment, tranfer, and/or placement, and to enable the continuing improvement of the educational advantages offered the following rules and procedures shall be followed ... Student assignment in the Atlanta Public School System shall be made in accordance with aforesaid rules and regulations and without regard to race or color."

Atlanta Board of Education Plan for Desegregation approved by the Court January 18, 1960

THEREFORE:

Atlanta must start its desegregation plan in May 1961

WHY IS THIS A LAST CHANCE LEGISLATURE?

"... The last chance that I think this court can give ..."

To postpone the order to desegregate until May 1, 1961 will give the Georgia Legislature just one chance to prevent the closing of Atlanta Public Schools.

Statement by Judge Hooper May 9, 1960

WHY IS THIS A THREAT TO ATLANTA SCHOOLS?

The Governor "shall" close schools in a district if they are not segregated.

The Governor has the sole authority to ascertain if schools are not entitled to state funds (only segregated are entitled to funds). If not he "shall" by executive order provide for the closing of such schools.

Georgia Laws 1956, p. 6

The Governor as "conservator of the Peace" may close any school in any district of the state (including any school, branch or department of the University System) in order to preserve the "good order, peace, and dignity of the State".

Georgia Laws 1959 p. 15

Funds are cut off:

Georgia Law forbids funds to maintain or pay officials, teachers or employees for any but a segregated school.

Georgia Laws 1955 p. 174

Georgia Law makes it a felony (punishable by not more than or less than 2 years in the penitentiary) for any offical of the state, county or city to give money to integrated schools.

Georgia Laws 1955 p. 174

THEREFORE:

To integrate Atlanta Schools without action by the Legislature "could mean but one thing: that is the closing of Atlanta Schools."

Statement by Judge Frank Hooper May 9, 1960

WHY IS THIS A THREAT TO ALL GEORGIA SCHOOLS?

Because If a State provides for one it must provide for all.

It is an unconstitutional discrimination against taxpayers who pay taxes and yet do not have public schools. The Court ruled no one public school or grade in Virginia may be closed while the State permits other public schools or grades to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers.

James vs. Almond, U. S. District Court, Eastern District, Virginia, Norfolk Division, January 19, 1959

"It must be assumed that a similar suit would be filed by Atlanta parents, and that a similar ruling would follow ... Under such a holding the state would be faced with the necessity for deciding whether to close all the schools of the state,... or to accept integration of Atlanta Schools."

The Sibley Report p. 6

THEREFORE:

The closing of Atlanta Schools would, under application of the principles of law in the Virginia case, result in the closing of all public schools in Georgia.

Opinion filed by Judge Hooper Sept. 8, 1960

IS THERE AN ANSWER?

YES

On April 28, 1960 the General Assembly Committe on Schools (The Sibley Committee) presented its analysis of the situation and recommendations to the Legislature.

THE MAJORITY REPORTED THAT:

Those who insist upon total segregation, but who back away from closing the schools, are not only deceiving themselves and the people, but are creating a very difficult and harmful situation. p. 15

If the schools are closed it should be with the expectation that it will be permanent, not for a short time. To close the schools temporarily is a useless gesture and can cause nothing but confusion, great economic loss, and utter chaos in the school system. p. 14

The basic alternatives to closing the schools are: 1. give local authorities control of placing students, 2. give as much "freedom of choice" as possible to parents and local communities, 3. give "assurance that no child will be required to go to school with a child of a different race except on a voluntary basis." p. 12

Pupil Placement is that plan by which local school boards can place a pupil in a school according to place of residence, level of intelligence, educational attainments, home environment, physical condition, student's fitness and ability to do successful work in a particular school, and relationship to the students in school, but without reference to race or color. p. 12

To put these alternatives into effect would mean some changes in the Georgia Constitution, which would have to be voted on in a general election. p. 15

THEREFORE:

THE MAJORITY RECOMMENDS THAT:

1. A Constitutional Amendment be proposed to the effect that no child shall be forced into a school with a child of the opposite race, and that the child whose parents object to an integrated school be entitled to reassignment, tuition grants or scholarship aid. p. 17

2. A Constitutional Amendment be proposed to provide for a uniform system of local units for the administration of the schools, and to allow any such unit to close schools within the unit or to reopen the school in accordance with the wishes of the majority of voters. p. 17

3. The General Assembly pass laws for tuition grants or scholarships for students who wish to withdraw from an integrated school or whose school has been closed. p. 17

4. The General Assembly pass laws to have teacher retirement cover private school teachers as well as public school teachers. p. 18

5. The General Assembly decide whether to close the schools or to give as much freedom of choice as possible through 1. pupil placement, 2. empowering the people of each community to vote whether to close their schools in the event of integration or to continue the operation of their schools, and 3. enabling each parent to be able to ask for reassignment or withdrawal with tuition grants or scholarship aid for private education. p. 18

THE MINORITY RECOMMENDS THAT:

1. Constitutional Amendment be proposed to guarantee that no child be forced to go to an integrated school.

2. The General Assembly provide for tuition grants by state, county and municipal funds.

3. Schools should be kept segregated as long as possible then resort to tuition grants.

4. The Governor and the General Assembly should take such action and enact such laws as may be required from time to time.

Minority Report p. 6 & 7

WHAT ALTERNATIVES ARE THERE?

WAIT AND SEE

Atlanta must desegregate by September 1961 and, if the laws are not changed, Atlanta schools will be closed and the rest of the schools in Georgia threatened.

Opinion by Judge Hooper, filed Sept. 8, 1960

Why wait for a called special session of the Legislature that cost $30,000 - $35,000 a day?
Will this help the peaceful solution?
Did it help the peace or the solution in Louisiana?
Why continue the confusion that hurts the schools and the economy of Georgia?

If the State stands upon present laws yet thinks it can avoid closing all the schools, the result will be integration in its worst form; coercive integration by court order with no local safeguards for the people.

The Sibley Report p. 15

CLOSED PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The conclusion is inescapable that, to maintain total segregation everywhere in the state, the state will have to withdraw from the operation of public schools. The Sibley Report p. 10

What happens to 1,000,000 public school students in Georgia?
What happens to 2,752 public schools?
What happens to 50,000 public school teachers and employees?
What happens to $200,000,000.00 dollars owed on school bonds?
What happens to $365,000,000.00 invested in school buildings?
What happens to the economy and growth of our State?
What happens when a $300,000,000.00 a year business is shut down?
Figures from the League of Women Voters

On August 27, 1960 a three judge Federal Court in New Orleans, Bush vs. Orleans Parish School Board et al, declared invalid Louisiana law which gave the Governor the power to close any school in the state ordered to integrate. footnote to Opinion by Judge Hooper filed Sept. 8, 1960.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

It would be impractical to develop a system of private schools that would provide adequately for the educational needs of the whole state.

The Sibley Report p. 11

Public Schools cost $241.00 per pupil per year.
The State pays 72% of the school costs.
Cities and counties pay 23% of the costs.
Georgia private schools cost on an average of $585.00 a year per pupil.
Figures from League of Women Voters.

A great many Georgians cannot afford the luxury of a private school.

Statement by Judge Hooper May 9, 1960

WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER?

A responsibility of citizenship is that we make known our opinions to our elected officals.

SILENCE WILL NOT SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

Reprints may be ordered, 2c each, from HOPE — Athens, Box 741, Athens Georgia

SUGGESTED OPENING REMARKS FOR A COFFEE, TEA, OR SMALL EVENING GROUP

From all the talk over this delicious cake and coffee, I can see that you've all been reading the papers and are as concerned as I am about what's going to happen this fall when school opens.

IDENTIFY YOURSELF

A group of us--Betty Jones, who's on the Hospital Board, and Mary Smith, who's so active in the PTA, and Jane Brown, you know, she's President of the Junior Assembly--were talking about it last week and wondering what we could do about it.

WHAT THE PROBLEM IS

We were appalled at the thought that the schools might close--I would have four youngsters under foot and I don't think I could last a week. Even worse, the schools might open all right but there would be violence and our children might get hurt. So we thought we might get together with other mothers, as they've done in Atlanta and Mobile and other places, and see if there wasn't some way out.

WHAT THE LEGAL SITUATION IS

You probably read the other day that Judge _____ of the Court of Appeals has ruled that the first two grades of elementary schools must be integrated by ____, or words to that effect. Now I've checked with Don Brown, Jane's husband, who's a lawyer, and he tells me that (state the legal position fully but in simple language). So you can see just how urgent the situation is.

WHAT OUR GOAL IS

This means that between now and _____ we've got to convince everyone that the people in this town want their public schools open. It means we must convince them that appropriate steps have to be taken by the school system to prepare teachers and administrators to accept desegregation and work toward making it calm and peaceful inside the schools. And the police must be prepared to prevent trouble outside the schools.

NO SEGREGATION VS. DESEGREGATION

Before I go any further about how we plan to accomplish this, I want to make one thing perfectly clear. We haven't asked you here to change your mind about how you feel about segregation or desegregation. That's not our job. Some of the women who are interested in our group frankly dislike the idea of desegregation and wish the whole thing would go away. Others feel that in the long run it will work out, but they wish it didn't have to be just yet. Still others think it is long overdue. But no matter how you feel, I think we

can all agree that we want to protect our children from harm and preserve our public school system. And that's all we want to talk about today.

Well, what can we do about it? I think the first thing we must do is let everybody know just what the situation is. You'd be surprised how many people still think that if they just ignore the problem it will disappear. You've heard the kind of thing they say: "It'll be years before we have to do anything--you'll see--the lawyers will get another delay." Or, "The state constitution forbids desegregating the schools, the governor's office has it all figured out, so what's all the excitement about?"

WHAT WE CAN DO

So our first job is to dispel this self-deceiving apathy. You and I know that all the legal hocus-pocus in the world isn't going to stop the inevitable. It hasn't worked anyplace else in the South and it's not going to work here.

APPEAL TO CIVIC PRIDE

Once we can get through that apathy, we'll be able to reach people, because most people here really care about this town. You can tell they take pride in it from the way the've helped it grow. (Get figures from League of Women Voters or Chamber of Commerce on growth of population, industry, schools. Not too many, just enough to give a general idea. If your town has lost industry and population, this point can be turned around: We've had special problems here that we're working so hard to solve. Just as we're beginning to see daylight, it would be disastrous for us to be dealt the coup de grace because of closed schools or racial violence.)

With Don Brown's help, we've gotten out a mimeographed fact sheet that tells just what our situation is and we want to distribute it all over town. We've already gotten permission from Dr. _____ of the _____ Church to leave them in the church vestibule and Helen White is giving them out at her YWCA. Hundreds more will be distributed at the Friday night meeting of the City Club. But we need much wider circulation, and if any of you know of other appropriate places they could be distributed, it would be most helpful.

Also, we've gotten up a little leaflet telling how our group was formed, who's in it, and what we want to do. Betty will see that you each get a copy to take home and even if you can't give them out in great quantities, you'll be able to show them to your friends and neighbors.

We have so much to do and so little time. We need

to get the facts before every business and civic group in town. We'd like to see them and every voluntary association pass a resolution calling for law and order and protection of our children and schools. We'd like to get every single parent to sign a petition calling for the same thing. And then we want to take all the petitions and resolutions and statements to the City Council to show them that the responsible people in this town are behind law and order. We've got to do all this in _____ short weeks.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

I know we can do it, but we need your help. We need your energies and ideas, your skills as speaker, hostess, writer, envelope stuffer or any other function you care to contribute. Betty has already passed around the little index cards for your name and address and you'll see there's a space for you to fill in your special interests. And needless to say, we need your financial help, too. Just a dollar from each of you would make it possible to mail our fact sheet to every registered voter in town. If you can help us with this important project, please give your dollar to Betty.

If any of you would like to give a coffee such as this--it doesn't matter if you invite as few as six people or as many as sixteen--we'd be delighted to come and talk to your guests and answer any questions you have.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

And I think that's an appropriate cue for me to answer any questions you have right now. (If questions don't arise spontaneously, your resource person should start the ball rolling with a prepared question of general interest.)

LETTING THE PEOPLE KNOW

Once your organization is past the embryonic morning coffee stage, your chief task is to get out into the larger community and let everyone know the facts about:

- what the crisis is about
- what each citizen's stake is, whether civic leader, businessman, housewife
- what each citizen can do about it
- who your group is and why your efforts deserve support.

The quickest way of reaching the largest number of people is through the mass media--newspapers, radio and television. A latter section deals specifically with this aspect of public relations.

A second way of getting your message across is through mailings. This method has so many variations and is so inextricably bound up with fund-raising that it, too, is dealt with in a separate section.

This section is concerned with:

1. talks to other organizations
2. public meetings
3. special events
4. tags, buttons, bumper stickers, etc..

Talks to Other Organizations

Many clubs welcome suggestions for program material. You can supply that need by starting a speaker's bureau and seeing that every volunteer in it is thoroughly briefed.

Recruit speakers from among your members and their husbands and among people whose everyday jobs make them good speakers--high school and college teachers and lawyers are obvious choices. If there is a college in your community, the students in the speech department, drama department, or on the debating team would make promising volunteers.

Circularize every civic, fraternal, business, women's and church group in town and draw up a schedule or chart of when they meet, how many members and what their interests are. (This information will prove useful for a variety of reasons.) Then ask them to schedule a program and offer to supply a speaker. If they prefer their own speaker, offer a speech outline and background material.

Obviously, you will want to pitch your remarks to the interests of the group. If they are businessmen, concentrate on the economic losses that inevitably follow violence; if parents, on the dangers to their children's education; if civic leaders, the appeal to civic pride and enhancing growth. If there are politicians in the audience, stress the kudos which can come by handling matters successfully locally without outside intervention. Point to some specific action the group can take.

Public Meetings

Let us assume that you now have enough support to stage a public meeting. Such a meeting serves the following functions.

1. It reaches a wider and more varied audience than small coffees.

2. It can bring out into the open, and thus dispel, the fears and questions of the audience.

3. It helps create a band-wagon psychology: "If all these people are for this, then it must be right and maybe I should join in."

4. It demonstrates to the public and to public officials who you are and how widely your cause is supported.

5. A good speaker will lend a sense of urgency to your activities and open up vistas of future success.

6. It makes a legitimate news story.

But if the benefits of a public meeting are great, the pitfalls are proportionately greater. An unsuccessful coffee can be unfortunate; an unsuccessful public meeting can be a catastrophe. Careful planning before, during, and after the meeting is essential.

1. Planning the meeting.

a) Pick a date. Make sure there is no other big event on the same day. Make sure it is not a holiday which will keep people away: Mothers' Day, Washington's Birthday, etc.. Ask other organizations not to set important meetings on this day.

b) Get the place. Try to get a centrally located church or hall. If you think you can get 300 people to come, do not get a place which seats 500. Empty seats are terrible for morale.

300 people in a room seating 500 is a disaster. The same 300 in a room which seats 250 is a triumph.

c) Get attendance. Invite people early and often. Send a letter to every single person who has attended your coffee, signed your petition. Use every list you have compiled. Then send a follow up letter to the same list. Finally, a few days before the meeting, if you can afford it, send a post card.

Have a telephone squad. Each person calls five people and asks them in turn to telephone five more.

Get a story printed in your newspaper (see section on mass media).

If radio stations broadcast a local community calendar, have your meeting announced over that.

Ask other organizations to announce the meeting at their meetings and in their newsletters and bulletins.

2. Just before the meeting.

a) Let the police know the time and place of your meeting and request assistance in directing traffic. The presence of police will stop the antics of any potential rowdies or crackpots before they begin.

b) On every seat, place a fact sheet, some information about your organization, a card or coupon which will get every member of the audience's name and address and, if possible, a pledge card.

c) Make sure your hall is sufficiently ventilated in summer and adequately heated in winter. A smoky, airless room is soporific and a chilly one is infuriating. No speaker should have to contend with such handicaps.

d) Make certain there are at least six or seven people in the audience who are thoroughly briefed. During the question period they should be ready to ask questions to cover material not previously mentioned. They can counter hostile questions with sympathetic ones and in general keep the question and answer period on the track.

3. During the meeting.

The chairman of the group should welcome the guests and explain briefly what the group is, what they have already accomplished and the tasks that lie ahead. Remember, briefly. A public meeting is no place to go into organizational minutiae. Whatever announcements he (or she) makes should be pertinent to the business at hand. If cards have to be collected or material passed, see that there are enough volunteers as aides or ushers so that it does not become a major, time-consuming operation.

The chairman, or, if possible, some leading civic figure, should then introduce the speaker. Your speaker will want to adhere to these basic rules of successful speaking on peaceful transition.

a) You must generate confidence and authority. To help overcome nervousness, you may want to stand behind either a table or rostrum. Plan carefully the points you want to cover, but be flexible. By watching your audience, you can beam your talk to their interests. Make your base of appeal as broad as possible.

b) Never get angry. Emphasize your position, don't retreat and don't argue. Never become personally involved with hecklers; never let a general discussion turn into a dialogue on the heckler's terms. The resouce people in the audience, men-

tioned above, can be used to cut a heckler off. Ask "Does anyone else care to comment?" and then recognize one of your people. Other resource people can ask the right questions and get the discussion back into channels.

c) Watch your language. Certain words have strong emotional overtones and should be avoided. Desegregation is a better word than integration because the former means a removal of barriers only while the latter is more strongly charged. "Transition" is a better word than "change" because it is more neutral. As noted before in the pages on coffees, don't allow yourself to be drawn into a discussion of the relative merits of segregation vs. integration.

d) Always leave time for questions. It gives you a chance to find out what is in your audience's mind and to correct any misconceptions. Be polite but firm in controlling discussion: "I would like to talk more with you about this, but we'd like to hear from others, too. Perhaps we can discuss it further after the meeting."

e) Speak to legitimate fears. A question on intermarriage, for example, may be asked to cause trouble. But treat it as an honestone. Many people in the audience may have real fears on the subject and those fears must be dissolved. A possible answer might be along these lines:

"During slavery days, when the Negro was not a free agent, there was more miscegenation than there has ever been since. It is demonstrably true that as the Negro wins more control over his destiny, miscegenation decreases.

"It makes no difference whether a community has desegrega-

ted schools and facilities or segregated schools and facilities, or for how long either conditions have prevailed. It is demonstrably true that the amount of intermarriage in either type of community is so far below .01% of the total marriage rate as to be statistically incalculable.

"Part of the reason for this is that Negro parents desire the same things for their children as we do and are therefore just as opposed to intermarriages as we are."

And, you may want to add: "In the final analysis, however, marriage is an intensely personal matter which must be left to the individuals involved."

This should settle the matter. If it does not, either call on a resource person, or say, "That goes right back to what I was saying," and get back on your subject, no matter how unrelated it may be.

f) The charge of communism. Be firm and tough. You will not satisfy the trouble-maker who raised this question with your logical answer, but it may reach others in the audience. You might want to reply like this:

"I am not a communist and no member of this organization is a communist. If you know anything at all about communism, you know that their chief propaganda weapon in this country is dissension, fear and violence. Communists used stories of riots in places like Birmingham and Little Rock all over the world. It helps them in Cuba and South America and Asia. Our group is working to prevent violence and stop this kind of propaganda. By working for law and order, we are performing the most useful service for our country that there is for democracy and against communism.

"Our group's only purpose is to see to it that our town continues to grow and prosper in an atmosphere of law and order. We are working to strengthen democracy through democratic means."

Then go on to something else. Once in a great while, the questioner will make a direct charge of communism against you or the group. Come down hard and say:

"The courts have ruled that it is slanderous to call a person a communist before witnesses and libelous to do so in print unless you have proper evidence. If you have such proof about me, I challenge you now to make your charge before these witnesses." That should end the discussion.

g) Answering other difficult questions. Never try to convince anyone of anything you don't believe yourself. If it's a far out question like: "What will happen ten years from now?" say: "I don't know what will happen either, but the main thing now to remember is..." and get back on more realistic ground by focusing on school desegregation, readiness and the need for community unity.

Questions about health in desegregated schools represent honest, if uninformed, fears. Stress the fact that the Negro children selected will have to meet the same health standards as the white children. Suggest that if the school system does not require a medical and dental certificate from each child at the beginning of the school year, it should institute this practice in all schools, segregated or desegregated. While it is true, you might point out, that the lower the economic level, the greater the incidence of certain diseases, this is true regardless of race.

Fears that academic standards will be lowered by desegrega-

tion are also common. You might point out that one way to prevent the lowering of standards is to make sure that the atmosphere is calm and that everyone is sufficiently at ease to do his best work.

Also mention that where schools have been completely desegregated, the standards have often risen. The most telling point to make is that the all-white school systems in some southern states--Virginia, for example--lag far behind the desegregated systems of Pennsylvania in standards of work, curricula, college admissions, accreditation--in fact, on every level. Standards depend not on segregation or integration, but on how much the state and community is willing to invest in education, teacher's pay, textbooks, libraries, and the like. Any steps which reduce the costs of maintaining a dual system will tend to release more funds for raising academic standards.

Some recently desegregated school systems have adopted the four-track system and found solutions to problems which existed all along but which, prior to desegregation, they had chosen to ignore.

This question about school standards is the one most frequently asked and it is well to be thoroughly informed.

If you're a fairly recent arrival in town (in the South, that's forty years or less) and people say: "You're not a native Chattanoogan (or Mobilian or Mississippian or Southerner) so you don't know how we feel..."

Be tactful and truthful. "I know I can't appreciate the depth of your feeling, but I love _____ and I don't want to see anything happen to hurt it." Or, "My children were born here and go to our schools and I want to be sure they get the best

education." Or, "While we haven't been here a very long time, _____ is such a wonderful place to live that I really feel much more at home here than I did back in _____."

Another frequent gambit is: "We haven't had any trouble here so far. All you're doing is stirring things up." You might respond by saying:

"We hope very much that there won't be any trouble here, but we can't afford to take the chance as they did in Little Rock. We have to work for more than just resentful acceptance. Resentments can smoulder for a long time and flare into violence at the slightest provocation. With good community planning, we can make this whole experience a positive step forward."

4. After the meeting.

a) Add all the cards you have collected to your mailing list.

b) Prepare an abstract of the speaker's remarks and release them to the press as a follow-up story.

c) The abstract of the speaker's remarks and the newspaper story on it might make a good follow-up mailing as an appeal for funds, along the line that you would like to have more of these successful meetings if the money were available.

d) Be sure to write to the speaker, and all the volunteers who served as ushers, publicity people, resource people--in fact, everyone who worked on the meeting. If volunteers don't receive concrete recognition of their efforts, their morale will suffer and so will the organization as a whole.

Special Events

Your community has more resources than you may think to assist you in getting your message across.

1. Do you have a Little Theatre group in town? Ask them to put on a playlet or reading for meetings of civic clubs to dramatize in a different way how peaceful transition can be achieved.

2. Most towns have at least one women's group that stages a fashion show. Why not suggest that this fall they do a special "Back to School" fashion show, combining chic clothes with a witty commentary on school desegregation.

3. Can your League of Women Voters put on an evening panel show, getting an educator, a police officer and perhaps an editor to tell you what they plan to make transition peaceful? The League in Georgia combined with the United Churchwomen of Georgia to sponsor four Open School panels, presenting an educator, a legislator and civic group speakers. This series enabled HOPE to issue a special newsletter publicizing the meeting and getting other parts of the HOPE message across (Exhibit 5).

4. Do you have an annual fair in your locality? The Gulf States Fair and the Southeastern Fair are two of the biggest, but there are innumerable small summer and fall fairs where you could set up a booth with an attractive display, distribute literature and collect names for your petitions and mailing lists.

5. The Women's Emergency Committee in Little Rock undertook a survey of their members. They circulated a questionnaire covering income level, education, husband's profession and occupation, number of children, length of residence in Little Rock,

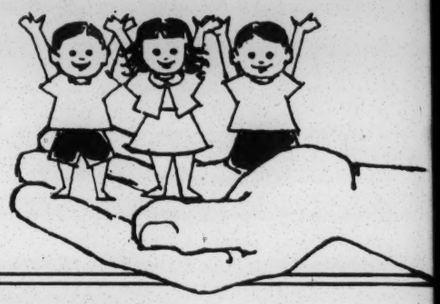
etc., from the results, they published a composite picture of the typical member. The high caliber of the membership was reassuring to the community and helped recruit new members.

All or none of these suggestions may be applicable to your situation. What is important is that you conscientiously investigate the resources you have and use them as imaginatively as you can.

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

(Exhibit 5)

HOPE Bulletin



ATHENIAN Heads Executive Committee

..."Make every parent aware"...

The appointment of Mrs. Benson Downing of Athens as Acting Chairman of HOPE's Executive Committee emphasizes the statewide character of the open schools battle. Mrs. Downing, a native of Athens, will spearhead HOPE's drive to bring the facts to each of Georgia's 159 counties.

Mrs. Downing's professional background is one of service in the public health field. She received her BS from the University of Georgia, and MS degrees from both the University of North Carolina and the University of Georgia. She has worked as an epidemologist with the U. S. Army Southeast Region. The mother of two children, 11 and 12, she is a Board member of the League of Women Voters, and the former head of the HOPE chapter in Athens.

"As the Sibley hearings clearly showed," said Mrs. Downing, "there is strong sentiment to keep schools open to comply with the law in many areas outside Atlanta. HOPE's primary task is to make every parent in Georgia aware that Judge Hooper has given the 1961 Legislature a last chance to decide the fate of public schools."

Mrs. Downing succeeds Mrs. Thomas M. Breeden, who will continue to head the state-wide Board of Directors, with some fifty members throughout the state of Georgia.

Sponsored by United Churchwomen:

"THE SCHOOL BELL TOLLS FOR YOU"

FOUR OCTOBER OPEN - SCHOOL MEETINGS
ROME - ALBANY - COLUMBUS - AUGUSTA

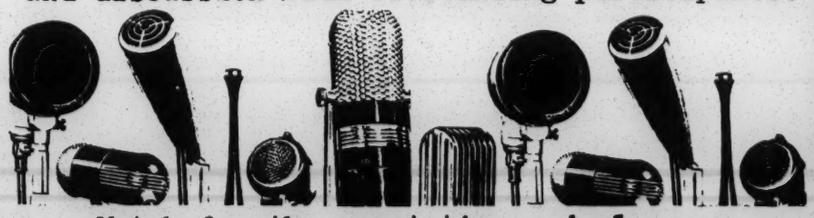
Calling all open school advocates outside metropolitan Atlanta! Here's a golden opportunity to convince your neighbors that the only way out of Georgia's school dilemma is peaceful compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. HOPE, with the Georgia League of Women Voters, and Active Voters of Georgia presents "The School Bell Tolls...For You! in four key Georgia communities, sponsored by the United Churchwomen of Georgia.

The red-letter dates are: Rome, Tuesday, October 18 — Albany, Tuesday, October 25 — Columbus, Wednesday, October 26 — Augusta, Friday, October 28.

Each city will have an information-packed program combining a local moderator and resource people with a visiting team of school experts. A brief outline includes:

1. The Laws and the Sibley Reports — Georgia League of Women Voters
2. What Private Schools Can and Cannot Do— Active Voters of Georgia
3. The Importance of Public Education
4. Community Action — HOPE, Inc.

There will be ample time for questions and discussion with outstanding participants.



Watch for the exact time and place so that you and your friends can swell the audience and assure each meeting's success.

- -

AS WE GO TO PRESS: The Hon. James S. Peters, Chairman of the State Board of Education has agreed to speak on "The Importance of Public Education at the Columbus meeting, Oct. 26.

Special to North Georgians: The Hon. Erwin Mitchell will address the Rome meeting, October 18 on the same subject.

Which Road for GEORGIA ?

by Frances Breeden, Chairman, Board of Directors

As we start the school year, every Georgian stands at a personal crossroads. Which road will we take for our children? The road of least resistance beckons invitingly. Perhaps if we do nothing, the school problem will go away. Perhaps by some miracle we will be given more time. Or maybe politicians will find some magic formula to circumvent the inevitable.

But those who would travel this road should take warning. Prince Edward County in Virginia tried it. Now, for the second consecutive year it has no public schools, and its white private school system is pathetically unable to cope either financially or academically with the educational needs of its children.

New Orleans thought it had found the magic loophole to escape desegregation. But the courts said no. Now New Orleans is frantically preparing a make-shift plan to meet the court's November 14th deadline. But the necessary climate of acceptance has not been created. Lack of leadership in New Orleans has brought about educational chaos.

In Georgia there is no time left for self-deception or wishful thinking. The facts are these:

1. Georgia's constitution is in direct conflict with the Supreme Court ruling of 1954.

2. It is clearly impractical to develop a private school system that can provide for the educational needs of our children.

3. The alternative to closing the public schools is a system:

a) to authorize local school boards to assign students to particular schools;

b) to give as much freedom of choice as possible to parents and local communities;

c) not to compel any child to go to school with a child of a different race.

These alternatives were set forth in the majority report of the Sibley Commission appointed by the Legislature. They are reinforced by Judge Hooper's formal decision of September 8th:

". . . Should the Legislature permit Atlanta to put into effect in September 1961 the proposed plan (the Atlanta School Board Plan) the State of Georgia would free itself of the danger it now faces: that the closing of the Atlanta schools in September 1961 would, under application of the principles of law in the Virginia case, result in the closing of all public schools in Georgia."

It is now up to the Legislature to seize the "last chance" Judge Hooper gave it to keep our schools open. And it is up to us, as parents and citizens, to let the Legislature know exactly what we expect from it.

WE MUST URGE OUR LEGISLATORS TO ADOPT THE MAJORITY REPORT OF THE SIBLEY COMMISSION.

On the facing page is HOPE's program to achieve this legislative goal. It is realistic and practical. For there is no magic formula to save our schools. The road to reality is long and hard. It means taking a personal hand in daily activities —talking to our neighbors, writing our legislators, giving our time, money and talents to the fight for open schools.

Will you join us on this road— the one sure avenue to our children's future?

"IT'S MIND CHANGING TIME ALL OVER GEORGIA," said a newspaper editor. And HOPE supporters can be proud of the part they played in changing those minds. For with your help, HOPE last year channelled the public pressure that forced the legislature to appoint the Sibley Commission.

Here is what HOPE accomplished:

Operation:

o Over 10,000 signatures on a state-wide petition to the Legislature.

o A barrage of open-school publicity in the press, radio and on TV.

o Hundreds of letters and telegrams from organizations and individuals to the legislators and Governor.

LAST

o Representatives of more than 20 state organizations with HOPE as their spokesman met with Georgia's United States Senators.

o Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets distributed throughout Georgia.

o Face-to-face contact with legislators, other influential Georgians.

CHANCE

o Speakers brought from Norfolk and Little Rock to address major public gatherings.

o During the Sibley hearings, HOPE and other organizations mobilized people all over Georgia to testify, and produced a favorable majority report.

Now our goal is to see that the majority report of the Sibley Commission is adopted by the Legislature. Again, this means marshalling all our resources before the "Last Chance" Legislature meets.

Here are some of the program HOPE must undertake this fall to accomplish this goal:

1. Meetings like those in Rome, Augusta, Albany and Columbus (see p. 1) this October must be scheduled for every sizeable community in Georgia.

2. HOPE plans to have teams of volunteers travel up and down the state to bring the facts about open schools to every village and town.

3. 50,000 opinion-makers must be kept informed on current developments through a regular newsletter.

4. Every legislator must be supplied with material and visited by a volunteer prior to and during the "Last Chance" Legislature.

5. The least dramatic, but most effective method, is daily person-to-person contact with businessmen, community leaders, educators — all those in positions of influence. Our volunteers must be armed with fact sheets, pamphlets, reprints of news publicity — all the materials needed for a persuasive presentation.

These are the ways in which we can accomplish our goals. HOPE is not the kind of organization, nor should it be, to undertake flamboyant, professionally run campaigns. Its effectiveness depends rather on the untiring dedication of its volunteer workers.

In the coming months of the "Last Chance" Legislature, the volunteer efforts of thousands of HOPE supporters like yourselves must win the adoption of the Sibley Commission's recommendations as the law in Georgia.

May we count on your support now as in the past two years? The children of Georgia look to us to safeguard their educational future. We must not let them down.

1 will get you 10...

. . . Just one dollar from you will send this Newsletter to 10 opinion makers. We need to reach Georgia's 50,000 top citizens — legislators, journalists, businessmen, PTA presidents, church workers — community leaders all over the state.

Our job this fall is to get the facts to the people — people we have never reached before. An informative newsletter such as this is the most effective way to do it. Won't you help change the climate of opinion in Georgia by sending in your dollar today?

10 to 1...

. . . you have some free time. If you can address envelopes, type, file, run a mimeograph machine or answer the phone, WE NEED YOU! Even if you're free only a couple of hours a morning or afternoon each week, or you can work at home, we'll find a spot for you.

Just fill in the coupon and we'll send it on to your local HOPE chapter. You'll enjoy the congenial company and the glow that comes from doing a much-needed job.

To: HOPE, Inc. - 50 Whitehall Street, Atlanta, Ga.

1. Enclosed is $1.00 to help send the HOPE Bulletin all over Georgia _____

2. I want to volunteer some free time to help in the HOPE office. The most convenient hours and days for me are _____

_____

Name _____

Address _____

_____

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
ATLANTA, GA.
PERMIT NO. 271

HOPE, Inc.
50 WHITEHALL STREET, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

HELP
OUR
PUBLIC
EDUCATION

Tags, Windshield and Bumper Stickers, Buttons

Many communities have successfully used tags or windshield and bumper stickers (Exhibit 6).

These are fine if your budget can stand them. They are expensive and not too durable, and of course the message they carry must be very brief.

The same general comments apply to buttons, except that although they last longer, they are less likely to be worn by adults. They tend to wind up, unseen, in a child's collection of marbles and baseball trading cards.

The exception to this rather lukewarm judgment is where groups have gotten together and planned a community-wide function such as "Law and Order Day," with mass participation in special events, special sermons, special proclamations by city officials and the like. Then these devices add a bonus of excitement and interest and their cumulative impact can be telling. Such community-wide events will be discussed later.

(Exhibit 6)

Join H.O.P.E.

KEEP OUR SCHOOLS OPEN

FUND-RAISING

All too often, the chairman of a voluntary group such as yours, after enthusiastically outlining an ambitious and challenging program, winds up by dropping her voice half an octave and sighing resignedly, "Now, we've simply got to do something about raising money for all this."

Her attitude is completely understandable. But it is dead wrong. For fund-raising is not a separate activity which must be undertaken to make the rest of your program possible. It is part and parcel of your program itself. It can be the most potent educational weapon you have. The physical act of making a contribution cements a commitment to the cause more potent than reams of materials and hours of public meeting. Fund-raising is also an accurate barometer of how well your program is getting across. If you can't get money, you are not reaching people.

Put it this way: it is true that if you expose people to the facts and to the necessity for action, they will contribute. But it is equally true that if you get someone to contribute--not necessarily because he is totally committed, but for any of a variety of reasons like wanting to do you a favor, or not wanting to appear stingy, or because everyone else in the room is doing it, or whatever--that person is going to be much more receptive to your material than he was before. He has literally made an investment in you and your group.

Every meeting, every coffee, every piece of literature, every mailing, every personal visit in behalf of your group

should carry with it an appeal for funds.

Try to tie your appeal to a specific project or task. It is more effective to ask for a dollar to distribute a particular pamphlet than for a dollar to support your organization. There is more of a sense of achievement in backing a tangible piece of work than helping to pay the rent, telephone bills, and postage, however necessary.

Advertising Appeals

Many large voluntary organizations use newspaper advertising, with a coupon in the advertisement, to raise money. Before undertaking such a step, you will want to consider the pros and cons very carefully. This method has several disadvantages.

1. The initial investment is costly. A full page ad can run from several hundred dollars to well over $1,000 in a sizeable town.

2. You may reach a wide target, but remember, it is not a selective one. Your money might better be spent reaching people who by education, training, or profession are likely to be predisposed in your favor.

3. Preparation of fund-appeal copy is a specialized skill, and even if you should get the volunteer services from an advertising agency, there is no guarantee of success. Selling an idea requires very different handling from selling soap or ready to wear clothes.

Having considered all this, however, you might feel that the advantages--creating a big public splash and getting your appeal across to the whole town--more than outweigh the disadvantages.

In that case, it might be prudent to hedge your investment by having your advertisement consist partly of the names of all the prominent people (with their affiliations when you can get permission to list them) who support you. You could then ask each person listed to contribute two or three dollars toward the cost of the advertisement. In this way, you would have a prepaid message, backed by solid civic support, and all contributions would be pure profit.

Mail Appeals

The most economical way of raising money is through the mail. A typical fund appeal, containing the letter, an enclosure and a return envelope, should cost about fifteen cents to mail out, including postage, which should always be first class.

If your list is a good one, you should get about a 12% response, with contributions ranging from two to ten dollars, with a few contributions of $1.00, and perhaps two or three as high as $25.00 or $50.00. Thus, a mailing to 2,500 people should cost you about $375.00 and should net you between $1,300 and $1,500, for a net profit of about $1,000. And don't forget: you have put educational material in the hands of new people. So even those who don't contribute will have learned something, and that is a definite plus.

Experience shows that you can then send out the exact same letter to those on the same list who didn't contribute the first time and you will get a four to six per cent response this second time around, which is all right, because sending out more copies reduces the unit cost of the letter and enclosure. Twice is enough. After that try another letter and a different list.

Let us analyze the two examples of fund-raising letters which follow to pinpoint the essential elements of a successful appeal. Although the subject matter in each letter is different, the elements remain constant.

1. Analysis of Letter A, Exhibit 7.

a) The first paragraph should convey a sense of urgency or crisis. People won't give if they feel there is time, and "What's the big rush?" The phrases "less than two months away," "whether

or not your children can go to school" and the juxtaposition of "little red school house" and "Little Rock" all build to create urgency.

b) The second element is your own bona fides. What you are, what you have already done, what successes you have achieved. People won't contribute if they have no confidence in your effectiveness and the solidity of your accomplishments. Paragraphs two and three are examples of this.

c) An explanation of a specific task to be achieved is the next essential element. The more concrete the plan, the more specific the appeal, the greater response you are likely to get.

d) The last two paragraphs of the letter contain the most essential element of all--the actual appeal--which again should convey a sense of urgency.

As important as your letter is the enclosure you send with it. Never send a letter without one. The enclosure serves two chief functions. First, it educates. Second, it backs up the statements in your letter, lending them the authority of another voice. It gives weight to your claim that you are doing a job. (Make sure your enclosure is not too weighty, literally, or it may cost you double postage.)

For example, in a fund-appeal letter whose theme was the pitfalls of a privately operated school system, it was the enclosure, Exhibit 8, which gave the appeal its impact.

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

HOPE, INC.

50 WHITEHALL ST., S. W., ATLANTA 3, GA. JA 5-8460 - 5-8469

November 5th, 1960

Dear Friend:

What will it be for Georgia — Little Rock or the Little Red Schoolhouse? The answer is less than two months away... in the "Last Chance" Legislature that will decide whether or not your children can go to school.

HOPE is the only organization working solely for this goal. Sometimes HOPE is outspoken...with statements to the news media, speakers at public meetings, delegations to elected officials... acting as a spearhead in the fight for open schools. Sometimes HOPE is in the background...quietly exerting influence behind the scenes. Always HOPE acts as a clearing-house for all the organizations and individuals who want their activities for open schools effectively channelled.

By taking many varied roles, HOPE has made continuing public education a "respectable" topic in Georgia. Yes, HOPE is changing the climate of opinion in our State.

With your help, we have won some significant victories — but the war is far from over. Ahead lies our greatest challenge. If the Legislature does not adopt the Sibley Commission's Majority Report, your children will have lost their last chance for peaceful, uninterrupted public education. HOPE's plans for "Operation Last Chance" are enclosed. We have mobilized our forces. We can go into action as soon as we have your support.

The funds for this program must come from you. There is no magic formula for making the school problem disappear. Little Rock begged for time. It was not granted. New Orleans begged for time. It was refused. Now Georgia's time is running out.

Will you give so that we can use what time is left to save our public schools?

Confidently yours,

Beverly Benson Downing

Mrs. Benson Downing
Chairman, HOPE Executive Committee

STATE ADVISORY BOARD • DR. and MRS. E. L. ASKREN, JR.—Atlanta • JAMES BARROW—Athens • W. H. BENSON—Athens
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REV. HARRY FIFIELD—Atlanta • MOSES D. HAMRICK—Duluth • MISS JOHNNIE HILBURN—Augusta • W. C. HENSON—Cartersville
HENRY T. McINTOSH—Albany • MRS. EDWARD G. MACKAY—Atlanta • DR. and MRS. JOSEPH C. MASSEE—Atlanta • SYLVAN MEYER—Gainesville
DR. McDOWELL RICHARDS—Decatur • RABBI JACOB M. ROTHSCHILD—Atlanta • JAMES O'H. SANDERS—Atlanta
REV. NORMAN O. SHANDS—Atlanta • MRS. M. E. TILLY—Atlanta • JUDSON C. WARD, JR.—Atlanta • EMILY WOODWARD—Vienna

(Exhibit 8)

. . . they thought they could go it alone, so they closed the public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

A PRINCE EDWARD PRIMER

A is for Attic*—

It's cold and it's bare
You wouldn't want your child to shiver up there.

**If not attics, then converted stores, even an old blacksmith shop serve as Prince Edward's classrooms. In some cases, grammar school children must walk two blocks to use toilet facilities.*

B is for Basement*—

So crowded and dim
No lunches, no busses, not even a gym.

**Classes are sometimes partitioned by thin curtains instead of walls. Physical education has been dropped. Shop, home economics and science labs are often not available. There are no lunch facilities.*

C is Curriculum*—

Sharply curtailed
How costly a lesson—the students all failed!

**High schools are not accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary schools. It is very difficult for a Prince Edward child to qualify for college anywhere outside his native state.*

Two years have proven that a makeshift private school system can never replace tax-supported public schools. Let's remember these ABC's—and

KEEP OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS OPEN

distributed as a public service by HOPE, Inc.

2. Analysis of Letter B, Exhibit 9

This letter, different in subject matter, uses the same elements, although with a shift in emphasis. It was mailed out during the New Orleans riots and thus had a spontaneous timeliness and urgency. The first two paragraphs summarize that sense of urgency with which all newspaper readers and television viewers were then so familiar.

The second two paragraphs state organizational bona fides by pointing out that lack of preparation can lead to disaster, while the group is working to prepare the community and thus avoid trouble.

The third paragraph outlines the specific task and the last paragraphs ask for contributions.

The enclosure (Exhibit 10) in this case is a simple, one page paste-up of newspaper headlines and photographs which illustrate the violence described in the text.

A word of caution about Letter B. It makes a strong appeal to the emotions because it deals with violence and fear. If you make a habit of sending out shock letters, your audience will become inured to the shock effect and they will lose their effectiveness. Once is very salutory. But once is enough.

(Exhibit 9)

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

•HOPE, INC.

50 WHITEHALL ST., S. W., ATLANTA 3, GA. JA 5-8460 - 5-8469

November 28, 1960

Dear Friend:

. . . The ugly mob surges forward . . . sirens wail. . . a piercing scream . . . decent people bolt their doors and shutter their windows . . . Fear and violence have come to live in New Orleans.

While this terrifying drama is enacted before the world, Georgia stands in the wings . . . waiting. Will it happen here? Will the same deep wounds scar our state forever? Why did it happen in New Orleans?

It happened because the people of Louisiana have been systematically deceived for six years. Because they were told that the schools could remain open and continue segregated. They were totally unprepared for the truth.

This tragedy does not have to be re-enacted in Georgia. HOPE is leading the campaign to get the facts to the people. We are setting the stage for peaceful compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

Now, we must get our Legislature — the "Last Chance" Legislature — to enact the Sibley Commission Majority Report into law. If this is done, we can have peaceful, dignified acceptance of the federal court order that hangs over our heads — and uninterrupted education for our children.

What will it be for your child — panic in the streets. . . or the education that is his birthright?

You can make the choice by giving to HOPE today.

Sincerely,

Beverly Benson Downing

Mrs. Benson Downing
Chairman, HOPE Executive Committee

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REV. NORMAN O. SHANDS—Atlanta • MRS. M. E. TILLY—Atlanta • JUDSON C. WARD, JR.—Atlanta • EMILY WOODWARD—Vienna

(Exhibit 10)

Tension Rises Over New Orleans School Integration

Police at New Orleans Quell 2,000, Jailing 58

DON'T LET IT HAPPEN HERE!

Give to HOPE today!

Enclosed is $_____ to help keep our schools open.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone #_____

Date_____

3. Varying your approach.

These fund appeal letters were sent to a general mailing list. If you are industriously compiling lists, you should have accumulated some specialized ones--teachers, bar association members, church groups, various business and civic groups. If you can get these specialized lists, another element should be added: an appeal to the particular interest involved.

"Dear Friend: As an attorney, you have a particular interest in the orderly processes of the law...." Your enclosure might be a favorable speech by one of your legislators.

"As a businessman, you have a special concern for the economic health of our community...." Enclosure: reprint from Wall Street Journal article on economic effects of New Orleans riots, Exhibit 11. See bibliography for other publications dealing with business.

"As a member of the City Club, you have shown a continuing interest in making our city a better place to live...." Enclosure: list of prominent citizens and organizations who back a peaceful transition (Exhibit 12).

4. A personal appeal.

The only kind of letter in which some of the basic elements may be omitted is one you are writing on your own stationery to a close personal friend. Don't neglect this method. Here your relationship with the recipient permits a low-pressure, informal tone. But even in this type of appeal, it is possible to use most of the elements and send along an enclosure without sounding unnaturally feverish. Exhibit 13 is an example of a personal appeal.

(Exhibit 11)

WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1960

New Orleans Caught In Economic Squeeze In Integration Fight

Legislature Cuts Off State Aid To City's Schools; Downtown Stores' Sales Drop Sharply

By JAMES HARWOOD
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW ORLEANS—Diving retail sales in downtown stores. A sudden, steep decline in advertising spending. Threatened Negro boycotts of white merchants. Mounting pessimism among bankers and tradesmen over long-range business prospects.

These are some of the immediate results of this city's current school desegregation turmoil. This economic impact, largely obscured by the emotional outbursts here in recent days, promises nonetheless to have a strong influence on the eventual outcome of the school controversy.

Further straining the city's economy is the prospect of payless pay days for the area's 3,600 public school teachers and other school employes. Hard put by legislative orders cutting off state funds, school authorities say they may not be able to meet the $44,800 payroll today of the system's bus drivers, lunchroom workers and maintenance men. And there's even less chance, they report, of coming up with the $1.9 million due to be paid next Wednesday in monthly wages to the school teachers.

Financial Weapons

As the school desegregation battle swirls into such Deep South cities as New Orleans, economic tactics loom as a critical factor in the fight to block integration. Frustrated in attempts to prevent integration by court and legislative means, Louisiana officials are resorting to financial weapons. Aside from exerting severe pressure on local school authorities, this strategy is putting many businessmen and bankers on the spot despite their efforts to remain "neutral" in the fight.

Now, for example, local school officials are trying to swing a short-term loan of some $12.8 million from city banks to tide them over until year-end. This is customary procedure here and the loan is made against year-end revenues earmarked for the schools. But the bankers are balking now because the legislature claims it alone controls the schools; it insists the school board members are acting illegally.

"With the confusion," confesses one banker involved in the negotiations, "we don't know who has the authority to sign for the note. You can't have people signing for a loan who may not be in office the next day."

To back up its stand, the legislature also is threatening to withdraw state funds from banks and other lending institutions which do business with the local school officials. "We're at the point where we're even afraid to cash a school board check," one banker confides.

Sit-ins and Boycotts

Economic tactics, of course, long have been used by both sides in the struggle over desegregation. The Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott by Negroes and sit-in demonstrations early this year at lunch counters around the South are two notable examples. But the stern actions of the legislature here—a strategy that may be repeated in other Deep South states that have yet to begin school integration—represent a form of massive retaliation that marks a new and significant phase in the continuing desegregation battle.

State lawmakers blocked school funds after the local Orleans Parish School Board, acting under Federal court orders, assigned four small Negro girls this week to two previously all-white schools here. Though Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright has repeatedly issued restraining orders to prevent state officials from interfering with the integration process, the legislators hotly insist they cannot be enjoined. The four Negro children are still attending their two new schools, but almost all of the nearly 1,000 white pupils have been boycotting classes.

Demonstrations and downtown street skirmishes have left many stores practically deserted. "You could have shot a cannon off on the main floor here yesterday and not hit a person," says an executive of a big downtown department store. An official in the drapery section of another emporium reports his department's sales have been running at less than 50% of the $3,000-a-day business usual at this time of year.

"Terrible Time to Start"

"They sure picked a terrible time to start trouble," remarks I. Leon Sears, manager of Metner's clothing store off Canal Street. "The past five weeks have been bad but this week is even worse. Negroes are afraid to come downtown and the whites aren't out much either."

Many other downtown merchants, similarly hit by declining sales, had been hopefully looking for a pickup with the approach of the Christmas selling season.

At Maison Blanche, New Orlean's largest department store, merchandise manager E. Jones says: "Our sales were running about 10% below a year ago until last Monday, but they dropped this week 20% to 30%." As a result, he said, the store has made some quick adjustments: Advertising outlays this coming weekend have been slashed 50%; all buying of merchandise has been halted for fear of an excessive Christmas inventory; plans for hiring extra sales personnel for the usual Christmas rush are being reconsidered.

"We have to consider that this situation can continue for some time, although we hope it doesn't," says Mr. Jones.

A partner in one advertising agency here reports: "Many of my clients don't think it's wise to spend lots of money now. They're very pessimistic over sales prospects for the coming months."

Others Suffer

Merchants and advertising media are not the only ones to suffer financially.

"Business has stopped cold," reports H. B. Lawrence, manager of Home Finance Service. "This time last month we were lending $800 to $1,000 more each day than we were taking in, which is a good sign of better potential earnings for us. Yesterday the difference was down to $397. The day before that we took in $381 more than we loaned, which is really bad."

City officials, led by Mayor deLesseps (Shep) Morrison, are voicing fears that the desegregation ruckus will affect the city's and the state's ardent efforts to lure new industry. Years of work in building up New Orleans into a thriving city "must not be destroyed by ugly, irresponsible incidents," declares Mayor Morrison.

The financial squeeze on the school board is apt to cause more immediate difficulties than the whole slew of anti-integration laws passed by the legislature (and blocked by Judge Wright). "The legislators say they don't want to close the schools," says tall, chain-smoking James Redmond, the city school superintendent, "but the schools will have to close without money." All of the 113 public schools in the parish—not just the two integrated schools—would be affected, of course.

Normally, 60% of the parish's school budget, put at $28 million this school year, comes from the state; the remainder is put up by the city.

Though Dr. Redmond says he doesn't know for sure what teachers would do if the board can't meet its payroll, a few teachers reportedly already are showing interest in offers from out-of-state institutions.

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DECLARATION FOR

(Exhibit 12)

Open Schools

pt Sibley Plan, ool Boards Ask

rgia School Boards Assn. has voted to press neral Assembly to adopt the Sibley Com- ity report, which recommended some sort on plan to prevent the mass closing of schools in Georgia.

The school board members also called for state authorities to take "immediate steps" to equalize property evaluation throughout the state.

In their resolution on the school crisis, the board members noted that some Georgia schools are faced with court orders that will require them to admit some Negro students.

". . . under present Georgia law, all schcol systems in the state face closure when the first Negro student is admitted to a white school," the school board official said.

The resolutions were adopted by the association, which has a membership of more than 700 local school board members and school superintendents, at a recent meeting in Athens and released Thursday. They represent 116 of the 198 local school boards in Georgia.

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Sibley Committee's ose control of its n.

f closing all public be lost after de- ordered into effect

scho ystem is in the ce of an s entirely possible of closing would as an evasion.

s we are able to

s Here Urge Local Option ool Integration Crisis

ta Junior Chamber of Commerce Thursday advo- option plan in the state's school integration crisis.

ees, in a "statement of position," declared that the blic schools would "cause irreparable damage to growth and prosperity as amply demonstrated by nces elsewhere."

Kyker Jr., Jaycee president, said the statement l by the executive committee and the board of re being presented to the general membership. It by secret ballot Thursday.

y School Plan ly to Block Closing

pal Assn., urged plan "before the have med ju- the sta schools."

here is no alterna- nued operation of in the State of fully believe that g majority of the gia will come to said.

Referring to the federal court order to integrate Atlanta schools next September, he emphasized that Georgia law compels closing of Atlanta schools the minute a Negro is admitted.

"Unquestionably, when this happens, the federal courts will require the closing of all other public schools in Georgia," he told a joint Parent Teacher Association

All-Out Effort To Save Schools Planned in C of C

Ivan Allen Lays Down 6 Key Goals

By MARVIN WALL

Six major goals—including all-out opposition to school closings—were outlined for the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce by its new president Monday night.

Ivan Allen Jr., elected president at the group's 101st annual meeting, said the Chamber "must clearly set forth to the public at large and the business community in particular the full implications of the Little Rock and Norfolk and New Orleans stories."

BACKS SIBLEY REPORT

Allen said the Chamber should officially endorse the Sibley Committee's majority report and "actively work" for pasasge of open-schools legislation at the January session of the Georgia Legislature.

"Atlanta's public schools must stay open and the Chamber should provide its share of vigorous leadership in seeing that they do," Allen declared.

The other five goals listed by Allen in his address to the dinner meeting were:

1. Push for completion all projected expressways by 1970.

2. Press for a "practical, large-scale" rapid transit system.

URBAN RENEWAL

3. Back urban renewal and par ticularly aid efforts to expan Negro housing opportunities.

4. Support plans for a nev auditorium-coliseum and stadium.

. . . I Have Insomnia!"

Urgent Appeal

PTA Groups Encouraged To Study The Sibley Report

A DECLARATION FOR OPEN SCHOOLS

This is a partial list of organizations and individuals who have publicly declared for open schools. Since it was compiled solely from newspaper accounts, it does not include the many thousands of like-minded Georgians who earnestly request the 1961 General Assembly of Georgia to take whatever action necessary to assure the continued existence of our public schools....
...in an atmosphere of reason and calm.

ORGANIZATIONS

American Association of University Women, Atlanta Chapter

Active Voters of Georgia

Agnes Scott College Faculty and Students

American Legion, Clayton

Athens Area Industrial Management Association

Athens League of Women Voters

Athens Ministerial Association

Atlanta Baptist Pastors Conference

Atlanta Board of Aldermen

Atlanta Board of Education

Atlanta Chamber of Commerce

Atlanta Jaycees

Atlanta Journal

Atlanta Christian Council

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Atlanta PTA Council

Atlanta League of Women Voters

Atlanta Presbytery

Atlanta Public School Teachers Association

Augusta League of Women Voters

B'nai B'rith, Atlanta

Business and Professional Women of Georgia

Chamber of Commerce, Clayton

Christian Churches of Georgia (Disciples of Christ)

Chattahoochee P.T.A.

Christian Index of the Baptist Convention

Communicable Disease Center, Atlanta

Clayton P.T.A.

Connelly P.T.A.

Dalton Chamber of Commerce

Dalton Ministerial Association

DeKalb Board of Education

DeKalb Grand Jury

DeKalb League of Women Voters

DeKalb New Era

DeKalb P.T.A. Council

Emory University Faculty

Episcopal Dioceses of North and South Georgia

E. Rivers P.T.A.

Fernbank P.T.A.

Fifth District School Board Association

Fulton County P.T.A. Council

Gainesville Daily Times

Georgia Council of Churches

Georgia Council on Human Relations

Georgia Congress of P.T.A.'s

Georgia Education Association

Georgia Municipal Association

Hadassah, Atlanta

Henry Grady High Students

Inman P.T.A.

Jewish Community Council, Atlanta

John Cary P.T.A.

Jonesboro P.T.A.

LaGrange Ministerial Association

Lawrenceville Protestant Ministers

League of Women Voters of Georgia

Lions Club, Clayton

Margaret Mitchell P.T.A.

Methodist Cabinet, North Georgia Conference

Methodist Ministerial Association, Atlanta

Morningside P.T.A.

National Council of Jewish Women, Atlanta

National Association of Social Workers, Southeast Section

North Fulton High P.T.A.

Northside P.T.A.

Oglethorpe University Faculty

Peachtree Evangelical Lutheran Church

Republicans of Georgia, Fifth Congressional District

Rome Ministerial Association

Rome League of Women Voters

Rome P.T.A.

School Boards Association of Georgia

Sara Smith P.T.A.

Southern Baptist Convention

SPED (Students for Public Education)

Spring Street School P.T.A.

Star Students of Georgia

United Church Women of Atlanta

United Church Women of Georgia

United Liberal Church

United Nations Council - Atlanta

U. S. Public Health Scientists

WAGA-TV

WSB-TV

WSB

YMCA Public Affairs Committee - Atlanta

Young Republicans of DeKalb County

INDIVIDUALS

James Adams, Clayton

Dr. Charles Allen, Methodist Minister

Ivan Allen, Jr., President, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce

Dr. Wallace Alston, Decatur, President, Agnes Scott College

Judge Luther Alverson, Atlanta Superior Court

Representative Bob Andrews, Hall County

Former Governor Ellis Arnall, Newnan

Robert O. Arnold, Chairman, State Board of Regents

Dr. and Mrs. E. L. Askren, Jr., Atlanta

J. H. Baird, Editor, DeKalb New Era

James Barrow, Athens, Attorney

W. H. Benson, Athens

Jim Bentley, Former Executive Secretary to Governor Talmadge

Fulton Boswell, Gainesville, Insurance Executive

W. R. Bowdoin, Senior Vice President, Trust Company of Georgia

George H. Boyd, Athens

Willis M. Boyd, Adairsville

Judge Samuel J. Boykin, Atlanta

Mrs. Hubert Bradley, Athens

Mrs. Thomas Breeden, Atlanta, Chairman, HOPE, Inc.

Representative Wilson Brooks, Atlanta

Senator Charlie Brown, Atlanta

Reverend Edward A. Cahill, Atlanta, Unitarian Minister

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Dr. Harmon W. Caldwell, Athens, President, University of Georgia

Senator R. E. Cannon, Clayton

Dean William R. Cannon, School of Theology, Emory University

[illegible]iam A. Casterson, Cedartown

Walter Cates, Executive Vice President, Georgia Chamber of Commerce

Jim Cherry, DeKalb, Superintendent of Schools

William B. Cherry, Tucker

Bishop Randolph Claibourne, Episcopal Diocese of North Georgia

Calvin Cox, City Editor, Atlanta Constitution

Charles A. Cowan, Cartersville

Representative R. Denmark, Liberty County

J. W. Dorsey, Atlanta, Attorney

Reverend Charles Demere, Tucker, Episcopal Minister

John W. Dent, President, Georgia Chamber of Commerce

Dr. Walter Dunbar, Past President, Active Voters of Georgia

Representative J. Ebb Duncan, Carroll County

Senator Carl Dykes, Hinesville

Newell Edenfield, Past President, Georgia Bar Association

[illegible]ert Edge, Lawrenceville, Rhodes Scholar

A. Fairlee, Atlanta

Dr. Harry Fifield, Atlanta, Presbyterian Minister

Milton L. Fleetwood, Editor Cartersville Tribune

Bob Fowler, Gainesville, President, Junior Chamber of Commerce

Dr. Thomas Fry, Decatur, Presbyterian Minister

Dr. and Mrs. Paul L. Garber, Decatur

Representative Ed Gobel, Gilmer County

Professor Cullen Gosnell, Emory University

Mrs. Charles Graves, Mayor, Clarkesville, Georgia

Senator John Greer, Lakeland

Mayor Moses Hamrick, Duluth

Mayor William Hartsfield, Atlanta

W. C. Henson, Cartersville, Attorney

Lowell Hipps, Gainesville

Miss Johnnie Hilbun, Augusta

[illegible]presentative Howell Hollis, Columbus

J. Winston Huff, Atlanta, Attorney

Frank Hughes, Executive Secretary, Georgia Education Association

Arthur Huie, Jonesboro

Reverend Francis Hyland, Atlanta, Roman Catholic Bishop

Carl P. Ingemanson, Atlanta, Engineer

Reverend Stephen Jackson, Lakemont, Baptist Minister

Howard James, Gainesville, Optimist Club

Miss Ira Jarrell, Former Superintendent, Atlanta Public Schools

Representative Spencer Johnson, Indian Springs

Reverend Bevel Jones, LaGrange, Methodist Minister

Zade Kenimer, Waverly Hall, Attorney

W. A. Knox, Thomson, President, School Boards Association of Georgia

Mills B. Lane, President, Citizens and Southern Bank

A. C. Latimer, Chairman, Atlanta School Board

Dr. Robert E. Lee, Milledgeville, President, Georgia State College for Women

Reverend Robert E. Lee, Lutheran Church of The Redeemer

John Letson, Superintendent, Atlanta Public Schools

Hamilton Lokey, Atlanta, Attorney

Representative Leonard N. Lokey, Thomson

Margaret Long, Columnist, Atlanta Journal

Representative Herschell Lovett, Laurens County

Dr. J. R. McCain, Past-President, Agnes Scott College

Reverend Roy McClain, Atlanta, Baptist Minister

Representative Ralph McClelland, Atlanta

Ralph McGill, Publisher, Atlanta Constitution

J. Roy McGinty, Calhoun Times

H. T. McIntosh, Editor Emeritus, Albany Herald

Senator Hugh McWhorter, DeKalb

Mrs. Edward G. Mackay, Atlanta

Representative James Mackay, DeKalb

Harold Martin, Columnist, Atlanta Constitution

Dr. and Mrs. Joseph C. Massee, Atlanta

Representative Quimby Melton, Jr., Griffin

Sylvan Meyer, Editor, Gainesville Daily Times

Everett Millican, Atlanta, former State Senator

Senator Erwin Mitchell, Dalton

Mrs. Ray Mitchell, President, Atlanta League of Women Voters

Representative David Newton, Colquitt County

Dr. Louis D. Newton, Decatur, Baptist Minister

Representative Roy Otwell, Cummings

Mrs. Walter Paschall, United Nations Council

Eugene Patterson, Editor, Atlanta Constitution

James Peters, Manchester, Chairman, Georgia Board of Education

Reverend Roy Pettway, Atlanta, Episcopal Church

Dr. Claude Purcell, Superintendent, Georgia Public Schools

Lanier Randall, Atlanta, Attorney

Homer Rankin, Editor, Tifton Gazette

Bill Reeves, Jonesboro

McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Seminary, Decatur

Reverend William Rittenhouse, Baptist Minister

Mr. P. Robertson, Rome

Phineas Roe, Atlanta

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Atlanta, The Temple

Reverend Lester Rumble, Methodist District Superintendent

Senator Carl Sanders, Augusta

James O'H. Sanders, President, Active Voters of Georgia

Representative T. I. Sangster, Dooley County

Dr. Norman Shands, Baptist Minister, Atlanta

Reverend A. Jason Shirah, Waycross

Welton Shows, Atlanta, Attorney

Celestine Sibley, Columnist, Atlanta Constitution

John A. Sibley, Chairman, General Assembly Committee on Schools

Homer D. Simpson, Stone Mountain

Frank Smith, Hall County Board of Education

Reverend Leon Smith, Atlanta, Methodist Minister

Representative M. M. Smith, Atlanta

Reverend John Owen Smith, Methodist Bishop of Atlanta

Sidney O. Smith, Jr., Gainesville, President School Board

Henry Stewart, Cedartown

Mrs. Luther Stewart, Marietta

Jim Telford, Gainesville

Johanna S. Traylor, Athens

Jack Turner, Atlanta, Attorney

Mrs. Hubert Valentine, Gainesville

Reverend L. F. Van Landingham, Atlanta, Methodist Minister

Mrs. Edward Vinson, President, Georgia League of Women Voters

Dr. Judson A. Ward, Dean of Faculty, Emory University

M. Jeff Watts, Jr., State Chairman, Georgia Young Republicans

Beth Williams, Editor, Quitman Free Press

Representative W. M. Williams, Hall County

Emily Woodward, Vienna, Past Director, Georgia Public Forums

Pastor O. E. Wright, Seven Day Adventist Church

DECLARATION FOR

Open Schools

Letson, West Boost Sibley Plan

The Sibley Committee's recommendations offer the best solution available to Georgia's school desegregation problems, Atlanta and Fulton school superintendents said Sunday.

"The recommendation of the Sibley Committee outlines a way —and the best way—that is open to us at the present time," said Atlanta Supt. John W. Letson.

Letson appeared Sunday on The Atlanta Constitution's Press Gallery. He and Fulton County Schools Supt. Paul West were interviewed by two Constitution staff members on the weekly WSB-TV program.

Commenting on Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd's recent statement that Georgia may not face a school integration crisis for another two years, Letson pointed out that Atlanta schools currently are under federal court orders to desegregate at the beginning of the next school year. Local schools will "obey all legally constituted authority," he added.

Asked what would happen in the case of conflicting federal-state orders such as occurred in New Orleans, Letson said these conflicts would have to be resolved by federal courts.

WANTS LOCAL CONTROL

Letson said he agrees with suggestions that laws should be passed to authorize local officials to handle school integration problems before federal courts take charge of mapping desegregation. Louisiana laws adopted after de-

Baptists Urge Vandiver To Keep Schools Open

By JIM BENTLEY
Constitution Staff Writer

SAVANNAH—The Georgia Baptist Convention, representing nearly a million Georgia church members, Tuesday night called on the governor and all other state officials to do whatever is necessary to keep public schools open.

The 2,000 delegates to the 139th Baptist convention here also voted to strike down a resolution that flatly opposed integration and hinted at the possible necessity of school closings.

Dr. Louie D. Newton, pastor of the Druid Hills Baptist Church in Atlanta, introduced the keep-the-schools-open resolution. After an hour's debate, it passed by voice vote with only a smattering of opposition.

The resolution reads:

"Recognizing that public schools are essential in preservation of our democratic way of life we, the duly certified messengers (delegates) of the 139th Georgia Baptist Convention, do hereby earnestly and respectfully petition the governor and General Assembly and all other responsible state, county, municipal and district officials that they take such steps as are necessary to continue the public schools. We pledge our

Must Save Schools, Says Purcell

SAVANNAH (AP) — Dr. Claude Purcell, state superintendent of schools, said here Wednesday that Georgians will have to face the fact that they must live under the federal court decision on school integration "because it is binding."

"The next session of the State Legislature will have to answer the next question, then: Shall we continue massive resistance or shall we join a number of other states which have already passed legislation providing for living as best they can under the federal ruling?"

5th District Board Backs Sibley Report on Schools

By JACK STRONG

Fifth District School Board members voted unanimously Monday night to endorse the majority report of the Sibley Commission.

The board members voted afte

Adop Scho

The Geo the 1961 Ge mittee major of local opti

Alter School L Now, State Ur

By BRUCE GALPHIN

Two former Georgia Bar presidents and the chairman warned Thursday that the state will schools unless segregation laws are changed soo

Past bar chiefs Howell Hollis and Newell Edenfield, and banker-attorney John A. Sibley all insisted the action must come before a final desegregation order is entered for Atlanta.

Each warned that any laws adopted after desegregation goes into effect run the risk of being struck down by federal courts as "evasion."

"I have heard some legislators quoted as saying 'Our schools won't be closed for long, but I don't expect any legislative action until the closing comes,'" Edenfield declared.

"Well, maybe so. But if the experiences of Louisiana are any guide, the choices open to the Georgia Legislature at that time will be painfully few," he added.

Sibley told bar association members meeting here that "the time for delay and evasion is over and the time for action is here.

ditch weapon o schools might segregation is, in Atlanta:

"Cl the still o, but injunction, it i that any form be struck down

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Daniel C. was approve directors befo was approved

State's Schools to Stay Open, GEA's President Predicts

Georgians will not stand for their public schools to be closed in the face of the segregation-integration dilemma, the president of the Georgia Education Assn. predicts.

E. C. Mitcham Jr. of Greenville made the statement on a television program Tuesday night, and right now. He obviously meant with a bare minimum of integration but he did not spell that out.

* * *

NEITHER DID he say how the schools could be kept open in view of a federal judge's order that the Atlanta school plan go into effect next year and in view attributed this partly to the work of 1,058 local PTA units in trying to educate parents and form public opinion on the schools crisis.

The two education leaders were guests Tuesday night on "Reporter's Notebook," a panel program on WAGA-TV.

* * *

Adoption of Sible Urged on Assemb

CARTERSVILLE (AP)—A member of the Sibley School Committee has urged the General Assembly to adopt the committee's recommendations for local option and pupil assignment to prevent closing of Georgia schools.

Charles A. Cowan, Cartersville mayor, who was a member of the committee as president of the

Georgia Munici adoption of the feder urts risdic of all

"As I see it, t tive to the cont public schools Georgia, and I an overwhelmin people of Geor realize this," he

(Exhibit 13)

Dear (First Name),

As I'm sure you know by now, I have a one-track mind when it comes to Open Schools. After a relatively quiet period, we have started to move again, as you will see from the enclosed reprint. I feel there is a good chance that we can convince the Legislature in January to keep open the public schools of Georgia.

My own enthusiasm is at fever pitch, and I hope this makes up for the fact that I am a complete amateur at asking for money. I trust you will overlook the amateurishness and recognize the urgent need. It would be catastrophic if we should fail now to save our school system.

I am asking a few of my friends to make a special large gift for our final effort before and during the "Last Chance" Legislature. Your gift will help put over this "Operation Last Chance"--but it will do more. It will prepare Georgia for peaceful compliance with the inevitable. For even worse than failure in the Legislature would be a repetition of Little Rock.

Please give as generously as you can to (Name of your local Open Schools Committee). Enthusiasm will go only so far. It takes dollars to carry on the fight effectively. If you have any questions about your gift or wish to earmark it for a special purpose, please call me.

Thank you very much for what I know will be a thoughtful and generous response.

Warmly,

A Fund Appeal Dinner

Big philanthropic agencies frequently hold fund-raising dinners and raise large amounts of money at them. The results can be spectacular, but the pitfalls are numerous.

Let's consider the disadvantages first.

1. This is the least economical way to raise money. Let us assume you want to raise money from the price of the ticket alone, rather than from an appeal during the dinner. (The latter method is too difficult for amateurs and has too many risks.) Unless you live in a wealthy community, the most you can hope to charge is $12.50 per person; $10.00 would probably be more realistic.

2. At these prices, your guests have a right to expect good food in a pleasant atmosphere. The very least the catering, hiring of a hall and incidentals like flower arrangements and tips can cost is $5.00 per person. If we take as our average ticket price a mean between $12.50 and $10.00, we are left so far with a profit of $6.25 per person.

3. If you had 400 paying guests, you would so far have a profit of $2,500. Subtract from this amount $500 for the cost of printing a brochure, invitations, tickets and mailings; $150 for the plane fare, hotel room and other expenses of your guest speaker; $60 for the free dinners you must supply the press, and an additional $100 for the emergencies that are certain to arise, and you are left with a net profit of $1,690.

This is not a bad sum, but remember to get it you must invest in tremendously hard work and months of detailed planning, work and planning requiring manpower that might be put into other

activities.

The above is not written to discourage you, just to remind you that a fund-raising dinner is a most ambitious plan. There can be, however, substantial benefits in addition to financial gain.

1. If you can get an outstanding, well-known guest speaker--a high government official, someone from the entertainment world, a nationally known academic figure or an author--,his prestige is newsworthy and will enhance your own prestige.

2. The presence of such a celebrity will attract people you might otherwise not be able to reach.

3. The atmosphere of such a dinner--in an attractive setting, where everyone is dressed up and "everybody who is anybody" is there--creates its own aura of success which carries over into future activities. The value of these intangibles is hard to assess in dollars and cents, but if your dinner is a success, you can expect an upsurge in morale as well as increased financial support.

The same preparation that goes into a public meeting should go into your dinner, only more intensively.

1. The date and the place you pick are crucial. If you can get away with it, make it a black tie dinner.

2. Try to get a local college choir or instrumental group to volunteer to sing or play. If that's not possible, get a pretty soprano to sing the Star Spangled Banner at the beginning and one other patriotic song during the course of the dinner.

3. Get a prominent churchman of one denomination to deliver an invocation at the beginning and one from another denomi-

nation a benediction at the end. Tactfully suggest that they be brief.

4. Invite some local dignitaries to share the dais with the guest speaker, and make sure you introduce each one fully. Try to make certain that you don't offend anyone who should be on the dais by failing to invite him.

5. Invite the dignitaries from the dais, any potential big contributors, those who have already contributed or worked hard, and those who might help you in the future, to a private reception to meet your guest of honor just before the dinner. Limit this reception to 50 guests at the most; 25 to 35 would be better.

6. If this private reception is in your home and you know each guest personally, you might serve cocktails. But if it is at the public place where the dinner is held, do not serve alcoholic drinks. Bitter experience proves that there is always at least one teetotaller on your guest list who will be angered by the drinks and who otherwise might have been a staunch supporter.

7. Be sure to send a press release out fully describing your guest speaker, and spelling out the fact that reporters are invited to dinner.

8. Ask your guest speaker to send you an abstract of his remarks before the dinner and release them to the press at its close.

9. If your guest speaker arrives in town early enough, try to arrange a press conference with radio and TV coverage.

10. Place printed materials at each plate, explaining who you are and what you have already accomplished.

11. Be sure to thank publicly all the volunteers who worked on the dinner.

Raising Money From Private Individuals

Every town has a few leading citizens who are noted for their outstanding achievement in their professions, for their philanthropy, for what they have accomplished for civic betterment.

Each one of these individuals should be visited personally. If possible, the visit should be from someone who speaks the same language: attorney should visit attorney; doctor to visit his colleague. Make sure you have the facts to give him and ask for a contribution for a specific purpose.

In addition to asking for financial assistance, ask for aid in reaching other businessmen or professional acquaintances. If he is willing to have you send out an appeal over his signature on his stationery, so much the better. But if not, ask him to supply you with the names of potential givers.

As many of the names you are given as possible should also be interviewed personally. Some of these people may not be in a position to give you a large financial gift, but they may be able to make a donation of goods or services. A printer, for example, could supply you with stationery, a furniture dealer with used office furniture, a theatre owner with the use of his premises for a meeting, etc..

Many of the people who contribute will want to remain anonymous. Respect their wishes and maintain good security. Some may be willing to contribute a small monthly amount instead of making a lump sum gift. Don't forget to suggest this.

THE MASS MEDIA

Desegregation is news. Too often, however, the headlines are given to incidents of violence and the irrational proclamations of die-hard extremists. You can help shift the focus back into perspective by supplying your paper, radio and TV stations with well thought-out background material and newsworthy, compactly written current information.

The Press

1. Hostile newspapers.

A few newspapers are so inflammatory on their editorial pages and so prejudiced in their news columns that the former is a real threat to law and order, and the latter is an iron curtain which prevents you from getting legitimate news of your activities before the public.

It is not your job to get into a running battle with such a newspaper. There are approaches which others in the community can make and they will be discussed elsewhere. But no single voluntary group can win a struggle like this. So don't waste your time trying.

Two things you can do are to use their advertising columns, and to write certain kinds of letters for their Letters to the Editors section.

a) Advertisement.

We discussed the pros and cons of fund appeal advertising earlier. What follows is different. It is an attempt to get news

to the public when conventional channels are closed.

You might want to take such an advertisement to announce the formation of your group, to announce a big public meeting, to issue a policy statement on some important court ruling.

Before getting down to the actual copy, here are two useful things to remember.

(1) Raising money to finance such an advertisement is an excellent project. Either you can get the signers to finance it, as in the fund appeal advertisement, or you can get non-signers to contribute. This should not be too difficult because they will be able to see the tangible result of their contribution in a very short time.

(2) If written correctly, such an advertisement can be cut out, pasted, and photo-offset without changes and without having to set any type. This makes an attractive, inexpensive brochure. Even counting the cost of the advertisement, it might come to less than a printed brochure in letter press, or one photo-offset where type must be set.

There are several themes appropriate to such an informational advertisement.

(1) A "Did you know that..." kind of ad. Facts about the cost of your school system, amount of taxes paid, what has happened to school systems elsewhere where violence occurred,what has happened to enhance education where transition has been peaceful. End up with a subtheme--if there is violence will your child be emotionally or physically harmed? If schools are closed will your child get into college? Your group is formed to protect

education and prevent tragedy for your child. It is backed by the following leading figures.

(2) Same ad, but giving facts on what happens to business (Exhibit 14).

(3) Appeal to civic pride. Your city is unique because of its....(Every city is unique: cultural opportunities, friendly atmosphere, beautiful architecture, etc.. Be specific.) And it has grown so in the last ten years in population, retail sales, tourism. It has a bright promising future. Must all this be jeopardized because responsible citizens neglected to plan together to prevent violence? Your group is formed to do just that. You are backed by leading citizens such as....

(4) If you have been collecting statements and resolutions from organizations, you can show how widely supported your position is by running statements and their signers as an ad. Make it as tightly packed with names as you can. For this type of ad, it is better to make it smaller with the names squeezed in than bigger with lots of white space, even though this violates good layout principles.

(5) Toward the end of your campaign, you will hopefully have reached the point where there will be a community-wide event for law and order. If the hostile paper ignores this, a suitable ad would be a public proclamation, leading off with an interdenominational prayer, with the copy signed by all the participants in this event.

b) Letters to the Editor.

Don't try to use the Letters columns to recruit members for your organization, or to reproach the editors or anyone else for

their lack of vision. Such letters won't be printed in a hostile paper, and even if they were, they are not effective.

Write letters to bring before the public material not covered in the news columns, analyses of news events and court decisions, reports of meetings, resolutions and the like. Keep them calm, dignified and brief.

If there is anything at all positive that you can find to say about some action by a public figure, city official or legislator, this is the place to do it.

2. Neutral newspapers.

If your newspaper is lukewarm to hostile on its editorial pages, but fair in its allocation of news space, there are some suggestions to give you a better chance of getting your story across. Three useful principles to keep in mind when dealing with the press:

a) Anticipate the editor's and reporter's need. Supply him in advance with background, biographical, photographic and other relevant materials. If the editor or editorial writer or reporter is a friend of any group member, such personal contact will help ease the way. But it is not crucial. Either by appointment or through a friendly letter, make all your background material available and explain what you are trying to do.

b) If a reporter is covering a story in person--a public meeting, conference, etc.--provide him with proper facilities: typewriter, copy paper, telephone, etc..

c) Be available. Don't make a reporter hunt someone up for verification of facts or whatever reasonable information may be

required. But decide in advance what person or persons are to be spokesman for your group and ask all other members to refer reporters to those so named. Six or seven independent spokesmen can cause a confused, distorted story.

You are not likely to get favorable editorials or feature stories in this kind of newspapers--at least not initially. So concentrate your public relations program on specific events:

- announcement of group's formation, names of officers, identification and group's goals

- announcement of public meeting, quote from guest speaker, follow-up story

- announcement of widespread public support, with list of organizations and individuals

- analyses of court decisions, actions of city or school officials that directly affect your position.

Useful hints in preparing a news release.

a) The release date on a story is important and confusion can result when it is omitted. If your speaker is scheduled to appear Monday evening, August 9th, type in the upper right hand corner, capital letters underlined, FOR RELEASE TUESDAY AM, AUGUST 10, 1963. Since newspaper deadlines vary, make sure you call in advance to find out how many hours before you must have the story in to make the edition you want.

b) In the upper left hand corner, insert the name of the person who may be contacted for further information, with address and telephone number.

c) All copy should be double-spaced.

d) Write the word "MORE" at the bottom of each page if

release is longer than one page.

e) Mimeograph or type individual copies of all releases. Editors do not like carbons--too messy.

f) If your budget permits, have news release mast-heads printed in color on mimeograph paper, making it easier to identify your story. (This should cost under $5 per thousand sheets.) It will save you time and trouble in listing the names of your officers, address and telephone number of your chapter. It can also be used to send newsletters to your members and friends.

Suggestions for writing your release (see Exhibit #15):

a) Write your story simply; keep your facts understandable; keep your sentences short and crisp. Avoid involved sentence structures.

b) Unless opinion is included in the quoted material, never editorialize in a news release. Let the facts speak for themselves and let the opinions be directly attributable to the person acting as spokesman for your group.

c) As a general rule, eliminate adjectives such as "a strong resolution," "an important statement." Such characterizations make editors suspicious.

d) Unlike other forms of writing, a news story begins with the climax. Other details, in descending order of importance, taper downwards to the end. Thus, if your story is going to be cut, it will be cut from the bottom, and the essential elements should be at the beginning.

e) Holidays and Sundays tend to produce less news for the papers the following day. You might find it helpful, therefore, to release your story for Monday or the day after a holiday.

3. Favorable Newspapers.

If you are fortunate enough to have a newspaper which supports you editorially, there are many ways in which you can cooperate in getting the story of peaceful transition before the public.

a) Follow the suggestions above on preparation and timing of news releases.

b) Offer to supply the research material for special features in which the newspaper might be interested. The experience of other communities, special facts on the relationship of business health to peaceful transition, legal analyses of court rulings and administrative decisions--these and other projects could serve as helpful background to buttress editorial comment. Remember, however, that no self-respecting newspaper will take a "canned" editorial.

c) Try to keep the paper's columnists supplied with materials on their specialized interests: women's--accounts of daytime meetings, teas, biographical material on women members; political--positions on legal developments; business--facts on increase or decline in business following transition, etc..

d) The same flow of material should go to any specialized publications in your community: retailer's journal, civic betterment magazine, etc..

e) As the big event for which you have been preparing--say school desegregation--approaches, consider printing a compendium of material which will prove useful to reporters, not only from your own town, but from papers throughout the state and for the wire services. This might include the full facts on what

schools are being desegregated and where they are located; what the criteria were for selecting the transfer students; how many students are involved; what preparations law enforcement officers have made; what city officials are doing; what groups have played a key part in community preparation; what the ground rules for the public are; what facilities for the press have been provided and what restrictions are placed on their covering the story.

An elaborate publication of this kind, Background Atlanta, was printed to meet the needs of newsmen in Atlanta when its schools were desegregated. (See Bibliography.) Keep in mind that yours does not have to be so elaborate and it can be mimeographed instead of printed.

f) After an important event, write a note to the editor complimenting him and his reporter on the accuracy of the coverage. Like everyone else, editors like to be appreciated, and because most of their mail consists of complaints, your letter will stand out. Do not, however, thank an editor for covering a story or for the amount of space he gives it. Such a letter implies that you were pleasantly surprised that he considered your event newsworthy; it makes him doubt his own judgment. Thank him only for accuracy or completeness.

g) In a friendly newspaper, too, don't neglect your Letters to the Editor columns. They are frequently followed more closely than the news columns.

Let's talk

DOLLARS and SENSE

WHAT WILL BE THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF A PUBLIC SCHOOL CLOSURE IN NEW ORLEANS?

As Little Rock and Norfolk have already proved, what is "bad for public schools is also bad for business." If our public schools in New Orleans do not open their doors on September 8th, the economic health of our Community will suffer an incalculable blow.

Retail trade and real estate volume will decrease appreciably when the schools are closed. Already, New Orleans merchants are beginning to feel the "pinch" as Back-to-School sales figures decline day by day. The buying public is holding back on such items as school clothing and accessories due to the uncertainty of the school situation. Real estate sales also hang in the balance as parents wonder if they will have to move to another community in order to provide education for their children.

New industries on which we hope to build the economic security of the future will almost surely be discouraged from coming into an area where there are no public schools. A troubled community is no place for industrial expansion.

And, just as surely, recruitment of employes for the industries and businesses of the area will be seriously hampered. Skilled workers, technicians, college educators, professional men will not choose to settle in a town where public schools are not available.

Here are a few results we can plainly foresee:
1) The $20,000,000 school construction program, for which the bond issue has been approved, would have to be abandoned if the school system is shut down.
2) The $28,000,000 annual operating expenditures of the Orleans Parish School system would be lost to the community.
3) Payment would be enforced on the school bonds that are now outstanding, although the taxpayer would be paying taxes for benefits no longer received.

In dollars and cents, then, the closing of public schools is an expensive proposition. Businessmen of New Orleans have a stake in its public schools, not only as a matter of civic interest; but, realistically, as a matter of DOLLARS and SENSE.

- ***WE SHOULD PROFIT BY THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER COMMUNITIES***

  In Little Rock, the year before the school crisis, the number of new jobs totalled 1,003. During the two years that followed, there were no new jobs.
  In Norfolk, the city estimated that closed schools cost the economy of the community $172,000 a month.

- ***WE MUST ACT NOW TO PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION***

  We must realize that there is no longer a choice between INTEGRATION and SEGREGATION . . . the issue now is EDUCATION or ILLITERACY, together with all of the civic and economic disasters it brings. No matter what our individual feelings in the matter, we must realize that our children are entitled to the right of education.

ALL WHITE CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS WHO SUBSCRIBE TO THESE AIMS ARE INVITED TO JOIN THE COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION. MEMBERSHIP DUES ARE $1.00 PER YEAR, AND DONATIONS ARE WELCOME.

COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

P. O. Box 8192, Gentilly Station, New Orleans, La.

NAME .....

ADDRESS ..... PHONE .....

BUSINESS .....

SCHOOL .....

(Exhibit 15)

SAMPLE RELEASE ANNOUNCING FORMATION OF GROUP

CALL: John Doe
CE 5-6681
1541 Maple Street, S.E.

FOR RELEASE: DAY AND DATE

Dr. John G. Jones, Dean of Men at Green College, has been appointed Chairman of the newly organized Citizens' Committee on the Schools (CCS). The announcement was made last night by the organization's Planning Committee.

Three other permanent officers were also appointed: Dr. John Brown, President of the Mid-County Dental Society, as Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Mary Brown, founder of the Volunteers Society of General Hospital, as Secretary; and David Smith of the law firm of Smith, Smith, and Marlborough, as Treasurer.

In accepting the Chairmanship of CCS Dr. Jones stated:

"The only purpose of CCS is to insure the continuation of our public school system in an atmosphere of law and order. I hope that all Midvalians will want to join with us in speaking up for dignity and decency. We cannot afford to let violence bring harm to our children and to threaten the economic and social well-being of our community.

"Our task is to let every citizen know the facts about school desegregation and to help prepare the community so the transition can be made peacefully and independently without outside intervention."

Radio and Television

1. Draw up a list of all radio and television stations in your area, with the names and telephone numbers of their news directors and program directors.

2. Take time out to learn what the station broadcasts. A certain time, by FCC regulation, must be devoted to public service broadcasting. Find out what the station is doing to fill that allotment and offer to help.

3. Some radio and television stations broadcast regular editorials. If a station's editorial policy is favorable to you, offer to supply background material to support their editorials. If it has broadcast hostile editorials, request time on one of their editorial broadcasts for your point of view to be presented.

4. Don't go to a station with the notion that it would be a nice idea for them to put on a program. Their reply will be, "What do you suggest?" Instead, have a specific proposal already prepared on paper so that you can leave a memorandum with them.

5. Having studied a station's schedule, you will find that there are four basic moves you can make.

a) You can make a contribution to a going program: a regular interview series or discussion or religious program. (In all cases, we are speaking of shows originating locally.)

b) You can aim for a "one shot" program that you could initiate. You could either supply your own panel or discussion leader, or your could supply an already prepared film or radio tape. Several agencies have just such films and tapes available which they will either lend or rent to you for a nominal fee. A list of agencies with such resources is in the back of this manual.

c) You could prepare a series of "spot" announcements and purchase the time for them, as commercial firms do for their products (see Exhibit 16).

d) You can supply news directors with news stories for their regular news broadcasts, as you do for the press, following the same rules for preparation and writing as previously discussed.

6. Many local radio staitons have community calendars which announce meetings of civic and fraternal groups. Don't neglect these calendars when you have your own meetings.

7. Don't neglect an appeal to young people and students. Write to all the disk jockeys asking them to talk to their young listeners about good behavior when schools desegregate. An appeal from a disk jockey may carry more weight than one from a school principal.

(Exhibit 16)

SUGGESTED RADIO SPOTS

30 Seconds

What would happen if we Georgians lost public education? Emily Woodward, of Vienna, Georgia, says: "Nothing would give more encouragement to potential enemy nations! Closing our public schools would be a major disaster!" Please write Governor Vandiver today. Tell him that the Legislature must pass the Sibley Commission Majority Report--to keep our schools open Georgia parents unite--to save our public schools!

- - - - - - - - - - - -

"If we don't keep our schools open by taking constructive initiative with our problems, we are inviting action by outsiders, and destruction of the public schools. If we don't work a solution out, it will be worked out for us, the hard way!" That's how Editor Sylvan Meyer of Gainesville, Georgia, points out our responsibility. It is up to you and me to preserve free public education in Georgia! Write Representative (State Legislator) today! Let him know how important public schools are to our children and to their future!

- - - - - - - - - - - -

How important is public education to you and your community? Dr. J. McDowell Richards, President of Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur says: "The wealth of any state or nation is found in its young people. I can think of few greater tragedies than to have the public schools of Georgia closed!" Write Representative (State Legislator) today! Let him know that free public education must continue uninterrupted in Georgia!

- - - - - - - - - - - -

15 seconds

One school closed means all schools are closed! Join parents all over Georgia in preserving our public education. Write your state legislators today! Let them know how important public education is to you and your children!

- - - - - - - - - - - -

A closed school padlocks your child's future. Keep public education growing and going throughout Georgia! See your Legislator now! Tell him to vote for the Sibley Commission majority report-- to keep Georgia's schools open!

DEALING WITH THE OPPOSITION

There is a rule in physics: every action produces an opposite reaction. In life as well, you must be prepared for your activities to evoke a negative response from fringe hate groups. You may find an attempt to picket your meetings. Some of your leaders may be subjected to crank telephone calls.

There is a natural tendency to want to strike back at such annoyances, to attempt to nullify the opposition's effectiveness by exposing his arguments, by giving out literature at his meetings, by debating his positions.

The tendency is natural. But...think twice and don't.

1. The only thing you will accomplish by speaking out against an opposition meeting is to call attention to it. The opposition needs all the publicity it can get of any kind, and it is not the business of your group to supply it. By ignoring such a meeting and getting anybody you can to stay away from it, you will help isolate them.

2. Some voluntary groups have attempted to dissuade owners of halls and theatres from permitting opposition groups to meet there. This is a very questionable tactic. First, it diverts your activities from more productive channels. Second, any peaceable meeting is a legitimate expression of free speech, no matter how distasteful it may be to you personally. Don't set repressive precedents which might curb free speech. Some day that precedent might be turned against your group.

3. Don't try to distribute literature outside an opposition meeting. Apart from the point about getting them free publicity, such an audience is the least productive target, and your presence in such a situation is an invitation to trouble.

4. Never get involved in a public debate with the opposition. It stands to benefit enormously by sharing the platform with a respectable group and reaching audiences otherwise unavailable to it. You stand to lose by associating yourselves publicly with discredited policies and an outmoded outlook. Remember: upholding law and order is not a subject for debate. In general, debates, while sometimes calling forth dazzling displays of rhetoric, tend to generate a heated, emotional atmosphere and are a very unsuitable format for answering legitimate questions in a reasonable, factual way.

5. If there are trouble-makers at your meetings or anonymous letters or telephone calls, get in touch with the police, giving them as much factual material about the incident as you can. If the trouble is coming not from just irrational individuals but from organized hate-mongers, get in touch with the Anti-Defamation League, which in addition to its broad-guage community program, also has specialists who deal with these problems. They will be glad to give you their guidance.

6. Keep in mind that your own constructive program is the most effective answer to the opposition. The broader the base, the more comprehensive the scope, the more successfully you will set the opposition apart from the rest of the community.

THE ROLE OF BUSINESS

For the business community, violence, or closed schools, or a hostile, unsettled atmosphere imposes a heavy handicap on progress. For these conditions can be counted on to create a local, home-grown depression.

The classic example of such a local depression is Little Rock. During the year 1958, Arkansas, with its massive resistance and unsettled conditions had only $25.4 million in new plant investment, compared with $44.9 million in 1957 and $131 million in 1956. And once this downward spiral begins, it is extremely difficult to stop, even after things have settled down. Even with the schools reopened and federal troops withdrawn, Little Rock has not yet recovered, and the road back threatens to be painfully slow.

Compare Arkansas' record with that of North Carolina: legal compliance and little social unrest meant new plant investment for 1958 of $253 million and steadily rising since.

Everett Tucker, Jr., head of the Little Rock Industrial Corporation for more than a decade, spells out for businessmen the tragic fallout of social unrest:

> It's sort of an insidious thing. You just don't hear from XYZ Company that it's on the prowl for a new plant location. You never hear from them; they are not going to write you and say: "We were going to look at Little Rock, but now we're not."*

Nevertheless, Mr. Tucker has seen a few letters dramatically showing how businessmen shun areas where violence occurs.

* Transcript of telecast, "Face the Nation," CBS, August 16, 1959.

One was from the president of an Eastern company with which he had been concluding negotiations for a new plant:

> As you know from our previous discussions, certain key employees' reluctance...made it almost impossible to move. The wives of these employees played a prominent part in their decision not to move to Little Rock. The adverse publicity given your area on the school issue was certainly no help to our cause.

A second letter from another company is even more direct:

> Our contacts with Arkansas have given us an unfavorable opinion of that state in comparison with Tennessee.... We have no desire to be involved in the segregation problems current in that state.

Of course Little Rock is not alone in its business troubles. And new plant location, though an accurate barometer, is not the only aspect of business life that suffers when transition is not peaceful. Albany, Georgia; New Orleans, Louisiana; Birmingham, Alabama--these and scores of smaller communities have paid for their unrest with loss of retail sales, loss of tourism, closing down of transportation, loss of job opportunities.

Since business health and peaceful transition go hand in hand, it would seem obvious that businessmen would take the lead in assuring that peaceful transition to protect their investments. But this has not always been the case. Let us examine the fears--whether legitimate or irrational--that sometimes prevent businessmen from playing an appropriate role. Then we can examine the steps that forward-looking businessmen in other communities have taken to dispel those fears and exercise effective leadership in securing peaceful transition.

1. Businessmen fear it is unwise to irritate local and state authorities who are hostile to peaceful transition. If they play a prominent role in achieving transition, might they not be

subject to official harassment: lost contracts, rigid inspections, constant tax audits?

2. Managers of branch offices and plants are sensitive to the criticism that they are newcomers and should keep out of local affairs until they become well established in the community. An easy alternative to action is to adopt the slogan: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

3. The customer is always right. Businessmen fear that if they take a position in favor of peaceful transition, they will lose the trade of die-hard segregationists. This fear of antagonizing any segment of the community makes some determined to take no position at all.

4. Businessmen fear to break with the commonly held view that they shouldn't "get mixed up in politics." They should devote their spare time to such "safe" endeavors as philanthropy, civic betterment and religious groups.

The answer to all these fears lies fundamentally in united action. It is true that one businessman speaking for himself might be harassed, victimized, or criticized. It is equally true that the business community speaking with one voice can prevent the economic tragedies that go with social unrest and at the same time change the climate of opinion in which such fears flourish.

If you are a businessman concerned with this problem, or one of a group of such businessmen, you will be interested in the steps taken in other communities:

1. Work through the formal, organized business channels. Usually this means the Chamber of Commerce. The Chambers of Charlotte, Greensboro, Dallas, Atlanta, and Knoxville, among many

others, issued public statements calling for law and order. (See Exhibit 17.)

2. Help gain other business support. A statement of position by the Chamber, a universally respected organization, can help convince individual businessmen. As a businessman, you are uniquely qualified to talk to other businessmen. This can be done quietly, in committee or over luncheon. There is a wealth of factual material readily available to you on the relationship of economic health to peaceful transition that will help you make your point. This material is listed in the bibliography.

Or you can see that this subject is brought up publicly where businessmen meet, whether in business conventions or in fraternal and civic organizations like Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Elks, Optimists. Draw up a list of all such organizations and ask them to schedule programs on the subject. Offer to supply the speakers and background materials.

3. Form an employers' committee to enlist employee support. Exhibit 18 is an example of how a committee of businessmen in Chattanooga wrote to every employer in the area, asking each one to assist peaceful transition by letting employees know that the employer supported the efforts of the city administration and the school board toward peaceful transition. These messages were carried in weekly payroll envelopes.

In Dallas, businessmen included in pay envelopes messages prepared by the Dallas Council of Churches, Dallas Bar Association, and the Dallas County Medical Society (Exhibit 19).

4. Get a list of every business in your area--perhaps from a locally published business directory--and visit as many as possible personally. In this way, a group of Georgia businessmen got the signatures of over 1,500 businessmen on a statement calling

for law and order.

5. Your constructive views will carry weight with a hostile or noncommitted newspaper. As respected businessmen concerned with the well-being of your community, as regular or potentially regular advertisers, you already have an established relationship with the publisher. A businessman's committee could arrange a luncheon with the newspaper people to thresh out some of the problems involved and to point out the hazards and penalties to the business community of negative thinking.

If your newspaper is friendly, you might want to suggest that the business editor run an article or a series on the relationship of peaceful transition to good business. This piece could then be reprinted and distributed to every business.

6. If your Chamber of Commerce or other business association publishes a newsletter or house organ, offer to supply a factual article for it on this subject. If possible, have a well-known business leader as the author.

7. Your views are of vital importance to elected officials, whether friendly, indecisive, or hostile. We mentioned before that businessmen sometimes fear that they will be penalized by government for participation in law and order groups. It is just as likely, however, that presented with the united voice of business government officials will be most responsive. They will pay respectful attention to the wishes of such a united group who represent voters, taxpayers, campaign contributors, and respected influences in the community. Make available to these officials the facts about business and transition. Let them know how you feel. If the business community remains silent, officials will assume

that a course of inaction or massive resistance is acceptable to it. By resolutions, public statements, and delegations from business leaders, you can let them know that you expect business protected by moderate, sensible public leadership.

8. Your own specific type of industry--whether it be retailers, contractors, or manufacturers--might want to take a public stand in its own name. This could be a joint statement, trade association meeting to discuss the issue, or a newspaper advertisement. Business advertising can be attractive and dignified, as you will note from Exhibit 20.

9. Mass demonstrations and mass picketing can be ruinous to business, and these frequently occur where a business refuses to desegregate because it does not want to be the first and thus risk loss of business. But if an industry works together, the shock can be absorbed with no loss of customers. This has been the experience in scores of communities. You might want to consider, therefore, participation in a bi-racial council which could deal with such problems step by step before they reached the danger point. If there is such a council already in existence, consisting mostly of voluntary agencies, you will want to think of the advantages of strong business representation to help shape policy.

10. Not every businessman has time to participate as actively as he might wish. He can, however, support the efforts of voluntary groups such as HOPE or ABLE by contributing money and services to their efforts and by distributing material among his colleagues.

11. In order to secure the maximum attention to your

public statements, resolutions, meetings and other activities, you might wish to review the suggestions for public meetings and for dealing with the mass media.

SAMPLES OF STATEMENTS FROM BUSINESS GROUPS

...Urging peaceful desegregation of schools

On August 27, 1961, the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce issued an appeal for law and order which appeared as a full page ad in the city's newspapers.

> Atlanta people are proud of Atlanta. We founded it in Indian country. We fought for it during the Civil War. We rebuilt it after the War. We have pushed it, pulled it, bragged about it, and loved it. Now the world comes to measure our town. This week four of Atlanta's high schools will be desegregated, like those in 160 other Southern cities. The legal questions have been answered. The law is clear beyond dispute. How Atlanta reacts lies with every individual who lives or works in Atlanta. A restless world will be watching our reactions.
>
> * * *
>
> How great is Atlanta? It is as great as we make it. The 2,500 member firms of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce firmly believe...that all of us will support the laws of our land and meet this latest in a long series of challenges with order, dignity, and pride in our city.

...Calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate

Directors of the Raleigh, North Carolina, Merchants Bureau (May 13, 1963):

> God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.
>
> Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership to business in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.
>
> The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued growth of Raleigh.

An appeal to the business community from the Directors of the Charlotte, N.C., Chamber of Commerce (1963):

> We, the Directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color.

...Supporting open schools

One hundred of the best known Norfolk, Virginia leaders of the business community joined in publishing a manifesto as a full page ad (January, 1959), which read in part:

> The abandonment of our public school system is, in our opinion, unthinkable, as it would mean the denial of an adequate education to the majority of our children. Moreover, the consequences would be most damaging to our community....

Business leaders in Charlottesville, Virginia, initiated and issued (over mass signatures) a statement called "Free Public Schools Under Local Control: A Non-Political Statement" (January, 1959), which included these points:

> 1. It is in the interest of every citizen that there be maintained an efficient public school system. The economic health of the community and the well being of its people make this imperative. Accordingly, we firmly support the purpose and spirit of Section 129 of our state constitution which makes this a mandatory duty upon the legislature.
> 2. The responsibility and control of schools including, in particular, assignment practices, should be lodged squarely in local school boards familiar with local problems. Accordingly, we firmly support the purpose and spirit of Section 133 of our constitution which expressly vests supervision of schools in local school boards.
> 3. We explicitly deny that the two basic principles above can be achieved by closing schools and we emphatically assert that the vital human and economic interests of this community can be best served by reopening our public schools as soon as practicable.
> 4. We register complete confidence in the capacity of our local school board and our local government to assure the reopening and maintenance of our local public schools in such fashion as to serve the best interests of this community.

(Exhibit 18)

C O P Y

COCA-COLA BOTTLING CO. (THOMAS), INC.

Interstate Building - Chattanooga, Tennessee

August 6, 1962

TO ALL EMPLOYERS OF CHATTANOOGA AND HAMILTON COUNTY:

Gentlemen:

On Friday, August 31st, pupils in City and County schools will register for the coming year, and the schools will open on Tuesday, September 4th. For many months the School Boards and the City and County Governments have been working to assure compliance with the orders of Federal Courts concerning desegregation. If the schools open in an atmosphere of respect for the law, Chattanooga is ahead; if disorder of any kind should occur we will all suffer for years to come. The experience of other cities proves it.

We are writing today as fellow businessmen who seek your help. Each of you has great influence with his own employees. We ask you to use that influence on the side of law and order. There are certain things you can do to make the openings of the schools completely peaceful. The first is let your own people know that you support the City and County Governments, and the School Boards. The courts have made their decision, and it is now up to the School Boards to comply. They are determined to do it, and are fully supported by the City and County.

The second thing we ask you to do is to use the payroll inserts which are being provided by the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Ten copies are enclosed with this letter. All firms having more than ten employees will receive a supply of the inserts either by mail or messenger. If your company does not receive the forms by August 14th, please call Les Werner, AM 6-7504. If you cannot use the envelope inserts by the 17th, it would still be helpful to give them out as late as Friday, August 24th. This payroll insert carries a simple message, that peace and prosperity go together. We cannot have one without the other.

Sincerely yours,

S/Felix G. Miller, Jr.
Felix G. Miller, Jr.
Miller Bros. Company

S/DeSales Harrison
DeSales Harrison
Coca-Cola Bottling Co. (Thomas), Inc.

S/W. E. Brock, Jr.
W. E. Brock, Jr.
Brock Candy Company

S/Don H. Overmyer
Don H. Overmyer
Chattanooga Box and Lumber Company

(Exhibit 19)

Dallas' Opportunity

The federal courts have decided that we must desegregate our public schools in Dallas this fall. No matter how we may feel about this personally, it is now a matter of law and order.

In America, every person can act the way he wants so long as he doesn't break the law. A good citizen doesn't take the law into his own hands simply because he doesn't like a law — he tries to change it by peaceful and legal means. A lawbreaker is a bad citizen and deserves the disapproval of his neighbors.

For the good of all of us in Dallas, the new school law must be accepted this fall in a peaceful manner. Violence hurts all of us, not just a few. Violence can:

- Destroy our city
- Ruin our schools
- Endanger your job
- Destroy the health and well being of all our children

We don't want this to happen in Dallas. Dallas is a great city. Let's keep it that way!

Produced in consultation with the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, the Dallas Bar Association, and the Dallas County Medical Society. 14

What about our children?

It is your job and mine to help our children face the changes at school this fall peacefully. But —

- If we parents fail
- If our city's leaders fail
- If some of us turn to violence

— it is our children who will pay the price. Many will undergo fears they can never forget.

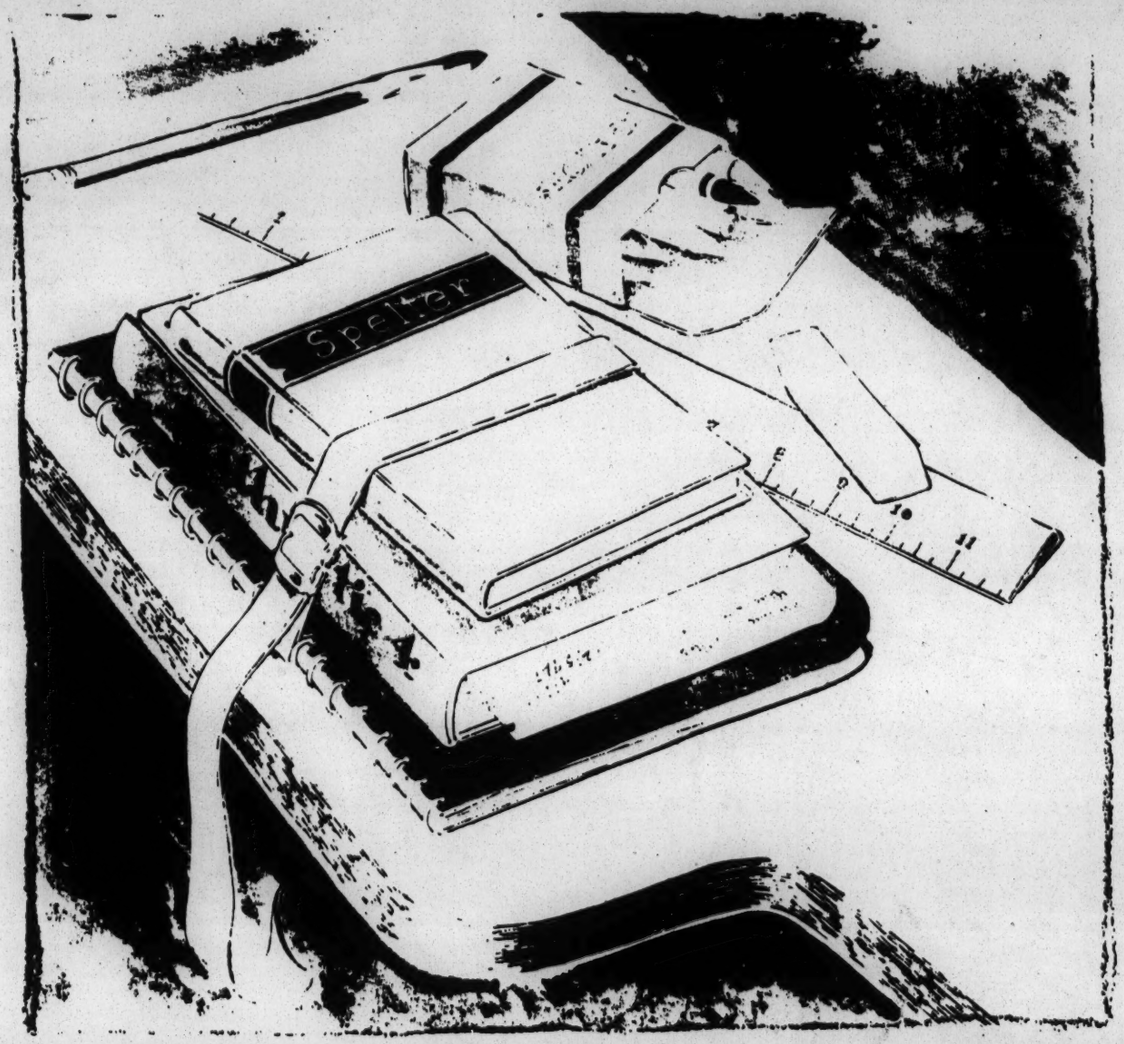
Public desegregation does not mean a loss of personal freedom. Each of us can still make our own friends and bring up our children as we think best.

No one in Dallas would try to tell you how to raise your family or handle your private affairs, but we do ask you to teach your children to abide by the law, and to keep Dallas peaceful.

A peaceful and law-abiding city is the best place in which to bring up your children the way you want!

Produced in consultation with the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, the Dallas Bar Association, and the Dallas County Medical Society. 14

DAVISON'S



Business appeal to the Public (citizens) to Support New School

BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT, IN TODAY'S WORLD, THE MOST IMPORTANT RESOURCES WE POSSESS, PRESENT AND POTENTIAL, ARE PEOPLE, Davison's salutes The Atlanta Public School System with a series of windows dramatizing its past and present achievements. We believe that the future poses a severe test to Georgia, to the United States, to the Western Democratic world, and that this test can only be met by human capacity. These windows have been designed to demonstrate the efforts of our School System to enhance the human capacity of the children of Atlanta: in science, in languages, in civic responsibilities, in cultural appreciation of our American heritage. In these windows, you will see the latest teacher aids to education: closed-circuit television, radio-in-education, laboratory experiments, and many others. You will see the daily challenges being posed by our teachers in the world of ideas and creative, intellectual accomplishments. Now, as the Atlanta Public School System stands on the threshold of new tasks and responsibilities, we know the citizens of Atlanta will extend to our School System the united support it needs in helping all the children of Atlanta achieve the true fulfillment of themselves, as well as the true fulfillment of Georgia and the United States in the Western Democratic world.

Reprinted from the Atlanta Journal-Constitution April 23, 1961

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

LABOR UNIONS

In communities which are at all industrialized, labor unions have played a significant role in peaceful transition by cooperating with voluntary and business groups and by educating their own members. The following are suggested as suitable union activities:

1. AFL-CIO President George Meany has already taken a strong, positive stand on peaceful desegregation. His statement, and those of other leading union officials, should be circulated to every union member.

2. Most of the international unions which comprise the AFL-CIO have also taken individual supporting positions. Each local should acquaint the membership of its international's position.

3. The AFL-CIO Education Department has excellent printed material especially slanted to union members. Such material should be distributed through the mail or at union meetings.

4. Some regular union meetings should be set aside to discuss peaceful transition. If you do not have enough local material available, ask the voluntary agencies to supply fact sheets and, if desired, a guest speaker.

5. At such a meeting, circulate petitions for law and order and try to get a resolution passed.

6. An educational meeting of this type should deal

only with preserving law and order and achieving peaceful transition. As noted before, in discussing this subject, keep away from the merits of integration vs. segregation. This means not letting the subject matter wander off into an argument on hiring and firing, job security, seniority, apprenticeship programs and the like.

7. Your union newspaper could run a series of articles, reprints, and editorials on peaceful transition, such as done by the typographical union in Dallas, Exhibit 21.

(Exhibit 21)

BULLETIN

Vol. 8, No. 12 Dallas, Texas, July, 1961 45

President's REPORT

By Glen L. Floyd

In line with our policy of community service and public relations participation you will find inserted in this issue of The Bulletin our newest project in detail — collaboration with the Dallas Citizens Council in a program designed to bring about orderly desegregation in Dallas.

Let me hasten to add that the problem facing the individual citizen and the city is removed from the area of personal feeling for or against desegregation and becomes a matter of law and order. We hope that each member will read this insert and determine to cooperate in this very worthwhile project.

The Dallas Citizens Council, a nonpolitical organization dedicated to the advancement of the city of Dallas, is composed of over 250 chief executives of the city's largest corporations.

On Wednesday, May 31, the writer, with John W. (Preacher) Hays, president of the Dallas Allied Printing Trades Council; E. M. Tedford, president of the Operating Engineers; Grady Adkins, president of Bus Drivers; Leslie Hutto, president of the Papermakers, met at the City Club in the Adolphus Towers with C. A. Tatum, president of the Dallas Citizens Council, and Sam Bloom, of the Bloom Advertising Agency. The project was fully explained and everyone present pledged the support of their unions.

On Friday, June 9 the same representatives of organized labor mentioned above, along with Allan Maley,

(Continued on Page 2)

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

(Continued from Page 1)

secretary-treasurer of the Dallas AFL-CIO, attended a luncheon given by the Citizens Council at the Sheraton-Dallas Hotel. Dick West spoke for the Dallas News and Felix McKnight for the Times Herald. Newspaper and television coverage was given this event on Saturday.

We received the Wall Street Journal contract which was reviewed by ITU and approved with minor changes. On June 20 the Wall Street Journal scale committee, assisted by Walter Bieberstein, ITU representative, met with Wall Street Journal management on changes recommended by ITU contract department. No agreement was reached.

We have requested from Elmer Brown 200 copies of his latest booklet, "America Needs Labor Unions." This is a fine treatise explaining the need and advantages offered by organized lavor. We plan to send these to 200 businessmen of Dallas along with a covering letter.

We attended the annual luncheon of the Women's Auxiliary on Tuesday, June 13. We presented the ladies with a check for $500 for their Convention Fund. This money was appropriated for this purpose by the General Convention Committee at their meeting Sunday, June 11. The ladies were very grateful for this assistance and they are planning a first-class program for the lady convention-goers which will redound to the credit of the entire convention. It was a distinct privilege and a pleasure to meet with these charming and gracious ladies. It is to be hoped that more of the wives of the members of DTU No. 173 will join the Woman's Auxiliary. Ladies of the Auxiliary, we are proud of you.

We are making progress in the commercial field to expand our jurisdiction and to exercise our bargaining rights. We have signed up more of the men who have been doing work over which we have jurisdiction but who were not members of our union. This condition has existed for many years in Dallas due to an exception clause being present in has existed for many years in Dallas due our contracts. This demonstrates graphically the importance of deleting the exception clause in all contracts. This we have done in the Wall Street Journal contract.

DALLAS AT THE CROSSROADS

1. Dallas and the Law

The United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has already determined that some degree of integration must begin in Dallas schools this fall. In the absence of an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, this decision is law and, by law, white and Negro children will attend school together in Dallas for the first time.

Further, if Dallas experience parallels that of other Southern cities—and there is no reason to suppose that it will not—the schools are only one area of community life in which Negro leaders will press for change. Restaurants, theaters, increased use of department store facilities, hotels, churches—all are likely targets. Here, as with the schools, the problem may ultimately have to be resolved by law.

2. The American Way

Respect for and acceptance of the law is a vital part of the American tradition. It is also a part of the American tradition that every citizen may hold whatever opinions he chooses on the questions of his time.

Where his opinions differ from the law as defined by the courts, the good citizen does not resort to violence to express his disapproval or attempt to defy the law. He endeavors to change the law by peaceful and orderly means. This is his right as a free American.

In the present problem, brought to a head by the court's decision, the Dallasite is not asked to change his opinion on the subject, may it be "pro" or "con". He is asked to respect the law.

3. The Challenge

Another of the rights of every individual in a free society is to live, work and send his children to school in a peaceful, law-abiding community. This is the area in which the court's decision poses one of its gravest problems: in what climate are the citizens of Dallas, Negro or white, going to face the coming change in a long-established pattern of community life?

Dallas has much to lose if changes in community life are not effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. One has only to consider the order of events and their attendant results in Little Rock and New Orleans as these cities flared into violence, with accompanying national headlines.

4. Violence and the Child's Burden

The price which must be paid by the city which attempts the solution of community problems by violent means is almost beyond reckoning. This price can be expressed in economic terms, through individual business declines and the loss of new or expanded industry for the city; in medical terms, through individual suffering and adverse effects on the health of citizens; in terms of loss of self-respect for both the city and individual citizen.

One of the most serious effects of violence is its reaction upon the children of the community. Where parental guidance and civic leadership fail, and violence flares, the burden of integration falls upon the city's children. They are forced to make adjustments which, without help, often prove beyond their capacities. Lasting emotional injury is the direct result.

5. The Responsibilities of Leadership

One of the vital responsibilities of the community leader is to help condition the community to accept peacefully, without violence, changes in the city's way of life that have been, or may be, made inevitable by law.

One way he can best do this—whether acting as a businessman, a professional man, a civic or law enforcement official, a social leader, or in other community positions—is by setting an example for his neighbors and fellow Dallasities to follow.

In a word, he can stand up and be counted for law and order.

At the same time, he will discourage others from ostracizing those who take a position based not on the "rights" or the "wrongs" of the problem, but on the premise that the law must be peacefully obeyed.

To be successful, a program of conditioning public opinion must have the full support of the community's leaders. The program can then help prepare the citizens of Dallas to accept or to meet any forthcoming change in a peaceful, law-abiding manner, rather than with the brickbats, clubs and agitated picket lines which made Little Rock a synonym for civil disorder.

6. Directing the Program of Conditioning

This problem, in one way or another, touches all levels of community life and all members of the community. The attorney, the minister, the teacher, the churchgoer, the parent, the downtown businessman, the bus driver, the law enforcement officer, the civic planner, the elected public official, all are concerned to some degree and in some manner. The program, then, must endeavor to reach all Dallasites, regardless of their individual positions in the community.

We must accept the fact that of over one million people, there will be certain elements of the community whom either the program will not reach or upon whom it will have no effect. From these elements will come individuals who attempt to take the law into their own hands in expressing their convictions. They will fall principally into two categories:

a. The individual who, acting through impulse or sudden anger, commits an act of violence against legally constituted authority. This individual poses the lesser of the two problems likely to face us. He can be promptly apprehended by law enforcement officials and removed from the scene of violence. He will then not only be forced to face the consequences of his action in a court of law, but will also suffer the stigma of being publicly branded as a lawbreaker

b. The individual who seeks self-aggrandizement, publicity and followers. This individual may come either from the community itself, or from outside. Of the two types of individuals who will create civic problems, he is the more to be feared. If peace is to prevail, he must be deprived of all forms of support, including both followers and money.

Here again it is important that community leaders establish the climate of good citizenship, and set the example, for the responsible Dallasite to follow. Then, through pure contrast, the self-seeker will appear as an undesirable, undeserving of public support.

DALLAS' OPPORTUNITY

Now that the courts have rendered their decision for desegregation in Dallas schools, the problem facing the individual citizen and the city is removed from the area of personal feeling for or against desegregation and becomes a matter of law and order.

Every citizen has the privilege to live his life according to his own views so long as he acts within the law. The good citizen does not resort to violence because he disapproves of or dislikes the law—he brings changes about by orderly and legal means. A person who creates civil disorder is a law-breaker, and a bad citizen who deserves the condemnation of his neighbors.

Violence is a problem that affects the whole community and not merely a few isolated segments of the school or business public. Violence destroys a community. It not only disrupts business and education, but undermines the health and moral fiber of all citizens. Extremist elements and self-seeking individuals come into control, and the city's children are forced to bear alone a burden which rightfully is an adult responsibility.

The continued growth of our city, the prosperity and health of each individual and the religious life of the community depend upon each citizen's whole-hearted acceptance of his personal responsibility. Dallas is known throughout the country for outstanding accomplishment and spirit. Sheer pride in our city, should inspire us to work together to preserve a prosperous, healthy, and peaceful community.

SETTING AN EXAMPLE OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

A civic leader, through his acts, words and social behavior, sets an example. The general public has a right to expect this example from their leaders, and will be inclined to follow it.

For the success of this program, the good citizen must be identifiable both through spoken word and positive action in support of the position established by the Dallas Leadership. Each active example of good citizenship gives the general public a concrete behavior pattern to follow, and supports the individual citizen in his own effort to adjust to the new situation.

In a word, every person in a position of community leadership must stand up and be counted for law and order. By clear comparison, the individual who misbehaves will then be recognized by all as a poor citizen.

THE FAMILY'S RESPONSIBILITY

There is a great difference between public desegregation and personal freedom of association.

In private areas, not related to the law, it is the right and responsibility of each individual family to establish its own values and personal standards. The wise parent prepares his child to accept and adjust to the changed school situation, and at the same time establishes for his child values for private relationships.

Dallas leaders are not attempting to prescribe a personal standard for any individual. This should be resolved by each family as a family matter.

However, we do ask each family to abide by the law and maintain a peaceful community. A climate of civil peace and order is essential if the family is to be able fully and freely to establish its own standards of personal association.

PRODUCED WHOLLY BY DTU MEMBERS UNION LABEL BY DTU MEMBERS FOR UNION PURPOSES

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

We have talked so far about the role in peaceful transition of two major groups in the community: private citizens working through voluntary organizations, and businessmen working through Chambers of Commerce, trade associations, and fraternal clubs. But perhaps the most significant role in achieving an appropriate community climate for transition can be played by the church.

Traditionally, we look to our church for leadership and guidance. And in communities which have achieved successful transition, the churches have provided that leadership magnificently. While others can deal with the facts and figures--the economic injury to business or the hazards to the educational system--the church is uniquely qualified to exorcise the destructive passions of hate and fear and thus create an atmosphere where men of good will can work together.

But perhaps your church has chosen not to exercise leadership in this field. Then you, as a concerned member, have an opportunity to join with like-minded laymen to press your church into action. In any case, active laymen and ministers will be interested in what church leadership in other communities has accomplished.

1. In Dallas, the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, in cooperation with the Dallas Bar Association and the Dallas County Medical Society, acted as sponsor for all materials distributed in the community. We have seen some of these, reproduced by the typographical union, previously. Note the clear, forceful language.

2. Mobile Methodist ministers as a group and 26 individual leaders of other faiths issued a statement affirming religious values, Exhibit 22.

3. Similarly, thirty-nine Huntsville ministers called on the State of Alabama and Governor Wallace for law and order, Exhibit 23.

4. Atlanta churchmen of the three major faiths--Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish--designated one day to be set aside as a day of prayer for law and order, with special sermons. The letter of the Catholic Bishop to every pastor in the diocese proclaiming that day is typical of the interfaith cooperation that went into this event, Exhibit 24.

These are just a few random samplings among scores of effective statements by the ministry all over the South. It is obvious that these and other special events which played such a large part in creating a good community spirit did not occur spontaneously. They were the result of months of quiet planning on the part of ministers and laymen working together. Here are some of the preliminary activities that churches undertook.

1. Most state and all national conventions of the various major denominations have already taken a stand for law and order. These public positions should be brought to the attention of the congregation.

2. Many churches sponsor youth groups, young married clubs, study meetings. These are appropriate places to open discussions on the need for peaceful transition. If the members of the Youth Group number high school students about to be in desegregated schools, special sessions should be held to answer their questions

and point the way toward Christian behavior. Out of such lay actions came the widely publicized "A Layman's Letter to His Child," Exhibit 25.

3. Similarly, Sunday School teachers should be given a special briefing so they can talk effectively on this matter to the younger children.

4. Many communities have a ministerial council--some include representatives of the three major faiths: priests, ministers, and rabbis; others are limited to the Protestant denominations. In either case, this is the appropriate place for joint consultation and joint action. The united call for a special day for law and order described above was issued through just such a ministerial council.

5. Ministers in Dallas, Chattanooga, and Atlanta were members of the Boards of Directors of the voluntary citizens groups. Their guidance played a large part in assuring their success. And from their membership, ministers could better gauge the community climate and could inform their congregations of the latest developments.

6. The minister, or a committee of laymen, could circularize the church membership calling for assistance with a specific project--letters to the governor, petitions, resolutions, etc.. Or perhaps membership lists of all churches could be pooled for one general mailing to church members.

7. Many radio and television stations have a prayer at the close of the broadcast day, featuring the pastor of a different denomination each day on a rotating basis. Through agreement of the ministerial council--or by individual decision--some of these

prayers could deal specifically with the need for law and order. Some TV stations set aside part of Sunday for local religious services and sermons. The subject of peaceful transition would be an appropriate one for a TV sermon.

8. Most luncheon and dinner meetings of business, fraternal, civic, and voluntary associations begin with an invocation. Ministers can use this opportunity to speak out for peaceful transition.

9. Many churches publish a local newsletter or bulletin. A brief article by a prominent layman on the need for peaceful transition, perhaps telling how churches of your denomination in other communities have helped, would be very useful.

10. Many churches distribute pertinent pamphlets to their members. Perhaps a member of your denomination has written nationally on the subject of the moral aspects of church leadership in this area. This could be reprinted and given out. If not, perhaps some piece of literature put out by the local voluntary group would be appropriate for the congregation's attention.

The individual organization and character of your own church will no doubt suggest other activities to you. What is important is not so much the particular activity undertaken. It is the spirit of calm, strong leadership imparted. While it is true that the cooperation of the church is essential to achieving peaceful transition, it is equally true that participation in this cause will earn for your church the heightened respect of the thinking community.

(Exhibit 22)

(A majority of Mobile Methodist ministers as a group and 26 individual leaders of other faiths have issued the following statement.)

These are days of tremendous tension and change in the life of our state and of our nation. Because the questions which confront us are moral and spiritual as well as social and political, it is appropriate and necessary that those who occupy places of responsibility should make known their convictions and their beliefs.

The courts have ordered the desegregation of the Mobile County school system. Vast numbers of people are raising questions about what can be done and should be done. Many sincere people oppose these changes and are deeply troubled by them.

We therefore affirm and recommend:

1. That as Americans we have an obligation to obey the law. This obligation applies not only to laws which have been enacted by legislatures but also to decisions which have been rendered by duly established courts.

We recognize the right of individuals and groups to test in court, laws which have been rendered. However, when the courts have spoken and the final decisions have been given, we believe that these decisions must be obeyed.

2. That hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political tradition and that defiance of laws and of court orders is neither the right answer nor the solution of our problems.

3. That the public school system must be maintained. It would be disastrous and foolish to close our schools and universities because of disagreement with or opposition to decisions rendered by the courts.

4. That freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved. No individual should be penalized for expressing himself freely so long as he does so with due regard for the rights of others.

5. That our problems cannot be solved in our own strength or in our wisdom alone. The situation which confronts us calls for earnest prayer, for clear thought and for courageous action. We call on all people of good will to join us in seeking divine guidance as we attempt to solve our problems. We must remember that we are one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

In preparing this statement, we have acted as individuals as we do not claim to speak for any organization or institution. At the same time, we believe that the beliefs and convictions which we have expressed are shared by a multitude of our fellow citizens who are deeply troubled by our present situation and who know that hatred, defiance and violence are not the answer to our problems.

September 1, 1963

Individuals who joined Methodist ministers in issuing this statement are:

Rev. Leighton P. Arsnault, rector, Christ Episcopal Church
Rev. William S. Brettmann, curate, Trinity Episcopal Church
Rev. Reeford Chaney, pastor, First Church of the Nazarene
Rev. Lloyd A. Clarke, vicar, St. Luke's Episcopal Church
Dr. John M. Crowell, pastor, Central Presbyterian Church
Dr. D. H. Edington, Jr. pastor, Spring Hill Presbyterian Church
Dr. Norman Godfrey, curate, St. Paul's Episcopal Church
Rev. Watson G. Guy, pastor, Grace Presbyterian Church
Rev. W.D. Hart, director of youth work, Spring Hill Presbyterian Church
Dr. Massey Mott Heltzel, pastor, Government Street Presbyterian Church.
Rev. D. Holmes Irving, rector, Trinity Episcopal Church
Rev. Richard L. Kell, associate pastor, Central Presbyterian Church
Rev. James M. McDaniel, minister of education, Government Street Presbyterian Church
Rev. William S. Mann, rector, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Spring Hill
Rev. John S. Marks, vicar, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Daphne
Rev. Finley C. Patton, pastor, Overlook Presbyterian Church
Dr. Howard M. Reaves, pastor, First Baptist Church of Mobile
Rev. William E. Shenk, pastor, Cottage Hill Presbyterian Church
Rev. Benjamin B. Smith, rector, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church
Rev. Charles L. Smith, director of church extension, Mobile Presbytery
Rev. John W. B. Thompson, Jr., rector, Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd
Rev. Francis B. Wakefield, Jr., rector All Saints Episcopal Church
Rev. John E. Waller, vicar, St. Matthew's Episcopal Church
Rev. L. W. Warren, Jr., associate pastor, Government Street Presbyterian Church
Rev. Joseph D. C. Wilson, retired Episcopal minister residing at Foley, Alabama
Rev. Hoyt Winslett, Jr., curate, All Saints Episcopal Church

(Exhibit 23)

BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD — Friday, October 19, 1962 — PAGE 15

39 Huntsville Ministers Ask Law And Order

HUNTSVILLE, Oct. 18 (AP) — Thirty-nine ministers in Huntsville issued a resolution today appealing for law and order in any racial integration attemtps in Alabama.

The resolution, mailed to Gov.-Nominate George C. Wallace and others in the incoming administration, said in part:

"Although there are sincere people who disagree with the changing social pattern which will soon bring about the desegregation of the university and schools of Alabama we nevertheless feel that definance is neither the answer nor the solution, nor are inflamatory and rebellious statements the type of preparation that will save us from violence discord and confusion."

No public schools in Alabama are now integrated but a hearing on a school integration suit is now in recess in Birmingham.

The resolution, stating that responsible men in churches "should not be silent concerning their convictions," set forth six items it referred to as affirmations:

—Hatred and violence have no place in religious and political traditions.

—Laws may be changed by Legislatures but not ignored.

—No person is safe unless the liberty of all is protected.

—Good will is dependent on man's relationship to God.

—All human beings are entitled to respect and basic rights.

—Disagreement over social change does not demand anarchy.

The resolution urged those interested in the desegregation controversy and questions of states rights, interposition and constitutional government to pursue those questions in the courts and abide peacefully by their decision.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(Exhibit 24)

Masses Requested On Integration

Atlanta Diocese Churches Urged To Pray Sunday for Law, Order

Roman Catholic priests in all churches in the Atlanta Diocese have been requested by their bishop to offer a Mass next Sunday, observing that day as one of prayer for law and order before the integration of Atlanta public schools.

In a letter read from the pulpits of Catholic churches in the diocese Sunday, the Most Rev. Francis E. Hyland, bishop of the diocese, also requested that each pastor invoke "the powerful intercession of Our Blessed Lady by the public recitation of her Litany" at all the masses.

Bishop Hyland

• • •

THE BISHOP'S LETTER said next Sunday would be designated as a day of prayer for law and order "in the hope . . . that the integration of the Atlanta schools will be achieved not only peacefully, but with honor, with dignity and in a manner that will enhance the good name of our city. . . ."

The letter said that during the last week of August, when public schools open, "and for some time thereafter, the eyes of the nation and the world will be focused on Atlanta. Atlanta must not fail this challenge. With the help of Almighty God, humbly and earnestly invoked by her citizens of all faiths, Atlanta cannot and will not fail."

• • •

RECOGNIZING that "respect for and acceptance of law" and "maintenance of public order" are at stake, the letter added that "much more is at stake in this venture.

"We must not be unmindful of the fact that the principle of justice and brotherly love are also most intimately involved," the letter said.

"These considerations should inspire each and every one of us to participate wholeheartedly and fervently in the day of prayer for law and order on Sunday next."

The day of prayer will also be observed in many Protestant churches throughout the city next Sunday and, earlier in the weekend, by Jewish and Seventh-Day Adventist congregations.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

(Exhibit 25)

A LAYMAN'S LETTER TO HIS CHILD

Soon you will be going back to school again. That day you will stand alone. You depend now upon me for guidance in your conduct as the schools are desegregated.

You depend now upon my years, my judgment, and whatever godliness I possess to guide you as I have cherished and instructed you from the cradle.

Therefore, as a layman who worships Almighty God, and who acknowledges our need for a peace and guidance greater than the world gives, I say to you:

This change is now come, and I counsel you to accept it with dignity, doing no act of defiance or ill manners, which can reflect on you, your faith, your rearing, or your community.

No matter where I may have stood in the debates of my generation, I now counsel you to cling to the Golden Rule and to meet the unfamiliar with calmness, dignity and peace;

To recognize that obedience to the rules of law, which bring order to our family society, is rooted in our spiritual faith, and must be respected and revered;

To hold fast to our teaching that hatred, lack of charity, and scorn for any human is unworthy of us;

And to accept this change prayerfully, praying with me that we be not fearful but sustained; not vengeful but understanding; not wilful but worthy; not faithless but assured of God's grace to help and guide us;

And that in this my judgment, governing your lifetime more than mine, I may be in the memory of you who are God's matchless gift to me, not small, but godly.

PREPARATION BY THE SCHOOLS

Whether you are a member of a voluntary group working for peaceful transition, or active with businessmen, or a church leader, your efforts have been directed toward preparing the community at large to accept transition peacefully and to creating an atmosphere where law and order reign.

Paralleling this community preparation must be preparation by the school authorities. If your efforts in the whole community have been successful, the wishes of the citizens will have penetrated the school administration and it, too, will be preparing students and teachers.

But school preparation is not a matter to be taken for granted. The citizens have a responsibility to work with the school administration. If the school superintendent and school board are committed to peaceful desegregation, they will welcome cooperation from the community. If they are somewhat indecisive, they need your help in bolstering their resolve, and a united citizens' group--businessmen, churchmen and voluntary agencies--should request consultation with them. If they are actively hostile, they especially need consultation to let them know that lack of preparation is unacceptable to the responsible members of the community.

In any case, you can make a significant contribution to successful transition by bringing to the attention of school authorities the techniques which have helped other school systems.

1. Selected teachers could be sent to visit already desegregated systems to learn first hand some of the problems, to confer with other teachers, and to observe classroom work.

2. The school system should initiate a series of lectures for every teacher affected on her role in peaceful transition. Such lectures might include: the historical and legal background; what to expect from parents and students; what some of the special problems of the transferred students will be; how to create a good classroom atmosphere; how to resolve conflicts, etc.. The series run by the Chattanooga school system, Exhibit 26, is a model. It utilized outside guest speakers, films, booklets, museum exhibits, and covered broad areas of interest to all teachers.

3. Every student should be made aware of his responsibilities. This can be done at special school assemblies conducted by the principal, in home classrooms, in the school newspapers.

Well in advance, students should be made to understand, with no possibility of misinterpretation, that rowdy, fractious behavior will be followed by swift, stringent disciplinary action. This is most important. If students get the idea that the administration will wink at small infractions, i.e., spitball throwing and name calling as examples of "boyish pranks," the time well might come when the spitballs become stones and the name calling an incitement to riot. Initial manifestations of bad citizenship must be nipped in the bud, hard.

In Atlanta, students themselves took the initiative and prepared a good citizenship pledge, Exhibit 27, which was circulated throughout the school and signed by thousands of students. This is perhaps the best method of securing student cooperation.

4. Every parent should be informed as to what desegregation of her child's school will mean and how she (or he) is expected to cooperate. Special PTA meetings should deal with the subject, with full and free discussion so that parents may ask questions and have their fears dispelled. These meetings should be addressed by principals, the superintendent, or members of the school board.

5. The school principal should send a notice to every parent shortly before school opening, setting forth in detail the school's plans for opening day, stating the ground rules for parking, telephoning, special arrival times, new procedures, and the like. The letter should ask the parent's cooperation not only in following these rules, but by setting his child an example of good citizenship and respect for the law in the home itself. (Exhibit 28.)

6. The Superintendent should make sure that his principals have arranged beforehand plans concerning the newly transferred students, including such matters as transportation, assignment to classrooms, traffic patterns. The transferred students should be taken through the school several days before opening day to make sure they understand where everything is and what is expected of them. They should meet their new teachers at this time.

7. In order to make it possible to conduct school affairs in a normal, businesslike way during the opening days, the following ground rules should be considered:

a) No unauthorized persons--whether newsmen legitimately covering the story, or just curiosity seekers--should be permitted in the school buildings. Police officers will have the responsibility of maintaining order outside the school, but school authorities will want to cooperate by issuing special parking tickets or

passes to authorized school personnel and thus screen out intruders.

b) No loitering by students in the corridors or yards or lavatories. Students should be directed to stay inside the classrooms or to proceed directly to their change of class without congregating and interrupting the flow of school traffic.

c) A special effort should be made to fit the transferred students smoothly into non-classroom situations such as the school cafeteria and use of lavatory facilities. If they are allowed to be isolated, they will become more of a center of attention and perhaps a focus of trouble. Perhaps selected teachers and student leaders could be briefed on helping to make this part of the transition trouble-free.

d) One previously designated person should act as school spokesman to the newspaper reporters and television cameramen. He should prepare a factual report of progress during opening days. Unauthorized interviews by newsmen of students on school grounds should be prohibited. A letter covering these points was issued to newsmen by the Atlanta system. It helped make the transition smooth, and newsmen were not resentful because the school system cooperated with them in making factual material available as soon as it happened, Exhibit 29.

8. Some of these suggestions are embodied in the plan used by the Atlanta school system, Exhibit 30.

9. In addition to covering all the foregoing by conferences, PTA meetings, written memoranda and directives, the school superintendent or the school board, or leading citizens, or all together, might want to inform the entire community of its plans by television. One form such a presentation might take would be to have parents ask

this panel of educators the questions most likely to be on the minds of parents. Calm, knowledgeable answers which demonstrate to the entire community that adequate precautions and preparations have been taken would help create favorable conditions for school opening.

10. Not all the preparation can be handled officially by the school system. For example, PTA officers might want to invite the parents of transferred children to a small tea or coffee to discuss special problems their children might face and to invite the parents into PTA membership.

11. A church group might volunteer its members to act as unofficial sponsors to the transferred students. These sponsors might be helpful if the children could confide any difficulties concerning strange curricula or problems with their new school mates. All children, Negro or white, are reluctant to "tattle" to the authorities, but a trusted confidante might be able to pin-point otherwise unreported trouble before it gets out of hand.

SUGGESTED SIX MONTHS' PLAN FOR PREPARING FOR DESEGREGATION
OF CHATTANOOGA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
February 19 -- September 1, 1962
Leader -- Individual Principal

Date: Feb. 19
Topic: Report from Superintendent
Resources*: Kinescope of Dr. Carmichael's Television Presentation January 18 and 19
Description: Status--community support--challenge

Date: Feb. 26
Topic: Introductory Session
Description: Primarily factual and historical in nature--constitutional provisions--the Bill of Rights--the 14th Amendment--the Plessy-Ferguson Case--legal and litigative court decisions, laws, etc.--the 1954 Supreme Court decision--factors on which it was based--recent desegregation activities in other areas than elementary and secondary education, such as higher education, public accommodations, etc.--the history of Chattanooga race relations--facts and figures on comparative white and Negro populations and proportion and numerical growth or decrease in each--school population statistics--Chattanooga school desegregation activities such as court hearings, submitted plans, etc.--moral, educational aspects.

Date: March 5
Topic: Action Patterns in School Desegregation
Resources: Individual Principal and Teacher
Description: Review of Phi Delta Kappa book on Action Patterns--Is preparation necessary?--comprehensive approach to preparing for desegregation--school people's role in preparation for desegregation--responsibilities of individuals and groups for carrying out a plan for desegregation--the instructional program--pupil personnel problems--student activities and social affairs.

Date: March 12
Topic: Community Support
Resources: Community leaders obtained from Mayor's Committee, Speaker's Bureau
Description: Would include discussion of the history of Chattanooga race relations, community reaction to the action of the Board of Education since 1954, the response of the community to the hearings in Federal Court February 1 and 2, and predicted community support.

*Single copies of films, filmstrips, booklets, etc., available in Materials Center.

(continued)

Date: March 19
Topic: How to Put on a Rumor Clinic
Resources: Rumor clinic film and instructions for filmstrip
See film
Description: One teacher to work with group of students to be followed up in individual classroom discussion:

a. How great the changes and distortions in a report can become as the story is passed along from person to person;
b. How the changes take place, even when there is no desire on the part of the people involved to distort what they heard or saw;
c. Why rumors can never be accepted as fact until they are checked, and why they must be checked so carefully before they are made the basis for any action.

Date: March 26
Topic: Physical and Cultural Differences - Inheritance
Resources: Exhibit prepared by Carnegie Museum. See filmstrip.
Description: An exhibit prepared by Carnegie Museum to show some factors of intergroup relationships.

Date: April 2
Topic: Community Preparation
Resources: Superintendent's Staff, Teachers, Leaders in PTA
Description: Coping with the anxious parent--interpreting to the community what is happening and what is going to happen--consideration of actual and assumed problems likely to arise and methods to cope with them--cooperation with and use of the PTA.

Date: April 9
Topic: Preparation of Pupils
Resources: Superintendent's Staff, Principals, Teachers, Community Social Workers
Description: Consideration of curriculum revision--classroom discussion before the fact--determining athletics, social and other arrangements prior to desegregation, as well as after--consideration of matters such as seating, grouping, academic "standards," adjustment of different cultural backgrounds where they exist--super-sensitivity of majority and minority group children vis-a-vis discipline and alleged discrimination--coping with incidents, keeping minor ones from flaring up into major concerns and handling realistically those which really are major--being sensitive to ostracism and "the freeze" by children--utilizing special talents.

(continued)

Date: April 16
Topic: Race
Resources: Pamphlet "What We Know About Race" and Film "Brotherhood of Man"
Description: The biological, social, psychological, anthropological, historical and similar related aspects of the Negro community and the American society.

Date: April 23
Topic: The Minority Group Member (The American Negro)
Resources: Films "A Morning for Jimmy" and "The Burden of Truth"
Description: The problems faced by minority groups--their reactions to them--the psychology of being a minority group member--"What minority groups want."

Date: April 30
Topic: Prejudice and Discrimination
Resources: Film "The High Wall" and pamphlets "The ABC's of Scapegoating" and "Prejudice and Society"
Description: The causes of prejudice--how it manifests itself in discriminatory acts--the cost to the American community.

Date: May 7
Topic: Human Relations and Social Class
Resources: Book "Who Shall Be Educated" by Havighurst, et al., Allison Davis studies, W. Lloyd Warner studies, etc.
Description: The key factors in and the determination of social class divisions in American society--socio-economic stereotypes which are applied to minority and majority groups--relationship of socio-economic status to "intelligence."

Date: May 14
Topic: The Teacher, the Classroom and the Schools
Resources: "Point of View" film by Dr. William Van Til
Description: Sound education practices in teaching good intergroup relations and in promoting good intergroup relations--the role of the teacher--some successful approaches--the moral, legal, religious and other roots for these.

Date: May 21
Topic: Techniques--Socio-Drama
Resources: Dr. Ulrey Wilson, Dr. Stanley Williams, U.C.
Description: A group participation technique for resolving conflicts, starting discussion and gathering information--role playing as a classroom skill--underlying concepts--functional operation.

(continued)

Date: May 28
Topic: Classroom Techniques--Socio-Metrics
Resources: Nolan Estes, Division of Instruction Staff
Description: The construction of a sociogram--determining patterns of friendship within the classroom and/or any other group.

BASIC RESOURCES EVERYONE SHOULD READ:

1. What We Know About "Race"
2. ABC's of Scapegoating
3. Prejudice and Society
4. Action Patterns in School Desegregation

(Exhibit 27)

A CODE OF ETHICS
Proposed by youth groups of OASIS
(Organizations Assisting Schools in September)

August 30, 1961

"I will strive

...to live my religious faith in regard to the brotherhood of man, and the Fatherhood of God

...to understand and appreciate each individual in terms of his unique personality

...to remember to practice the teachings of courtesy, friendliness, and fair play

...to behave as a responsible, democratic citizen, in obedience to law and order

...to bring honor to my community, to my school, and to my classmates."

C O P Y

HENRY GRADY HIGH SCHOOL
929 Charles Allen Drive, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Office of the Principal August 17, 1961

To the Parents of All Students
of Henry Grady High School

Dear Parents:

As you know, the Federal courts have ordered desegregation of Atlanta high schools. Two Negro students have been transferred to Henry Grady High School.

The purpose of this letter is to inform you of certain precautions in connection with the opening days of school and to ask your co-operation in the observance of these regulations and with all our efforts to provide the education which is your children's right.

The following information and precautionary measures are for your guidance and for the welfare of the students of this school:

1. All students will report to school on Wednesday, August 30, for a full and regular day from 8:30 A.M. to 3:10 P.M. On Tuesday, August 29, the new 8th grade and other students new to the school who have not previously registered will report for orientation and registration. Tuesday, August 29, is also available for parents wishing to discuss student schedules or pertinent problems with school personnel.
2. Parents desiring a conference with the principal, counselors, or teachers should arrange an appointment at any time before August 30 or after September 7. Non-school adults will not be admitted to the school building for an indefinite period beginning August 30.
3. A sufficient number of police officers and detectives will be on duty at, or in the vicinity of, the school for the safety and protection of the students, to maintain order, and to regulate and control both pedestrian and automobile traffic.
4. Spectators, sightseers, and loiterers will not be allowed to assemble, either on foot or in automobiles, in the vicinity of the school. Adults will not be allowed to park in the immediate neighborhood of the school.
5. Students, provided there are no adults in the car, will be allowed to park in the customary places except that no parking will be allowed on Charles Allen Drive between 8th and 10th Streets.

Henry Grady Parents C O P Y August 17, 1961

6. All students will be expected and required to report immediately to their old homerooms or to the cafeteria immediately upon their arrival at school. Positively no loitering or congregating of students will be permitted in cars, yards, corridors, toilets, or stairways.
7. Students will not be allowed to bring cameras or radios into the school building until further notice.
8. We are asking too that use of the telephones be limited to emergencies. We hope you will not call the school during this period except for illness or dire extremity.
9. Traffic regulations, particularly as apply to driver licenses, will be enforced.
10. The flow and pattern of automobile traffic in the vicinity of the school will remain unchanged except that no parking will be allowed on Charles Allen Drive between 8th and 10th Streets. This is the portion of the street directly in front of the building.

We believe you can render a great contribution to our school and to our students by your own example of patience and understanding. We believe you can help in creating and maintaining an attitude of good citizenship and respect for law.

Every effort will be made to protect your sons and daughters. We are optimistic in our belief that there will be no disorder caused by our students. This belief rests squarely on a faith in our excellent students as they reflect the fine training of the homes and parents of Henry Grady High School.

When the chips were down Henry Grady has always "come through."

I believe that Henry Grady High School will again come through in a way that will earn the praise of the whole city and the whole world!

Sincerely yours,

S/R. H. Derthick

R. H. Derthick
Principal

(Exhibit 29)

C O P Y

ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
City Hall
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Administrative Offices

The first obligation of the Atlanta schools is to provide educational opportunities for pupils enrolled. A further responsibility is to seek in every way possible to assure pupils' safety and welfare as they go about the business of obtaining the education which is their right. It is hoped that the first day of school will be as normal as possible. As a step in this direction the following policies are established with the belief that they will contribute substantially to our goal of serving the best interests of the students and of the public welfare:

1. School buildings, grounds and premises, and adjacent sidewalks at Brown, Murphy, Henry Grady, and Northside High Schools are off limits to all persons except students of the school and professional and maintenance personnel.
2. News representatives carrying special cards issued by the Chief of Police will be permitted to assemble across the street from school premises. No one will be permitted to congregate or assemble in the streets adjacent to these schools. Cars may stop to discharge passengers but will be required to move on.
3. News representatives are requested to respect the fact that students are under the legal responsibility of the school from the time they leave home until their return home at the conclusion of the school day. It is requested that students be contacted only at their homes. Students will not be permitted to talk with news representatives while at school.
4. It is requested that principals and teachers not be contacted during the school day. Official contacts will be made at the City Hall news room at intervals throughout the day.
5. The official opening hour of the schools is 8:30. Negro students transferring to the high schools have been requested to report to school a few minutes after the opening hour. The closing hour is 3:10 P.M. Transfer students will be permitted to leave a few minutes before the closing hour.
6. Complete and accurate news will be provided throughout the day from the news center at the City Hall.

S/J.W. Letson

John W. Letson
Superintendent of Schools

J:S:ejh
8-29-61

(Exhibit 30)

SECURITY AND PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES ON OPENING DAYS AT BROWN, HENRY CRADY, MURPHY AND NORTHSIDE HIGH SCHOOLS

A. General

The following conditions and procedures should prevail in all four of the high schools:

I. The most careful attention must be directed to the proper scheduling and programming of the transferred students....

* * *

Transferred students are to be transported to and from their respective schools in one car....

II. Principals and teachers will be held accountable for the good order of students on the school grounds and in the school buildings. To reduce opportunities for confusion and disorder the following are considered to be necessary regulations:

(a) Students will report directly to designated areas---homerooms, auditoriums, or cafeterias, as determined by the principal. Under no circumstances should students be allowed to loiter on sidewalks, parking areas, yards, corridors, or toilets.

(b) A selected group of teachers should be on assigned duty with the principal at the building as early as the building is open. All teachers are to be in their homerooms or assigned stations before 8:00 A.M. Students should not be permitted to leave their homerooms without good cause.

(c) A carefully detailed schedule for the day should be determined and communicated to the faculty and students in order to reduce uncertainty and confusion about the length of periods, traffic, recess assignments, and so on.

(d) Principals and teachers will not have time to give to conferences with parents or to other visitors on the opening days. Parents should be informed of this fact politely but firmly.

(e) Constant scrutiny should be directed to preventing strangers, former students, and adults from access to or traffic in the building or on school premises. Two plainclothes detectives in each building will be available to enforce this regulation.

(f) Students should not be permitted to bring cameras or radios into the school building.

III. Despite the necessity for every precaution the principal and teachers should create and maintain a psychological climate calculated to reduce tension and excitement. To the highest degree possible, a normal, businesslike, and unstrained atmosphere should prevail.

IV. Principals are directed to write a letter to parents of students to inform them of safety measures and to solicit

their help. The letter should request that necessary parent conferences be scheduled prior to the opening of school or after September 6; the letter should inform the parents about traffic patterns and restrictions and special conditions; and the letter should convey a note of assurance and optimism.

B. The News Media

I. Newspapermen, photographers, radio and television personnel will not be allowed in the school buildings, on the school premises, or on the sidewalks or streets adjacent to school premises. This is to say that the sidewalk on the opposite side of the street is the nearest limit to which representatives of the news media will be allowed. Students will not be permitted to loiter near, or talk with, news representatives while at school. Representatives of the news media will carry press cards issued by the Chief of Police. All others will be required to move on.

II. Area Superintendents will transmit, or authorize transmission by designated personnel, periodic releases of news and developments--good or bad, favorable or unfavorable--to a central receiving station at the City Hall. In the absence of a later plan, an amplifying attachment will be installed to central telephones to enable reporters to obtain news which is more complete and accurate than will be available from the sidewalk opposite the school. Straight telephone lines will be installed to insure immediate and uninterrupted opportunity for communication.

C. Police Protection

I. Specific objectives

(a) To insure a safe and efficient flow of vehicular and pedestrian traffic in the vicinity of the school.

(b) To prevent the formation of groups--loiterers, curiosity seekers, mobs, or even observers--on school yards, sidewalks, streets in or about the vicinity of the school.

(c) To keep traffic--in automobiles or on foot--moving.

(d) To screen out all unauthorized persons seeking entrance to school premises and buildings. Only school personnel and students will be authorized entrance.

(e) To enable, in general, the school to carry out its legal function without harm or interference.

II. Personnel

(a) Two detectives in plain clothes inside each building.

(b) Regular traffic policemen plus such additional personnel as may be necessary to handle added traffic problems.

(c) Officer in charge to maintain local communication with assigned police personnel through utilization of walkie-talkies.

(d) Adequate mobile units--motorcycle, wagon, cruise cars.

(e) Reserve details with special equipment.

III. Scope of Supervision
(a) Full police supervision of each school 24 hours each day, including use of K-9 detail at night.

D. Individual Schools

I. Brown High School
(a) Issuance of special parking stickers to faculty for use in gaining admission to facilities at rear of building--with entrances from both Peeples and Beecher Streets.
(b) Sufficient police officers will be assigned to and around the school to maintain safe traffic conditions and to protect the safety and welfare of the students.
(c) Traffic flow as customary. Parking in legal spaces as customary.

II. Henry Grady High School
This building will require a larger detail because of the easy accessibility of the 26 different entrances to the building.
(a) Sufficient police officers will be assigned to and around the school to maintain safe traffic conditions and to protect the safety and welfare of the students.
(b) Traffic flow as follows:
(1) 10th St. as customary
(2) Monroe Drive as customary
(3) Charles Allen Drive--between 8th St. and 10th St.--open to traffic to discharge passengers only. Positively no parking.
(4) 8th St.--between Monroe Dr. and Charles Allen Drive--normal traffic conditions. Cars to discharge passengers but not permitted to block traffic. Normal and legal parking.
(c) Issuance of parking cards to faculty members for entrance to parking areas on school grounds.
(d) Students allowed to park in stadium and gym area if not accompanied by adult. No parking on Charles Allen Drive between 8th and 10th Streets.

III. Murphy High School
(a) Issuance of special parking cards to faculty for use in gaining admission to facilities in rear of building.
(b) Traffic policemen at Memorial and Clifton, in front of school building, and in front of gym.
(c) Sufficient police officers will be assigned to and around the school to maintain safe traffic conditions and to protect the safety and welfare of the students.
(d) Traffic flow as customary. Parking in legal spaces as customary.
(e) Restrict passage to rear of building to school personnel and students.

IV. Northside High School
(a) Issuance of special parking cards to faculty for use in gaining admission to facilities in front and side of building.

(b) Sufficient police officers will be assigned to and around the school to maintain safe traffic conditions and to protect the safety and welfare of the students.
(c) Traffic flow as customary. Parking in legal spaces as customary.
(d) Restrict passage to parking lot in front and on side to school personnel and students. Adults without parking cards not admitted.
(e) Pedestrian and vehicular traffic kept moving on Kingwood Lane.

THE ROLE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

Conscientious parents can be counted on to keep abreast of the educational picture in their community. Because their children attend the public schools, they make it their business to know the teachers, the principal, something about the school board and the system's educational policies in general.

Similarly, conscientious voters keep a sharp eye on local civic officials. They know that administrative decisions may affect their home lives, their businesses, the well-being of the community.

But most citizens are in the dark when it comes to the police department. They do not get into trouble with the law and their paths seldom cross. They do not know whether their police are competent or incompetent, honest or dishonest, undermanned or overstaffed, underpaid or overpaid. Most people's reaction to the police is limited to grumbling about parking tickets: "Why don't they go out and catch some crooks instead of bothering honest people?"

This widespread apathy can spell tragedy for the community. Sometimes, as in Denver, a major scandal which demolishes civic confidence can break before citizens get to know their police department.

Sometimes, the efforts of an honest, efficient department are ignored; voters turn down adequate police raises and trained, career police officers must turn bitterly to more rewarding pursuits.

This point is made at some length because good police work can play a key role in successful transition. If your police department is an unknown quantity to responsible citizens, the time to establish contact is now. And the first thing to let your department know is that you are interested in its welfare and will continue to be interested after any transitional crisis is past.

A committee of citizens calling on the Police Chief could also bring to his attention the successful methods of handling transition employed by other communities.

1. Selected officers might be sent to the annual National Institute on Police-Community Relations. Here police officers can gain new insights into how best to handle the delicate problems of transition.

2. The entire police force should be given a simplified course in the legal and historical background of the particular issue in which they may be active, whether school desegregation, opening of public facilities, picketing, demonstrations, etc.. Perhaps a respected local attorney might lecture on what public activities are legal and what are prohibited.

3. Many Southern police officers have dealt with Negroes only when they are in trouble with the law. That, plus their personal backgrounds, may make them think automatically of a youthful Negro picket as a "rowdy," subject to disciplinary handling, even though the picketing may be quite legal. At the same time, he may tend to shrug off such incitements as rock-throwing, name-calling, physical roughing up on the part of white boys as "boys will be boys." That such police attitudes exist, that they can make a troubled situation infinitely worse, should be thoroughly

explored, with full opportunity for questions and answers in departmental meetings.

4. In the case of school desegregation, advance planning is the key to smooth operation. School areas should be mapped and off-limits areas designated and made known to the public. The failure to maintain law and order in New Orleans, for example, came partly because mobs were permitted to assemble right opposite the school grounds to threaten pupils and parents. It is a well-known psychological truth that deprived of a direct target, the will of the mob tends to dissipate. Thus, violence might have been averted if the crowd had been permitted to congregate out of sight of the schools, thus protecting the children while not denying the right of peaceful assembly.

5. Each policeman on special assignment to the schools should know exactly where he is supposed to be and what his responsibilities are. This might mean keeping newsmen and curiosity seekers off school grounds, maintaining liaison with school authorities inside the building, rerouting traffic, etc.. In making these detailed assignments to police officers, Chief Jenkins of the Atlanta Police Department succinctly summarized the responsibilities of police officers and quoted the City Ordinance under which the special assignment was made, concluding with the reminder that it was the Police Department's responsibility to maintain peace and good order. (Exhibit 31.)

6. High police officials should join with other public servants in letting the people know that law and order will be preserved. By making it perfectly clear in advance that law-breakers will be taken into custody and prosecuted (and, of course, just

what the rules are) the trouble may be prevented before it begins. The Police Chief could also join with the Mayor and other officials in a television appeal to civic pride.

7. A list of known or potential trouble-makers should be drawn up in advance and their activities given special surveillance.

(Exhibit 31)

ATLANTA POLICE DEPARTMENT

SPECIAL NOTICE AND ASSIGNMENTS

H. T. Jenkins, Chief of Police

The Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools has original and complete jurisdiction to operate the public schools in the City of Atlanta.

In accordance with Federal and State regulations, and under orders from the Federal Courts, the Atlanta Schools will be desegregated when schools open on August 30, 1961.

If any person or persons object to the manner and method of operations of the Atlanta Public Schools, those objections must be made to the Superintendent of Schools' office at the City Hall, and under no circumstances will objections, discussions or disturbances be permitted at any of the individual schools.

Local and state laws have always surrounded and provided special protection for public worship and public schools. Section 36.14 of the City Code forbids disturbing public schools and states that "no person, at or near any public school, shall, by conversation, sign or otherwise, engage the attention of any of the pupils, to the disturbance of such school."

The highest value of the law is the keeping of the peace--the Atlanta Police Department has full responsibility and authority to maintain the peace and good order over the entire city and especially at and around the schools. Attached hereto are special school assignments.

THE ROLE OF ELECTED OFFICIALS

The American genius for diversity can be seen by the multiplicity of forms of municipal government. Some cities have mayors, others city managers, commissioners, joint boards of aldermen, city councils, town boards, joint-city-county management--all with various functions and varying degrees of autonomy. A mayor's job may be that of chief administrative officer or chief salesman for the virtue of his city. How intense a part any elected official can play in achieving peaceful transition depends therefore not only on personal conviction but on how your city government is organized. Before approaching elected officials, find out to whom you should talk. Your League of Women Voters or your Municipal League can help you here.

But no matter what the setup is, there are certain minimum responsibilities which city officials can undertake in response to the united will of respected citizens.

1. The Mayor and other high elected officials should issue calls for law and order. A series of statements to various groups --school children, parents, businessmen and the like--should precede school opening.

2. The Mayor's office should request from the Police Department its advance plan for school opening, making sure that it is not only effective in handling crowds and directing traffic, but that it respects the rights of all citizens.

3. The Mayor should confer with the School Board and school administrators to make certain that their plans inside the school buildings are adequate.

4. The Mayor should make certain that there are adequate facilities available to the press, if any reporters from out of town are to cover the story, and that his office stands ready to release factual material as needed.

But beyond these basic minimums, a creative elected official can do much to coordinate and educate. If your community is fortunate enough to have such an official, his office could be invaluable in:

1. serving as consultant or mediator in settling conflicts concerning desegregation of public or private facilities--settling them quietly, without publicity which can harm the city;

2. releasing official statistics which relate progress in business, population growth, attraction of industry, educational growth, etc., to peaceful transition (an elected official is in an excellent position to know where the town is going and the townspeople will respect this source);

3. making it perfectly clear that he backs vigorous law enforcement by the police department and that your community has too much of a future for it to be jeopardized by law-breakers and rabble-rousers;

4. having an unofficial observer invited to attend the deliberations of religious, business and voluntary agencies so that his office will be fully briefed.

A UNITED EFFORT FOR LAW AND ORDER

Let us assume that as a leader in a voluntary group or a church organization or a businessmen's association you have spent many busy weeks preparing for peaceful transition. You are familiar--perhaps all too familiar--with coffees, steering committee meetings, open meetings, resolutions, petitions, press releases. But at last you are beginning to see that your efforts are producing a perceptible change in the atmosphere--from apathy to interest, from "Let George do it" to "How can I help?"

Now, how can you insure the success of your work? We are speaking now not only of superficial success--that is, the temporary control of trouble-makers. We are speaking of something more meaningful: the attitude of a majority of responsible citizens in your community that the achievement of peaceful transition is a positive step forward in which they can take pride, and that overt defiance of the law of the land is socially unacceptable and will not be tolerated.

A community-wide event for law and order will dramatize this sentiment and help solidify it.

Representatives of all the voluntary, business, and religious groups should sit down together and work out a joint plan to bring peaceful transition to the attention of every single citizen. For the purposes of such a community-wide event, it might be well if these representatives could form themselves into an ad hoc committee which would number members from every element in the

community. This ad hoc committee should then meet with elected officials, school authorities, and law enforcement officers to secure their advice and cooperation.

The kind of activities planned for this event will, of course, depend on the resources of your community, the amount of voluntary manpower available, the degree of cooperation from official sources and the amount of time in which you have to work. All of these suggestions have been touched on elsewhere in this handbook; what will give them new impact is the concerted effort by many hundreds of people in a compressed period of time, whether you decide on Law and Order Day or A Week of Decision, etc..

1. Try to get an official proclamation of Law and Order Day--or whatever name or period of time you decide on--by the Mayor or City Council. If they are uncooperative, then the Ad Hoc Committee can proclaim it unofficially.

2. A Telethon for Law and Order, composed of statements by leading citizens, officials, school administrators, police officers, explaining the procedures and calling for law and order and perhaps inviting selected questions from telephoning viewers. If one large block of time is not available, then a series of one minute spots every half hour or hour.

3. Newspaper advertisements signed by leading citizens endorsing Law and Order Day, perhaps under the aegis of the Ad Hoc Committee.

4. A day set aside for prayer for law and order in which clergymen of all denominations would devote their sermons to this subject.

5. The official presentation of the names of thousands of

citizens who are for law and order to the mayor or city council. If this presentation could be made on television, so much the better. In any event, be sure to have a news story, with the names of outstanding signers in the body of the story, ready to go. As discussed previously, each group--whether religious, business, or voluntary--has been collecting signatures since its inception. Now is the time to put them all together in a special binder or folder and present them officially. (This does not mean that you are prevented from using your own group's names in special news releases before this official presentation.)

6. Here is where tags, bumper stickers, or buttons are useful if you can get sufficient numbers distributed.

7. The Ad Hoc Committee, or a local patriotic society or American Legion post might want to sponsor an essay contest or poster contest on law and order among high school students. Or the school system itself might want to be sponsor. The winners could be announced on Law and Order Day, with prizes awarded in appropriate ceremonies at City Hall.

8. A joint public meeting, sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee. Only do this if you are absolutely certain that you can get a huge attendance and an interesting program.

9. Special school assemblies addressed by the principals during the day, and special PTA meetings at night, if possible addressed by public officials or outstanding guest speakers.

10. If there are to be out of town newsmen present, members of the Ad Hoc Committee to brief them, introduce them to school authorities, show them the community, make sure facilities are available for them, and perhaps entertain them in the evening.

11. If funds are available, one last mailing to everybody. This mailing could be a simple throwaway addressed to the "Householder" or "Occupant" just to remind all citizens that the future of the town is in their hands.

Your own individual situation will no doubt suggest other ideas to you. What is important is that this last big push should be a united, cooperative effort with as many different segments of the population involved as possible.

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Social transition does not come easily. Involvement in only a few activities suggested in this handbook will mean extending an already long business day into the evening hours, with meetings, telephone calls and conferences. It means foregoing that relaxing game of cards, or bowling, or the movies. For women, it can mean unmade beds, dishes in the sink, missed beauty salon appointments, and all the inconveniences of a disrupted household routine.

And sometimes, in the midst of an irksome, boring task--like stuffing envelopes or pasting on stamps--it is difficult to keep the ultimate goal in view.

So stop a minute and think about it. What you are doing affects not only your child and whether he gets the education to which he is entitled, not only your business and whether it will grow, not only your town and whether it will prosper, not only your efforts today and whether they will succeed now.

What you are doing is the first down payment in the legacy you leave your children's children tomorrow. For you are deciding today that this legacy will be one of peace, not violence; one of amity, not hatred.

And to your legatees--your grandchildren--you will one day bequeath the most precious gift of all. For you will be able to tell them: "I was there. I helped."

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
June 25, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS - I

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South from April 1963 through June 24, 1963, prepared by the Research Department of the Southern Regional Council. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

ALABAMA:

Attalla -- April 24--William Moore, a Baltimore postman hiking to Jackson on a one-man civil rights crusade, found murdered near here. His bullet-pierced body, still carrying anti-segregation signs, was discovered along U. S. Highway 11.

Alabama-Georgia Border -- May 3-10--Freedom marchers arrested as they entered Alabama to continue ill-fated march of William Moore. Found guilty of breach-of-peace charges in Fort Payne, June 3, fined $200 each and court costs. Their attorneys filed immediate notice of appeal.

Anniston -- May 12--Negro homes and a church fired into by a car-load of whites. Former Ku Klux Klan member convicted for shooting into church (May 30), sentenced to 180 days in jail. City commission formed biracial committee of 4 Negroes, 5 whites, May 18.

Birmingham -- April 3-June 21--Weeks of mass Negro demonstrations in which thousands were arrested ended May 10, when a truce was reached between prominent white businessmen and Negro leaders. Truce almost came apart May 11-12, when a riot broke out following 2 bombings of Negro property. Federal troops were alerted, remained near city until May 31. Initial steps taken in June to implement desegregation agreement included dropping of racial barriers in the fitting rooms of major downtown department stores and promotion of some Negro employees. Though unrelated to the agreement, three of City's four public golf courses slated to re-open June 29.

Gadsden -- June 18-21--More than 450 Negroes, many of them children, arrested June 18 for defying an injunction against sit-in demonstrations. Forty-two more arrested June 21. Several downtown churches accepted Negroes for services without incident June 16.

Mobile -- June 1 -- Sheraton Hotel announced it will desegregate.

Montgomery -- May 27 -- Montgomery Advertiser-Journal announced that papers will cease to print Negro editions, incorporate Negro news with white news, effective immediately.

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ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville -- June 17--Local restaurant association began a 60-day desegregation test.

Hot Springs -- April 4--Negroes attempted to integrate local bath house, 4 arrested.

Little Rock -- June 3--Arkansas Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional 4 state laws that NAACP contended had been adopted to suppress its activities. Theatres desegregated the following week.

Pine Bluff -- April-June--1,300 Negroes participated in a march protesting all segregation (April 1). Thirty-nine arrested April 25 in demonstration to integrate local theatre. Four Negroes served at Woolworth's and Walgreen lunch counters May 5. Biracial committee formed in early June.

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FLORIDA:

Brandenton -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Cocoa -- Late May - early June--Peaceful picketing of restaurants and hotels. Mayor has been meeting with owners.

Daytona Beach -- June 1-9--At least 7 street demonstrations, also picketing and sit-ins, involving in one instance over 100 persons, at least 12 arrests. Targets are theatres, hotels, recreation facilities and restaurants (beaches and some lunch counters are desegregated). Mayor has formed a biracial committee.

Gainesville -- June 2--Attempt of Negroes to buy movie tickets led to gathering of 1000 persons, some violence, 1 shooting, and mayor formed biracial committee during the 4-hour disturbance. Picketing of theatres and stores subsequently peaceful, continued.

Melbourne-- No demonstrations. Mayor has named bi-racial committee.

Miami -- May 25 - June 1 -- Peaceful picketing of chain stores for employment. All municipal facilities are desegregated. No demonstrations.

Palmetto -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Orlando -- June 8 -- City government forming a committee to meet demands and avert demonstrations, none to date.

Sarasota -- June 1 -- Picketing stores and theatres, peaceful, continuous to date.

St. Petersburg -- Theatre picketing threatened. No demonstrations. Has bi-racial committee.

Tallahassee -- May 23 - June 8 -- Large scale (75 pickets 1st day) demonstrations began, primarily aimed at theatres, but also chain stores (for employment). By May 28, 29, 30 protest marchers numbering 300 and 400, 500 arrests in 3 days, tear gas used. During the first week of June Court upheld the right to picket, limited number of pickets. Picketing subsequently continuous and with police guard.

Tampa -- Has had a bi-racial committee for some time, most facilities are desegregated, employment demands being met. No demonstrations.

Winter Haven -- June 1-7 -- Swim-ins, hostile white crowds, beaches closed.

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GEORGIA:

Albany -- May 7 - June 24 --Picketing and boycotting began May 7, with Negro employment the goal and lasted for three consecutive days, then sporadically through May 25, with over 100 arrests. On June 14, after Negro leaders had legally contested the sale and lost, the city sold one pool and tennis court to James Gray for $72,000, kept others closed. Early in day of June 19, 47 Negro ministers issued manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences. Late in day of June 19, 20, and 21, gathering to march and demonstrate, at least 140 Negroes were arrested, there was some violence. Negro stores were closed.

GEORGIA (continued)

Atlanta -- April 12 - June 24--After first sit-in attempt April 12, Atlanta had demonstrations - sit-ins, a prayer march (estimated 200 participants), kneel-ins, picketing - on at least 32 days from April 27 to the present, with at least 103 arrests. Demonstrations were usually in small groups, by June 7 drawing some crowds of hostile whites and occasioning one stabbing. Targets were restaurants and cafeterias. Highlights: 2 Negro Metropolitan Opera singers denied restaurant service May 5; Journal and Constitution dropped racial designations from obituaries, want-ads and amusements;and a night club integrated second week of May; students agreed to suspend demonstrations for bond issue vote May 15; Chamber of Commerce made public statement urging desegregation of accommodations May 29; city pools opened integrated June 10; 14 leading motels and hotels announced integrated policy June 20; leading restaurants expected to follow suit week of June 24. Some churches which previously turned away Negroes have admitted them to services. Mayor has met with Negro and white leaders without an official committe Atlanta has a private, staffed Council on Human Relations.

Augusta -- April 5 -- A group of young people picketed municipal recreation facilities.

Brunswick -- June 20 -- Howard Johnson motel desegregation.

Columbus -- Demonstrations threatened, none to date.

Macon -- April 2 and 3 -- Two rows initiated by whites resulted in one stabbing, two arrests in integrated park. Mayor declined to close park, his mailbox bombed April 6. April 22, 5 Negro girls sat-in at segregated (some are integrated) lunch counter and were arrested. Has a Negro committee which has negotiated with whites with some success in past.

Marietta -- By mid-May reported to have a bi-racial committee. No demonstrations .

Rome -- April 2 -- Sixty-two high school students stood trial (51 of age received sentences) for lunch counter sit-ins of previous week, the first such activity in the northwest area of Georgia. June 12, 13, 14 - 15 students sat-in again.

GEORGIA (Continued)

Savannah -- June 3 - June 24-- Current wave of demonstrations -- marches, picketing, sit-ins, began June 3, continued daily through June 14, when the city announced some restaurants, theatres, and hotels had agreed to desegregate. (On June 4, 3 movies had desegregated for a few houre, then re-segregated after a protest demonstration by whites.) June 13 -- Negro home shot into. When owners reneged demonstrations resumed June 18, 19, 20. Over 1000 arrests in 2½ weeks. Four restaurants have been granted injunctions against demonstrators on their property. Mayor has been meeting with a recognized bi-racial committee formed during the month. June 20 -- Howard Johnson's desegregated.

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KENTUCKY:

Louisville -- April 9---May 16 -- The 11-member Louisville Human Relations Committee submitted to the Board of Alderman on April 9, an ordinance outlawing racial discrimination in public business places. The ordinance provided for fines up to $100 for violations. After three convictions, the City could get an injunction against the violator which could lead to jail sentence for contempt of court. The ordinance was passed on May 16, to go into effect in mid-September.

The new ordinance will include all remaining restaurants, barber shops, pool halls, and any other segregated public facilities. Public schools, parks, swimming pools, hotels, theatres and 268 of 410 restaurants have been desegregated in the past eight years, the restaurants two years ago after mass demonstrations and a Negro shopping boycott.

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LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge -- May 28 - June 4 -- City created a bi-racial committee, the first such group to be appointed in Louisiana (May 28). Committee met for first time May 31, following a march by 21 Negroes around the state capitol (May 29), and a sit-in (May 30). Negroes agreed to a 30-day truce June 4.

New Orleans -- April 3 -- Louisiana State University -- medical school cafeteria closed following a walkout by Negro employees after a Negro pre-med student was refused service.

April 26 -- State Attorney General Jack F. P. Gremillion declared there is no law in Louisiana which prohibits Negroes from occupying hotels or motels. But no hotels or motels accept Negro guests at the present time, with the exception of the airport hotel at New Orleans airport.

Shreveport -- June 1 -- Negro demonstration held.

Winnsboro -- May 30 -- Beaten by whites, a Negro teacher resigned his post.

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MISSISSIPPI:

Clarksdale -- May 4--June 22-- State NAACP President Aaron Henry's drugstore was damaged by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof; no one injured (May 4). A similar firebomb was tossed into Henry's home April 12 during a visit there by Negro Congressman Charles L. Diggs (D., Mich.). Negroes threatened to broaden their boycott of downtown merchants May 26, unless bi-racial talks were held. Henry announced the launching of a series of spot picketing and demonstrations in the city (June 22).

Greenville -- May 25 --City Council voted unanimously to consider the possibility of forming a bi-racial commission.

Jackson -- May 27 - June 24 -- After talks between 13 Negro leaders and Mayor Allen C. Thompson broke off, a series of demonstrations began May 28, resulting in more than 600 arrests by June 6, when a state judge issued an injunction barring further demonstrations. Same day two Negro men integrated the municipal golf course, teeing off without incident. Local NAACP leader Medgar W. Evers murdered June 12. Following his funeral services June 15, Negroes clashed with police in downtown area; Justice Department Attorney John Doar helped bring demonstration under control. Next day four young Negro women were admitted to a white Protestant church without incident. Mayor Thompson announced June 18 that city will hire 6 Negro policemen, Negro school-crossing guards, and seven Negro sanitation workers. A 42-year old fertilizer salesman, Bryan de la Beckwith of Greenwood, was charged with the murder

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

Jackson -- of Medgar Evers June 23. Jackson District Attorney William L. Waller said June 24 that he will seek the death penalty for Beckwith.

Lexington -- May 8 -- A Negro who attempted to register to vote reported that white men threw "Molotov cocktails" into his home about 3 a. m.; no one was injured.

McComb -- May 15 -- Injunction against CORE forbidding it to back sit-in demonstrations at local bus station struck down by Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Winona -- June 9--Two Negro women and a 15-year old girl beaten by police at the local jail after trying to use the white facilities at town's bus station. The women, who were released a few days later, have been active in voter registration work in Mississippi.

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NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 formed this spring. Five lunch counters and 3 drive-in restaurants desegregated in late June.

Charlotte -- April 19-May 30--Proprietors of segregated hotels, restaurants, and theatres warned of mass picketing unless they agreed to desegregate (April 19). Chamber of Commerce urged immediate desegregation of all public facilities May 23, and eight major hotels and motels dropped all racial barriers four days later. A permanent bi-racial committee was formed by the mayor in May.

Chapel Hill -- May 24-25--Chamber of Commerce issued statement opposing discrimination May 24. Two hundred and fifty Negroes demonstrated next day.

Concord -- June 7--Bi-racial committee appointed. Seven drug stores and 9 restaurants desegregated.

Durham -- May 18-June 5--1,400 were arrested during demonstrations May 18-20. Temporary truce agreed upon May 21, with the appointment of a bi-racial committee by the mayor. City Council desegregated swimming pools May 30. Twelve motels and hotels, 55 restaurants desegregated June 4. Following day mayor's bi-racial committee announced that 31 retail businesses and several industrial concerns would institute or continue practice of hiring and promoting without regard to race. Public

N. C. (Continued)

accommodations ordinance currently being considered. Charges against some 1,400 students arrested were dropped.

Enfield -- May 30--Local theatre picketed.

Edenton -- April 5--Three Negroes arrested for picketing a theatre in March were acquitted.

Fayetteville -- May 14-June 19--Police dispersed mobs of Negroes and whites with tear gas May 14. Demonstrations lasting over a week began May 19, with some 1,500 persons participating in daily marches. Mayor's coordinating committee recommended immediate desegregation of restaurants and theatres May 27. Demonstrations resumed June 11, continued several days. Nine-man bi-racial committee appointed by mayor following week. 12 Motels and hotels desegregated June 19.

Goldsboro -- Four parades of demonstrators staged during week of May 30.

Greensboro -- May 10-June 23--Mass demonstrations began May 10, resulted in the arrest of some 440 persons by May 15. 420 arrested May 19 for sitting-in at a Howard Johnson parking lot. Demonstrations continued through May 24, with approximately 1,500 arrested. Mayor appointed a 16-member committee on Human Relations May 22 and two days later city's governing body unofficially endorsed an 11-point resolution urging integration of businesses. Truce arranged May 25, but demonstrations resumed June 2. Official end of truce came June 6, was marked by another demonstration in which 278 were arrested. S&W cafeteria desegregated during week ending June 22. Earlier four indoor theatres had tentatively agreed to desegregate.

Hickory -- June 6--Mayor formed a bi-racial Community Relations Council.

High Point -- May 28-30--Mass demonstrations began May 28, mayor's bi-racial (11-member) committee appointed two days later.

Lenior -- May 24--Mayor appointed five-member bi-racial committee.

Lexington -- June 3-6--Mayor Sink appointed bi-racial committee of 10 members. June 3, 15 or more Negroes requested and received service at drug store lunch counter June 5; but they were turned away at theatre and bowling alley. Demonstration by approximately 50 Negro students met by anti-desegregation group of 500 whites; one person killed and seven arrested June 6. The First Methodist Church recently admitted Negro worshippers.

Lumberton -- June 6--Mayor Hedgpeth appointed tri-racial committee of Indian, Negro and white members.

Monroe -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 members formed sometime in May.

Mount Airy -- May 30--3 Negroes served in a drug store.

Oxford -- June 16--Truce declared after previous demonstrations.

Raleigh -- April 4-June 5--Demonstrations began April 4, continued for over a month. By May 10 some 250 had been arrested. Following day 1,000 demonstrated; May 14, 750 marched, were mocked and cursed by about 200 whites. 347 were arrested, with 15 charged with assault and one for carrying a concealed weapon. A 15-member bi-racial committee was appointed by the Mayor May 14, and the Raleigh Merchants Bureau adopted a resolution same day urging its 400 members to serve all persons. Demonstrations continued through June 3. Some 76 food and amusement concerns desegregated June 5.

Roxboro -- June 23--Mayor appointed a 20-member bi-racial committee.

Statesville -- June 9--Some restaurants and cafeterias voluntarily desegregated.

Thomasville -- May 10-June 1--Spontaneous sit-in by a group of teen-age Negroes at a restaurant May 10 followed by planned demonstrations beginning May 24. Two day later Negroes called off demonstrations until June 1, but 300 demonstrated May 30. City-owned pools opened on an integrated basis June 1; no incidents.

Wadesboro -- June 5--Windows of 2 business establishments, including one restaurant which had recently desegregated, were shot out in a pre-dawn shooting spree; no injuries.

Wilmington -- June 7--Some 75 high school students staged a protest demonstration at cafeterias and theatres; a bi-racial commiteee is studying the problem.

Winston-Salem -- May 21-June 5--About 25 students picketed theatre May 21, and mayor appointed an 18-member bi-racial committee. Demonstrations continued through May 27. Fourteen of 15 major restaurants, many smaller restaurants, and all hotels and motels desegregated June 5.

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City -- May 31-June 4--Following sit-ins May 31 and June 1, Bishop's, a local restaurant, agreed to desegregate, was joined June 3 by city's largest downtown cafeteria. Three city hotels desegregated June 2, were joined by one other and 20 suburban motels June 3. City council approved appointment of a 15-member Community Relations Commission June 4. Two days later the board of managers of the Central YMCA recommended that Negroes be allowed to rent rooms at the downtown YMCA.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston -- During the week of June 17-22, Kress, Woolworth and W.T. Grant department stores desegregated their facilities, two weeks after marches, sit-ins, stand-ins, and picketing. No official bi-racial committee has been formed as yet. Local groups have announced that pressure for additional desegregation will continue.

Columbia -- June 7--City Council began meeting with Negro leaders

Greenville -- On May 27 city officials met with Negro leaders, and on May 28, in less than 15 minutes, City Council repealed segregation laws but passed a "trespass" city ordinance making it unlawful not to leave a business after being asked to do so by the owner. The new law does not mention race.

On June 3, 11 lunch counters were voluntary desegregated, two weeks after the Supreme Court made a Greenville case the key to a series of sit-in rulings by overturning the trespass convictions of ten Negroes arrested at a lunch counter in 1960. Small groups of Negroes ate in the 11 places without incident.

Greenville is the second South Carolina city to desegregate lunch counters, Columbia having opened some lunch counters on a non-racial basis last August The Greenville stores affected were: S.H. Kress, W.T. Grant, H.L.Green, Walgreen Drugs, Eckerds Drugs, and Belk-Simpson; in shopping centers, the K-Mart discount store and a Woolworth and Walgreen store. Desegregation was effected by a committee of variety and drug stores, and restaurant operators.

Rock Hill -- June 1--16 Negroes demonstrated in front of drive-in restaurant.

Spartenburg -- June 1--Unofficial meetings were held to consider desegregation. On June 5 most downtown lunch counters and restaurants desegregated and Negroes ate in several places without incident.

Sumter -- A suit to integrate the Carnegie Public Library (class action) was filed June 5 in U.S. District Court by three Negro plaintiffs.

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga -- June 7--Following a series of demonstrations by Negroes at 4 local restaurants and 1 theatre, mayor appointed a bi-racial committee, and Negro leaders agreed to a truce.

Clarksville -- May 28-June 7--300 Negroes sought service in a drive-in restaurant, were turned away (May 28). All public parks and pools desegregated June 7.

Knoxville -- May 9-28--Demonstrations began May 9, resulted in arrest of about 100 by May 11. Three hospitals agreed to desegregate May 19, and mayor appointed a bi-racial commission same day. Two thousand citizens signed a petition May 22, to desegregate all public facilities; petition sponsored by Chamber of Commerce. Four leading hotels and 2 motels voted to desegregate May 28.

Maryville -- June 24--A mountain training camp sponsored by CORE was found burned to the ground; no injuries reported. Camp had been raided by sheriff's deputies previous week; 28 whites and Negroes arrested.

Memphis -- May 1-June 10--Normad corporation announced May 1, that it will build an integrated motel. All first-class hotels and motels desegregated May 20, followed by desegregation of all public recreational facilities May 30, except swimming pools (as a result of Supreme Court decision May 27). Voter registration drive began June 10. Has permanent bi-racial committee.

Nashville -- May 8-June 5--Following demonstrations May 8 and 9, a clash between Negro students and white hecklers May 10, another demonstration May 13 in which two persons were hospitalized, a permanent bi-racial Metropolitan Human Relations Council was appointed by the mayor May 16 "to recommend actions by the business community." City parks and wading pools opened to all on June 5. Earlier (May 13), seven motels and hotels, eight restaurants desegregated.

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TEXAS:

Dallas -- June 2--South's first integrated hospital opened here, will have completely integrated facilities including an open staff of Negro and white physicians. Following day insurance executive George L. Allen became the first Negro namedto an important City Hall appointive body, the City Planning Commission.

TEXAS (Continued)

Denton -- April 6-Fifty Negro and white students from North Texas State University, picketed in the downtown area, carrying banners calling for the integration of local theatres.

Houston -- June 10--All city pools and municipal facilities desegregated.

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VIRGINIA:

Alexandria -- May-June--City Council banned discrimination in all municipal public facilities May 27, and instituted a merit hiring and promotion program for all city employees regardless of race. Movie theatres and some bowling alleys quietly desegregated June 14.

Arlington -- April-June--County Board established in Arlington County Human Relations Council in April. Arlington City Council eliminated all mention of race on job questionnaires June 3.

Charlottesville--May 25-30--Sit-ins began at La Paree restaurant May 25, but the main target became Buddy's restaurant near the University of Virginia, with groups of about 50 Negroes and whites demonstrating through May 30, when a local Negro leader was beaten up by two white men and hospitalized. The "stand-ins" were temporarily called off as a result of this incident. City's first Negro policeman was appointed in the midst of the demonstrations in which 5 persons were arrested. Efforts are being made to form a bi-racial committee, but have been unsuccessful this far.

Danville -- May 31-June 22--Fifty-sixty Negro youths started demonstrations to force hiring of a Negro policeman. Demonstrations continued through June 10, when 50 Negroes were arrested and a rally broken up by police using firehoses;about 45 persons were injured. City passed ordinance June 14 limiting number allowed to participate in demonstrations to 6; the following day 35 more Negroes were arrested. Ten leaders in the demonstrations, including 3 whites, were indicted by a special grand jury June 21 on a criminal charge of inciting to riot. Police seized three other leaders who had taken sanctuary in a local church June 22. Thus far, about 150 persons have been arrested. June 19, 29 demonstrators broke three-day truce by marching downtown; all were arrested. Mayor Stinson announced 10 Negroes had been assigned to white schools. Motel operators met to discuss desegregation.

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Farmville -- May 18--Small sit-ins staged, with no violence and no arrests.

Hampton -- April-May--A petition of 1000 signatures was sent to mayor April 1 charging "racial discrimination" and "police intimidation" after Hampton Institute students,10 of whom were arrested, attempted sit-ins. An 11-member bi-racial Council on Community Relations was formed May 18.

Lawrenceville -- May 29-30--Students quietly picketed downtown lunch counters.

Lynchburg -- May-June--Patterson's drug store announced May 22, following prolonged sit-in demonstrations,that it would serve anyone. Following week 10 restaurants voluntarily desegregated. In early June, 2 movie theatres and 2 bowling alleys also voluntarily desegregated.

Martinsville -- June 7--Martinsville - Henry County Christian Civic League called on local business leaders to voluntarily desegregate public facilities and employment, and requested City Council appoint official bi-racial committee.

Norfolk-Portsmouth-- Late May--Major movie theatres agreed May 25 to lower all racial bars after private meetings between white businessmen and Negro leaders. Norfolk City Council asked mayor to form a bi-racial committee May 28.

Petersburg -- April 25--Three Virginia State College students fined $25.00 and given 30-day suspended sentences for picketing.

Richmond -- May 28-June 18--Parker Field, local athletic stadium quietly admitted 9 Negroes to previously all-white section. All downtown movie theatres announced June 15, that they will desegregate by July 10. Three days later 35 of city's better restaurants agreed to serve all customers without regard to race. Another 25 restaurants had previously desegregated.

STATE ACTION

FLORIDA:

During the 1960 demonstrations there - Governor Fowler appointed the Statewide Fowler Commission on Race Relations. The Commission was not continued by Governor Bryant.

KENTUCKY:

Commission on Human Rights established under a General Assembly Act of March, 1960. Eleven members are appointed by the governors. Governor Combs stated June 4 he would "ask the General Assembly to pass a general civil rights act."

NORTH CAROLINA:

June 18--Governor Sanford moved on several fronts to head off North Carolina's growing racial crisis. In a statewide radio and television address (June 18) the Governor spoke sympathetically of Negro "requests and aspirations." He also asked for a halt to Negro demonstrations "to help avoid strife, ill will, danger to life and property, and damage to our state."

He announced he had called Negro leaders to the Capital for a meeting on June 25, "to place before the public in an orderly manner their requests and aspirations." He appointed retired Major General Capus M. Waynick, former commander of the N. C. National Guard and experienced in negotiating racial conflicts, to represent his office in continuing negotiations with Negro leaders. Two immediate targets are sought by the Governor's negotiators: statewide application of the "Durham Plan"; daily progress reports to local Negro leaders by city officials.

Also under intense negotiation: employing more Negroes in state jobs. In January of this year the Governor began naming of 24 prominent Negro and white citizens to the statewide North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

VIRGINIA:

May 29--Governor Harrison rejected a proposal for a statewide bi-racial commission.

SUMMARY

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Gadsden
Mobile

ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville
Little Rock
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:

Miami

GEORGIA:

Atlanta
Brunswick
Savannah

MISSISSIPPI:

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville
Charlotte
Concord
Durham
Fayetteville
Greensboro
Lexington
Mount Airy
Raleigh
Statesville
Thomasville
Wadesboro
Winston Salem

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston
Greenville
Spartenburg

TENNESSEE:

Clarksville
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

TEXAS:

Austin
Houston

VIRGINIA:

Alexandria
Arlington
Falls Church
Lynchburg
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE APRIL 3,1963

10,420

(The Southern Regional Council estimated the number of arrests during the February 1, 1960 through September 1, 1961 period of demonstrations in southern and border states at 3,600.)

NUMBER OF FATALITIES RELATED TO DEMONSTRATIONS SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

3

CITIES WHERE SOME DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Gadsden

ARKANSAS:

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:

Cocoa
Daytona-Beach
Gainesville
Lakeland
Miami
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Winter Haven

GEORGIA:

Albany
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
Rome
Savannah

LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI:

Biloxi
Clarksdale
Greenwood
Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:

Charlotte
Chapel Hill
Durham
Enfield
Fayetteville
Goldsboro
Greensboro
High Point
Lexington
Oxford
Raleigh
Thomasville
Wilmington
Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston
Rock Hill

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga
Clarksville
Knoxville
Nashville

TEXAS:

Denton

VIRGINIA:

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Hampton
Lawrenceville
Lynchburg
Petersburg

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ADDENDA

FLORIDA:

Lakeland -- June 6 -- movie theatre picketing.

Miami -- June -- leading hotels desegregated, (comparable to Miami Beach where they have been desegregated for some time).

KENTUCKY:

Covington)
Henderson)
Hopkinsville)---
Lexington)---
Louisville)
Paducah)

Local commissions on civil rights sponsored in these cities by the statewide commission.

MISSISSIPPI:

Biloxi -- June 23 -- attempted wade-in.

Greenwood -- June 24 -- six Negro girls attempted sit-in (the city's first) at a drugstore.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Sanford -- June -- bi-racial committee formed.

TENNESSEE:

Athens --) both cities have official bi-racial commissions
Oak Ridge --) and have had no demonstrations.

TEXAS:

Austin -- June 10 -- 38 restaurants (estimated 70% of total) desegregated.

VIRGINIA:

Arlington -- June 17 -- 4 movie theatres desegregated.

Danville -- June 13 -- moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants Association outvoted Mayor Stinson and formed new bi-racial committee to replace collapsed white City Council Committee. On the same date Negroes picketed a local mill for the first time, and pickets subsequently applied for jobs.

Falls Church --June 17 -- a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal)
Harrisonburg)---- Mid-April--Howard Johnson's in these cities
Waynesboro) desegregated.

Newport News -- June -- a bi-racial committee in operation.

Roanoke -- June -- a race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke in operation. There have been no demonstrations.

Woodstock -- June -- has a bi-racial commission of 8.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
July 26, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, II

This synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South covers the period of June 24-July 24, 1963. It also includes events since April 1, 1963, not carried in the first synopsis, dated June 25,1963. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.

ALABAMA:

Bessemer -- Has repealed city ordinances requiring segregation.

Birmingham -- Has been quiet and without demonstrations or arrests pending terms of May agreement being put into operation. June 27 -- 3 municipal golf courses desegregated without incident. At least 9 churches integrated

July 11 - City tentatively agreed the use of City Auditorium on August 5 by the American Guild of Variety Artist's "Salute to Freedom '63," integrated show before a non-segregated audience (2 firsts for the hall).

July 13 - Mayor Boutwell announced formation of a 211-member bi-racial community affairs committee, created by city council resolution, to have 10 subcommittees, about 20% Negro membership. Some segregation signs down in stores' fitting rooms and water fountains, a Negro reportedly hired as a retail clerk, approximately 10 department & chain store lunch counters to desegregate this month, according to truce timetable.

July 23 - City repealed its segregation ordinances.

Gadsden -- Since June 23 when approximately 600 attended a Martin Luther King rally demonstration, marches were heavily attended and continuous through July 1. During this time, at least 52 demonstrators arrested (June 27) amd one protestor (June 29) who sat on white side of Trailways Bus Depot waiting room. A Justice Department aide sparked mediations.

July 1 - Negroes announced suspension of demonstrations indefinitely as transit company buses ended de facto seating segregation.

GADSDEN (Cont'd)

July 6 - KKK rally.

July 10 - County Solicitor announced his office had been hampered in work on death of freedom walker William Moore (there have been no developments) as "all of our investigation agencies have been tied up" with racial demonstrations. Persons arrested during previous mass demonstrations released on bond pending trial.

Huntsville -- Week of May 20 - first Negro policeman named to city force.

Montgomery -- Has repealed city segregation ordinances.

Talladega -- Demonstrations aimed largely at lunch counters desegregation, which began April 9, resulted in more than 50 arrests before a temporary injunction halted them briefly April 28.

July 5 - Permanent injunction barring racial demonstrations issued.

Selma -- June 17 - A Negro voter registration worker arrested during drive.

June 26 - Justice Department's motion for injunction to bar the trial denied. City has repealed segregation ordinances.

ARKANSAS:

Gillett -- Week of June 24 - Rural Negro church bombed with dynamite.

Hot Springs -- Week of July 15 - Majority of theatres and restaurants desegregated.

Little Rock -- June 25 - Twenty Negroes picket Coca-Cola Bottling Company protesting discriminatory wages.

June 27 - Five Negroes sought and denied admission to municipal swimming pool.

Pine Bluff -- Late June - mid-July - Movie theatres, including drive-ins, desegregate, and all city park facilities, except pools.

FLORIDA:

Bradenton -- June 25 - Attempted sit-in at cafeteria, four Negro youths arrested, cafeteria closed.

June 26 - Approximately 80 Negroes demonstrated before Manatee County Courthouse protesting the arrest.

Clearwater -- Has a municipal bi-racial committee.

Cocoa -- During May - bi-racial Citizens Advisory Committee formed.
July 9 - Announced most motels, hotels, and restauants will desegregate by August 18.

FLORIDA (Cont'd)

Cocoa Beach -- Hotels, motels, restaurants and night clubs integrated for "sometime."

Fort Myers -- June 25 - established bi-racial committee of 5 City Councilmen, 5 "Negro taxpayers." "Excellent progress" reported in desegregations of lunch counters, a bowling alley, drive-in movies.

Gainesville -- June 12 - 11 restaurants began desegregating.

Miami -- June 11 - Metro Commission passed ordinance creating bi-racial Community Relations Board of 15.

Ocala -- July 18 - Leader of lunch counter pickets arrested.

July 20 - 29 youths arrested while demonstrating to protest jailing of leader.

July 21 - 6 more arrested picketing jail.

Orlando -- Week of July 15 - 56 motels, hotels, restaurants desegregate, mayor crediting efforts of bi-racial advisory committee.

Pinellas County -- (St. Petersburg-Clearwater area) - June 27 - County Commission voted creation of a 10-man bi-racial committee.

St. Augustine--June 25 - July 4 - Continuous and peaceful picketing of variety stores, Chamber of Commerce Information Center.

June 30 - Negroes swam at white beach, heckling but no arrests or incidents.
July 2 - In early a. m. NAACP leader's house shot into, one white youth arrested, 3 Negro youths arrested for shooting at auto from which they alleged shots were fired into home.
July 5 - City Commission refuses to name a bi-racial committee, contends city library is desegregated along with a miniature golf course on city property; Negroes claim they are not.
July 18 - 13 arrested during sit-ins at 4 drugstores.

St. Petersburg-Week of June 24 - saw peaceful theatre picketing continued as Negroes and whites together attempted orderly admission to movies. Mayor Herman Goldner announced efforts to get City Council to give bi-racial committee more authority and flexibility.
June 27 - Both Chamber of Commerce and City Council passed resolutions favoring desegregation of public facilities and hiring practices.
July 5 - members being named to City Council -approved bi-racial committee. Several department stores reported to be hiring Negro retail clerks and negotiations with theatre operators in progress.

FLORIDA (Cont'd)

Stuart -- Bi-racial committee formed in early May under the auspices of city commission.

Tallahassee -- Mid-June - bi-racial committee began meeting with mayor.

June 24 - Municipal tennis court integrated.
June 27 - Nine Negro students attempted to use white swimming pool, pool closed.

June 28 - Three white students arrested attempting to use Negro swimming pool.

Vero Beach -- July 5 - Mayor Jack Sturgis appointed 18-man bi-racial committee with sub-committees on housing, recreation, employment, education.

Winter Park -- June 28 - Five white children, ages 6 to 10, integrated a formerly all Negro pool without incident.

GEORGIA:

Albany -- July 6 - KKK rally of approximately 300.

July 7 - Groups of Negroes and whites attempted to swim at former city pool. Now privately owned and operated for whites only.

Resulted in 12 arrests.

July 8 - Thirteen arrested in protest gathering at city hall.

July 10 -- 6 arrests.

July 12 - One white arrested for shooting at Negroes.

July 13 - 10 arrested for picketing home of head of board of education.

In early July a Justice Department negotiator attempted to bring city commission and Negro and white business leadership together in a bi-racial committee. No official results, but 40-odd businessmen have met unofficially with Negro leaders in recent weeks.

July 23 - City commission refuses to appoint a bi-racial committee. Periodic, isolated outbursts of disorder and/or vandalism.

Americus -- July 12 - 14 -- 35 persons total arrested picketing segregated movie theatre.

July 19 - At least 11 arrested after attempts to enter theatre.

Atlanta -- June 25 - Approximately 45 restaurants began desegregating, and

Since June 27 - Pickets protesting integration have appeared sporadically at about 6 locations.

June 27 - University of Florida band cancelled reservation for 140 persons at a hotel which had declined to integrate during the previous week (when approximately 14 did) - band currently has no Negro members.

Since June 27 - Negroes have picketed off and on a liquor store protesting discriminatory employment; owner has agreed to hire an additional Negro employee.

June 30 - Attempts by Negroes to worship at morning and evening services of First Baptist Church failed.

July 1 - Approximately 250 Negroes marched through downtown protesting discriminatory hiring of restaurant chain.

July 7 - NAACP, SCLC, Operation Breadbasket, Committee for Cooperative Action, and Committee on Appeal for Human Rights met and reactivated (1961) Student-Adult Liaison Committee. Goal - 5,000 new jobs for Negroes.

July 7 - Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again.

Atlanta (cont'd)

July 13 - Pro and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident.

July 14 - Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again, but that date Negroes arrived early, seated themselves for evening services, had their seating area roped off by ushers when they did not leave.

July 16 - Pro and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident.

July 16 - Mississippi Gov. Barnett spoke under auspices of White Citizens' Council with pro - and con - pickets, no incidents.

July 19 - 12 pickets arrested at one restaurant, site of more or less continuous anti-segregation picketing and some hurly-burly.

July 22 - Picketing at telephone company favoring hiring of more Negroes.

Augusta -- June 29 - May Park desegregated as Negro and white children played baseball together without incident.

July 14 - Chronicle-Herald editorially advocated desegregation of tax-supported facilities, equal civic, county employment.

Brunswick -- Has an advisory bi-racial committee set up by city government, dates from Winter, 1963, is currently active.

Carrollton -- June 27 - An episcopal minister publically addressed members of his congregation to support his opposition to White Citizens' Council.

Colubmus -- June 25 - Negro ministers announced plans whereby movie theatres have agreed to desegregate in Fall, 1963.

Since July 5, when 7 Negroes used the library reading room but were denied library cards, protests with substantial numbers of demonstrators have centered around the library, with at least 10 arrests, the library being closed at times, indefinitely on July 18.

Three separate groups of Negro leadership have expressed opposition to protest demonstration.

Columbus (cont'd)

July 17 - While pickets marched before Muscogee County School Board, Board announced library and school desegregation on a "timetable," probably 1964.

July 17-19 - Successive attempts of Negroes to use Lakebotton and Weracoba Parks, rocks hurled by Negro and white youths at one another, 5 arrests, parks closed.

July 17 - Two (one Negro and one white) of the city's 3 pools closed.

Cordele -- July 16 - Announced hiring of city's first Negro policeman.

Macon -- July 1, Ten establishments, including Mercer University and Wesleyan College, a grocery, bookstore, and shopping center, signed contracts with the federal government to operate the businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis.

Savannah -- June 19-July 16 (When demonstrations, which had been halted briefly, erupted into violence) negotiations between Negro leaders and white businessmen have been intermittent and a bi-racial committee had been meeting with the approval of the City Commission and the Chamber of Commerce.

July 16 - After nearly a month of stalemate and disturbances, closed negotiations commenced, mediators being named by a group of 100 business elite.

No agreement has been reached on desegregation of public accommodations asked by Negroes, their cause confused somewhat by lack of centralized leadership to date. Activities through July 12 included nightly demonstration marches numbering hundreds, daytime picketing and smaller demonstrations, mass meetings, weather permitting. Police surveillance has been thorough.

Toll in wounded at least 6, arrests estimated at 240, with some violence.

June 25 - Arrest of youth leader triggered intensive and resumed talks, several days of calm, then July 4 renewed demonstrations demanding his release. A school desegregation plan to commence with the 12th grade in Fall of 1963 announced July 1 disatisfying to many.

Savannah (Cont'd)

July 5 - First appearance of approximately 30 white, anti-integration pickets.

July 9 - Popular Negro leader arrested, currently in jail on reduced bond of $15,500.

July 10 - Thirty arrested for lying down in streets protesting arrest. Concurrently - July 10 and 14, wade-ins at Savannah Beach, with at least 8 arrests.

July 10-11 - Midnight demonstrations comprising approximately 1000 persons, exchanges of rocks and tear gas, vandalism. By dawn of July 11, approximately 100 state troopers arrived.

July 12 - Demonstrations, further violence.

July 13 - Pro-segregation white motorcade of approximately 65 persons -- 31 ministers, including Catholic, Episcopal, and Methodist bishops, call for "just resolution," offer their services.

July 14 - Negroes denied admittance to several white churches.

Subsequently, all factions of Negro leadership have called for end to violence and mass demonstrations, urged voter registration, peaceful picketing, economic pressure.

July 16 - Negro fireman shot by white youths, 6 arrested.

July 18 - Negro youths picket Chase-Manhattan Bank (buyer of Savannah Municipal Bonds) in New York.

July 20 - Ku Klux Klan outdoor meeting. Rallies, picketing, negotiation continue. Atmosphere quiet, tense, expectant.

KENTUCKY:

Frankfort -- June 26 - Kentucky Governor Burt Combs issued an executive order banning racial discrimination in all businesses licensed by the state.
July 8 - Governor subsequently narrowed order to pertain to public places of food, shelter, recreation or amusement. Since the order was issued, 5 Kentucky cities have had additional desegregation: Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, Danville, Frankfort, and Paducah.

Hopkinsville-- July 2 - City council gave preliminary approval to an ordinance establishing a bi-racial human relations council; final approval slated for next council meeting July 16. Mayor said he expected to appoint a 15-member commission following July 16 council meeting.

Lexington -- July 12 - Three additional members, all white, assigned to Lexington's Human Relations Committee.

Louisville -- Louisville Human Relations Commission recommended that Mayor issue an executive order banning racial and oth discrimination in the employment policies of those firms having city contracts. Mayor agreed to study bias-ban proposal.

LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge -- July 2 - City 's bi-racial committee held its sixth weekly meeting.

July 23 - About 50 Negroes scuffled with 6 policemen during an attempt to use a public swimming pool. Five Negroes were arrested. It was the first outbreak of racial violence in Louisiana this summer.

Buras -- July 6-16 - Window panes broken in rectory of Our Lady of Good Harbor Church. It was the second time the rectory has been fired on since nearby Our Lady of Good Harbor school was integrated last September. Twenty-six panes were shattered by birdshot on November 13. Police were unable to connect anyone with the earlier shooting, are investigating the latest blast.

New Orleans -- June 26 - A three-panel federal court took under advisement a suit seeking to desegregate New Orleans recreational facilities.
July 1 - A three-judge federal panel struck down a 1956 state law requiring separate seating and segregation of other facilities for whites and Negroes. The ruling in effect desegregated the city's municipal auditorium. Court declared: "Cities may as well face up to the facts of life: New Orleans, here and now, must adjust to the reality of having to operate desegregated public facilities." City plans to appeal the decision.
July 3 - A request for a bi-racial committee on Human Relations was made by the local NAACP branch, in a letter to Mayor Victor Schiro, who was not immediately available for comment.

Shreveport -- July 19 - Negroes staged sit-ins at the lunch counters of 2 downtown stores. Police quickly broke up demonstrations, arrested 10. A "pick-up order" was also issued for Charles Evers, brother of slain NAACP leader Medgar Evers, who spoke at a Negro rally in Shreveport July 17. The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a lower court order to integrate the Shreveport airport and bus station May 22.

MISSISSIPPI:

Canton -- June 26 - Ben P. Lewis, a 43 year old white service station attendant, arrested, charged with firing a shotgun at 5 Negroes near a hall where a voter registration rally was being held.

June 29 - Twelve Negroes were registered to vote within a week here, where no Negro has ever registered before.

MISSISSIPPI (Cont')

Clarksdale -- June (last week) Thirty-six protest marchers arrested.

July 20 - A young white segregationist who confessed to firebombing the home of local civil rights leader Aaron Henry was acquitted of arson charges by an all-white jury, which took 15 minutes to render a verdict. Prosecution immediately dropped an identical charge against his companion in the bombing. The 2 men admitted throwing 2 "Molotov cocktails" into Henry's home April 13. Negro Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D., Mich.) was Henry's house guest at the time.

Columbus -- July 2 - City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting parading without a permit, carrying of placards or banners and certain other activities.

Greenville -- June 19-July 5 - City council announced that a six-man bi-racial committee will be formed to advise it on racial problems. Three members of city council will serve with "an equal number of representatives chosen from the Negro community."

July 6 - The city's first week of mass racial demonstrations ended today, and was highlighted by 25 arrests, 3 sit-ins, one play-in, and 2 protest marches. City council adopted two new "parade" ordinances. Most of activity generated by Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; 3 of its field secretaries were arrested in the demonstrations. Police Chief W. C. Burnley commended by both Negroes and whites for his handling of demonstrators and maintenance of law and order at all times.

Greenwood -- June 24-July 7 - First drugstore lunch counter sit-in ever attempted here failed when white persons filled every available seat before Negroes arrived; sit-in attempted by 6 Negro girls. City passed 2 ordinances against demonstrations same day.

June 29 - Ten arrested for demonstrating in local park, 2 more arrested July 1

July 1 - Two more were arrested for sitting-in at a lunch counter.

July 2 - Fourteen civil rights demonstrators being held at the LeFlore County Farm staged a sit-down at the barracks, refusing to do work assigned them, authorities reported. The 14 were among the more than 50 arrested previous week on charges connected with voting demonstrations.

Greenwood(Cont'd)

July 7 - Some 300 to 400 Negroes joined with 3 white folk singers to sing of their dissatisfaction with segregation.

Gulfport -- June 28 - Mayor R. B. Meadows, Jr., announced the appointment of a 13-member bi-racial community relations committee, with 8 white and 5 Negro members. Previous day an explosion scattered debris about the waiting room of Dr. Felix H. Dunn, president of local NAACP chapter. Police and FBI investigating.

Itta Bena -- June 19 - Fifty-seven Negroes arrested June 19 on charges of disturbing the peace; 12 were children under 15 and were subsequently freed.

June 28 - Justice Department sued for release of the remaining 45. Suit was third filed by Justice which involved LeFlore County. First, filed in August, 1962, challenged constitutionality of state voting laws, is awaiting trial. Second filed March 30, charged county and other defendants with intimidating Negro voter registration efforts in Greenwood.

Jackson -- June 30 - First 2 Negro policemen since Reconstruction days sworn in by Mayor Allen C. Thompson. Mayor has also promised to hire 8 Negro school crossing guards by September 1. Four Negro men escaped serious injury, when an explosion collapsed a two-family frame house. Charles Evers, brother of Medgar Evers, said he thought a bomb caused damage, but a local detective attributed blast to a gas leak. Same day 3 white churches refused to admit 5 Negroes who tried to attend Sunday services.

July 1-8 - A public golf course on which 2 Negroes had played without incident June 6, was re-segregated.

Hinds County grand jury, with one Negro among its 18 members, considered case of Byron Beckwith, accused of murdering Medgar Evers.

Negro clerical workers quietly placed in federal clerical and administrative positions in U. S. government offices here following an inspection in June.

Internal Revenue Service hired a Negro agent, Social Security a stenographer, and Veterans Administration one new clerical worker.

Jackson (Cont'd) (June 1-8)

City officials pleased by a federal court ruling upholding Jackson statutes under which nearly 1000 persons were arrested for participating in racial demonstrations. City attorney called decision significant victory.

July 9 - Negroes concentrating on a voter registration campaign found the registration books suddenly closed. Circuit clerk, who is also voter registrar, claimed his small office was over-burdened preparing for August 6 Democratic primary in which there will be 138 names on the ballot.

July 12 - The prosecution requested a mental test for Beckwith (accused murderer of Evers), but defense said it would oppose such a test.

Mississippi Supreme Court reversed itself and upheld the conviction of civil rights leader Aaron Henry on a morals charge. Court had overturned the conviction in June on grounds that police had illegally searched Henry's car. In July 12 decision, court said defense had failed to enter objections during trial. Five Negro policemen to be added to force on August 8.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Ahoskie -- June 28 - Water safety chairman, H. L. Beaman denied that a proposed Red Cross water safety course to be taught in July was cancelled because three Negroes signed up for course.

Albemarle and Stanley County - June 24 - A bi-racial committee was formed under sponsorship of Albemarle and Stanley County Chamber of Commerce, "to consider any future race problems."

Asheville -- June 13 - Total desegregation of all public and commercial facilities urged by City Council; also ordinance adopted repealing Article 23 of City Code, which makes it unlawful to sell property to Negroes in a predominantly white neighborhood.

Cabarrus County -- June 12 - Three political leaders issued statement which said in part, "We recommend that all citizens of Cabarrus County recognize that, legally, every individual is the equal of every other individual, and we recommend to all our citizens that they practice no discrimination based on race."

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Charlotte -- June 29 - Four point hospital desegregation plan submitted by Negro Medical Society got cool reception from City Hall. Charlotte has had an active 29-member Mayor's bi-racial committee since early 1961, and as of July 8, reported that desegregation now includes practically all public facilities: library, parks, schools, police force, bus drivers, Chamber of Commerce, hotels, motels, restaurants, and theatres.

Chapel Hill -- June 26 - Demonstrations began with from 100 to 250 Negro and white demonstrators marching each day asking end of desegregation in business establishments. There was no disorder and no arrests for marches.

White picket was arrested for striking son of store manager -

June 29 - Demonstration included singing of freedom songs in front of desegregated stores.

July 4 - Boycotts of 13 establishments began with marchers increased to 400 (more than 100 whites included).

July 7 - A white man was arrested for driving his car through a line of 200 white and Negro pickets.

Cleveland -- June 12 - A playground attack by 6 Negro youths on a white boy and girl touched off racial disorders, mainly by gangs of white persons, who pelted Negroes with rocks, bottles and other objects. The clashes continued for 3 nights and 50 white persons were arrested on charges of carrying concealed weapons or for intoxication. Disturbances subsided after the 6 Negroes were arrested.

Covington -- June 14 - A Negro minister urged city council to set up bi-racial commission to "take steps necessary for equal job opportunities" for Negroes and to study problems of integrating motels, restaurants, theatres, and other public facilities.

Durham -- In April some stores hired 15 Negroes in non-traditional jobs. The Rialto Theatre was desegregated.

In June, the Durham Junior Chamber of Commerce dropped its "white only" membership clause. All hotels and motels, most restaurants and many retail establishments have integrated.

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Fayetteville --June 10 - Six Negro students quietly integrated only municipally owned swimming pool. Mayor Wilbur Clark issued statement, "If we don't make progress here /in desegregating entertainment and food services/, we will greatly harm our prospects for attracting new industries and businesses and, secondly, we will have renewed demonstrations...which aggravate possibilities of ill will, economic loss, and public danger."

June 15 - Some restaurants, hotels, and lodging desegregated; demonstrations began few days later.

June 17 - State troopers called in to help local police. Broke up disturbance with tear gas; 17 arrested.

June 22-24 - Negroes arrested attempting to integrate Hotel Rose. Rain on June 23 slowed down demonstrations.

Gastonia -- June 10 - A prayer pilgrimage to city hall by 5 Negro ministers resulted in a meeting of 18-member bi-racial committee which announced its accomplishments: "colored" signs removed on city property; anti-discrimination in city hiring; desegregation of golf courses, lunch counters, library.

June 12 - Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association urged desegregation of all public facilities. Bi-racial committee announced theatre negotiations progressing, 8 restaurants desegregated, at least one motel desegregated, Negro nurses at city hospital.

June 14 - Committees began meeting with hospital, hotel-motel, and restaurant officials. Purpose of committee was changed "to promote integration of public facilities harmoniously." Ministers reassured; said no demonstrations planned.

Goldsboro -- June 8 - Between June 8 and 11, more than 100 demonstrators were arrested on trespassing charges for attempting to desegregate theatres and restaurants; all released without bond. Some demonstrators torn shirts were said to be result of rough handling by police and one demonstrator knocked down and bruised.
Demonstrations continued through June 28.

June 21 - Thirty-three were tried, given suspended sentences on 30-day good behavior; no fines levied. Cases appealed.

July 7 - A 16-member bi-racial committee, appointed previous week, took steps to begin gradual integration of public places; details of plans were not made public.

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Grantville County -- June 29 - Bi-racial committee organized after recent rock and bottle throwing incident between Negroes and whites. Majority of drug counters and other downtown eating places desegregated, but 19-member committee (majority of members Negro) meeting daily with businessmen to discuss list of grievances.

Greensboro -- July 4 - Employment-practice questionnaires were distributed to merchants by bi-racial committee. Greensboro Housing Authority formally removed color bar from its 1,036 low-rent housing units, previously 400 units all-white and 636 units all Negro.

Greenville -- July 5 - About 200 mayors from all sections of state vowed unanimously to support Governor Sanford in efforts "to remove the indignities long suffered by Negroes."

Henderson -- June 10-29 - Mayor Horace Faulkner moved June 10 to integrate parks, but city council over-rulled him at night meeting later, and June 11 closed city's 3 parks rather than integrate them.

June 28 - Orderly Negro marches and picketing for equal employment opportunities began; no arrests. No mass demonstrations are planned. Mayor's bi-racial committee being appointed but so far only two whites willing to serve.

Hickory -- June 27 - Five area restaurants have adopted non-discrimination policy according to Hickory Community Relations Council at its second meeting since being appointed by Board of Alderman on June 6.

High Point -- June 12 - Most hotels, motels, and eating establishments integrated. Action endorsed by City Council and group of business leaders.

June 18 - Three Negroes filed a petition in U. S. Middle District Court asking for an injunction against City of High Point and Key Theatres, Inc., to permit them and all Negroes to attend local theatres.

Lexington -- Mayor C. V. Sink released letter from Davidson County NAACP urging desegregation of all public facilities, upgrading of Negroes on city jobs, equal job opportunities, and better communication. A total of 18 white persons arrested on charges of engaging in a riot.

June 28 - Three Negroes charged with death of white mechanic during June 6 riot bound over for trial without bail; 28 (18 white, 10 Negro) convicted last week of engaging in riot. Most cases appealed. Court meted out fines of $25 to $250 and jail terms of three to 16 months; jail terms suspended in most cases on payment on fines.

Monroe -- June 26 - Union County Sheriff Griffin said he found no evidence that white integration leader's car was shot at June 25 near Monroe. Monroe Apter of New York reported shot fired at him and 2 Monroe Negroes by 3 white men following in car.

Mount Airy-- July 5 - Negro leaders presented town commissioners with requests to end discrimination May 16.

June 24 - a 13-member bi-racial committee was formed of civic and business leaders to desegregate public facilities and open job opportunities. Before committee formed, 6 drug stores voluntarily dropped racial bars.

July 5 - Meetings of committee with restaurant, hotel-motel operators, held this week, also industrialists.

New Bern -- July 19 - Anti-segregation demonstration at drive-in restaurant, second in two days, resulted in arrests of 58 Negroes on trespass charges.

North Wilkesboro -June 29 - Mayor James M. Anderson announced formation of bi-racial committee to solve city's racial problems.

Oxford -- June 22 - Special bi-racial committee attempting to settle strife which began June 19 and resulted June 22, in rock and bottle throwing battle squelched by 70 state troopers. Some 300 Negroes and whites involved. During disturbance rifle shots fired into police car and one patrolman cut with knife. Demonstrations directed against theatre.

Raleigh -- June 7 - July 7 --Around 180 Negroes stood in front of business establishments several hours after 200 Negroes staged protest march downtown.

June 13 - Five hotels and motels, nine restaurants and all drive-in theatres desegregated. Demonstrations and "testing committees" continued.

June 20 - Downtown movie theatres integrated.

June 22 - Six Negro students with suitcases sat-in at entrance to Sir Walter Hotel after being refused rooms; arrested, charged with trespassing, and released. The 6 joined by carloads of Negro youths with suitcases, returned. Four attempted to enter coffee shop and were arrested. Several white college students joined the 175 Negroes in marching (singing) around hotel for several hours; group then marched away towards Shaw University. Seventy-six businesses desegregated but names not available.

June 26 - Some 200 Negroes met at Old Capital at Gov. Sanford's invitation to state their views on civil rights; group defied Governor's plea for end to demonstrations. After meeting, 100 Negroes gathered outside to sing.

Raleigh (cont'd)

June 29 - City Council repealed last remaining segregation ordinance previous week requiring desegregated cemeteries.

July 7 - Militant state Negro anti-segregation leaders spurned personal plea of Governor Sanford at Raleigh meeting and vowed continued demonstrations all over state. Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association have opened their membership to Negroes.

Roxboro -- July 7 - Chairman of bi-racial committee announced that about 90% of town's motels and restaurants have integrated.

Sanford -- June 25 - First meeting of newly formed 11-member bi-racial commitee. One member, a restaurant operator, said he had called meeting of about 25 restaurant operators about five weeks ago to consider dropping racial bars.

Salisbury -- June 13 - July 2 -- After rumors of impending racial demonstrations, directors of Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association announced immediate appointment of bi-racial committee "to work for better community relations." Committee will supplement 1961 Community Service Committee.

July 2 - City Council voted to eliminate "race, color, or national origin" as factors in hiring city employees

Shelby -- June 12 - Mayor Harry S. Woodson and Mayor-elect Dr. Hubert Plaster named a Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations, after June 4 vote for such a group by City Council.

Statesville--June 15 - More restaurants and some hotels desegregated: Merchants' Association voted to accept application from Negroes(as sales clerks).

Thomasville--June 3-July 17 Week of June 3 swimming pools integrated
July 17 - Crowds of about 150 Negroes and 150 whites squared off in a parking lot beside City Hall and began hurling rocks at each other. Local and state police dispersed mobs. Negroes later demonstrated at city's only movie theatre, where 60-65 (mostly teenagers) Negroes were arrested. Charged with blocking entrance and violating fire ordinance.

Whiteville-- July 4 - First Negro policeman hired; to patrol Negro section.

Wilmington-- June 15 - Some restaurants and hotels desegregated. During May, all signs indicating segregation were removed from court house.

Williamston--July 1-Orderly demonstrations began and continued

daily, with up to 500 marching on July 4.
July 2 - Seven Negroes served at drugstore lunch counter.
July 3 - 150 Negroes denied admission to municipal swimming pool leased to private operator, and pool closed July 4; lawsuit planned. About 500 Negroes demonstrated for five successive days and sought service at downtown restaurant; 36 arrested, but juveniles released and 18 jailed. Large crowds of whites assembled July 3 and violence narrowly averted. Mayor suggested bi-racial committee and urged end to demonstrations; request refused.

Wilson -- July 3 - Recently appointed Mayor's bi-racial Good Neighbor Council presented 3 requests to Wilson County Commissioners: 1) non-discrimination in hiring, 2) unified tax listing, and 3) removal of racial signs from county facilities.

Winston-Salem -- June 28-July 7 - During June, Forsyth County Medical Society announced it would admit Negro doctors to "scientific" membership .

June - 28 - Direct action protests resumed when three Negroes picketed cafeteria.

June 29 -Five leading restaurants announced desegregation on July 1.

July 2 - 22 orderlies and domestic workers at hospital petitioned for improved employment benefits and end to policy of addressing them by first names.

July 4 - Mayor's bi-racial committee polled area employers re elimination of discrimination in employment. Hotel-motel and restaurant committees agreed to work together to accomplish additional desegregation. theatre committee announced progress but declined to name desegregated theatres.

July 6 - About 20 demonstrators (2 white) picketed for third day downtown cafeteria.

July 7 - Forsyth County Bar Association voted to admit Negro attorneys to membership.

A total of 46 restaurants have desegregated.

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City -- June 23 - An amusement park where 51 persons were arrested in a racial demonstration opened today to both Negroes and whites. The owner said he had received numerous telephoned threats

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Anderson -- June 12 - City council repealed local ordinance prohibiting serving whites and Negroes at the same lunch counter, also agreed to hire Negro policemen and to the establishment of a bi-racial committee.

Charleston --July 3 - July 23 - An estimated 150 Negro demonstrators arrested on charges of obstructing traffic July 3 in the first mass arrest of anti-segregation demonstrators here in 1963.

Similar demonstrations had been occurring for more than a week, but this was first time Negroes had been marching at a slow step. Fire trucks were used July 16 to break up a crowd of 500 Negro demonstrators. Trucks called out after 4 policemen were injured by flying bricks in first racial violence during a month of protests; crowd scattered at sight of trucks and no fire hoses were used. S. C. Governor Donald Russell ordered state troopers into Charleston July 17, and alerted certain national guard units.

During a march by 175 Negroes through downtown area July 20, 3 Negro ministers and Wilhelmina Gantt, mother of Harvey Gantt, first Negro admitted to Clemson, were arrested. Meanwhile, white and Negro leaders reported that two bi-racial conferences held July 19, had proven helpful, though no settlement was reached. Sixty-two downtown merchants agreed July 23 to integrate their stores, but the move did not placate demonstration leaders who said the series of demonstrations which began 6 weeks ago would continue. "We don't know who these 62 merchants are," commented one leader, "they will have to let us know specifically who will integrate and who will not integrate."

In another development, it was announced June 27 that Catholic hospitals in Charleston and Columbia will accept Negro patients in the fall; all services will be available to them, hospital officials said. But Negro doctors will not be permitted to practice in these hospitals.

Columbia -- June 24-July 10 - The district office of the Internal Revenue Service here hired its fourth employee June 24. Governor Russell met with 5 white and 3 Negro members of the S. C. Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission June 28. It was a closed door meeting, but 2 members indicated that a wide range of topics involving integration in S. C. was discussed.

July 7 - A white man began 30 days of hard labor for slapping a Negro girl who refused to move to the back of a bus.

Columbia (Cont'd)

July 10 - Federal judge J. Robert Martin of Greenville S. C., ordered desegregation of all state parks.

Desegregation to take place 60 days hence. There is a possibility, however, that the parks will be closed; present state law forbids the operation of any park that is not segregated.

Florence -- June 30 - A 20-man bi-racial committee has been formed here to establish lines of communication between white and Negro leaders. Its formation was endorsed by 82 community leaders.

Greenville-- July 3 - The Greater Greenville Chamber of Commerce's board of directors urged the formation of a bi-racial committee, saying such a move should be taken in the best interests of local race relations.

Orangeburg-- June 28 - The president of the S. C. Municipal Association called upon Negroes to refrain from demonstrating and urged them to try to solve racial problems in each community in "good faith."

Richland County -- July 2 - Two Negroes were among 4 deputies hired by the Richland County sheriff's office. The 2 deputies are the first Negroes to be hired in Richland County.

Rock Hill June 12 - The Rock Hill Chamber of Commerce recommended immediate integration of all city businesses serving the general public; resolution passed unanimously by chamber's 15-member board of directors.

Sumter July 3 - The Carnegie Public Library here is now open to Negroes.

TENNESSEE:

Bolivar -- July 7 - A group of Hardeman County citizens met with Negroes from the County Improvement Assn. to discuss job opportunities and use of public facilities. Judge Max Frost told the group the jobs they were seeking are state and federal and that local citizens have no control over them.

Chattanooga--July 7-The Board of Directors of the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce unanimously issued an appeal to "the owners of the firms doing business with the general public to provide ...equal treatment of all people." July 9 -Officials announced that most of the city's leading restaurants, about 70%, had been or would be desegregated. This move was the result of negotiations that have been underway for weeks.

Knoxville -- July 3 - Approximately 50 Knoxville restaurants and cafeterias have agreed to desegregate their facilities voluntarily. The desegregation move was worked out by an executive group of the Committee for peaceful and orderly desegregation.

TEXAS

Amarillo -- June 23 - Approximately 40 Negroes worshipped in five white churches.

June 26 - After about 30 Negroes demonstrated before two downtown movie theaters, manager suggested they seek admission in smaller groups. They did, and were admitted.

Austin -- During June - Chamber of Commerce issued resolution recommending businesses integrate public rooms. Sixty-two (85%) of city's restaurants desegregated.

July 1 - Austin Ice Place desegregated - site of much picketing.

Baytown-- June 13 - Mayor Lee Liggett appointed 12-man (7 whites, 5 Negroes) biracial committee.

Beaumont -- During June - white Human Relations Council met with Negro counterpart with aim of ending racial discrimination in jobs. Many trade and craft unions integrated, some with Negro officials.

June 28 - city pool desegregated.

July 16 - white pastor named to Negro Congregational Church. Nearby Bastrop State Park integrated all facilities except pool during month, becoming first Texas State Park to desegregate.

Commerce -- During June - attempts by Negroes to use city pool failed.

Corpus Christi -- During June - restaurant association recommended integration, most members followed. Further integration of hotels, motels, bowling alleys urged by Negro leaders.

Corsicana -- Week June 26 - municipal lake and lake park integrated. City has biracial committee.

Dallas -- June 24 - one downtown movie desegregated, all others followed suit during the week. Community Relations Committee is biracial (7 Negro members), urged desegregation of city park facilities, including pools, which took place in late June.

July 17 - one white congregation voted to admit Negro worshippers.

Denton -- June 28 - City Commission passed formal resolution declaring all public facilities integrated, including library and hospital (there are no pools).

Fort Worth -- June 22 - 3-man (1 Negro) race relations committee announced all downtown hotels, restaurants, movies, athletic contests desegregated.

July 2 - unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to use 2 bowling alleys.

Houston -- Early July - biracial committee established, restaurants, hotels, theatres largely desegregated.

Lubbock -- June 12 - 72 cafe owners reported they had integrated their businesses.

Marshall -- Reportedly has one of state's oldest biracial commissions, no integration.

San Angelo --Hotels and restaurants on a schedule to desegregate within the year.

San Antonio -- June 26 - Negro pickets at City Hall pressing desegration ordinance. A July 4 deadline for voluntary desegregation of accommodations asked by 19-man biracial committee. By July 12 - 92% of motel rooms, 95% of hotel and restaurant space in compliance. All theatres, lunch counters, bowling alleys integrated. Fashionable stores began hiring Negro retail clerks.

Sherman -- Biracial ministerial alliance has helped open communications on employment opportunities.

Texarkana -- June 12 - More than 200 anti-integration demonstrators gathered near campus of Texarkana Junior College, burned crosses, and were dispersed by police, when first two Negro students were admitted.

Texas City-- July 3 - City Commission appointed biracial committee.

Tyler -- Week July 1 - biracial committee appointed to discuss integration of parks and pools.

Waco -- Week June 17 - After Chamber of Commerce-appointed businessmen's committee met with Negro leaders, at least 4 leading restaurants desegregated. County (McLennan) has hired its first Negro deputy sheriff. At least two churches have publicly announced they are open to all.

VIRGINIA

Alexandria -- Two swimming pools were desegregated in May by City Council edict, and four movie theatres quietly desegregated at end of May, before court ruling on public accommodations June 27.

Arlington -- June 17 - Four movie theatres desegregated.

Charlottesville -- July 2-7 - stores have dropped color bar in employment; 8 restaurants and at least one theatre have desegregated.

Clifton Forge -- July 3 - City's only movie theatre integrated quietly at midnight showing.

Covington -- July 17 - formation of biracial committee postponed by City Council.

Danville -- July 3-20 - On July 3, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth substituted for the Rev. M. L. King, Jr., and denounced temporary injunction against unruly demonstrations. He urged Negroes to test it with peaceful demonstrations.

July 5 - picketing began of stores, city hall, home of president of Dan River Mills and of Mayor and continued through 20th. 101 were arrested during height of demonstrations, July 10 - 13. Boycott of products of Dan River Mills announced.

July 11 - Mass demonstrations began with renewed fervor after address by Rev. M. L. King, Jr., and 106 Negroes registered to vote during two-day period. Positions on both sides of controversy hardened. City Council endorsed Mayor Stinson's refusal to appoint biracial committee and passed new parade ordinance to curb demonstrations.

July 14 - Negro paratrooper, in full uniform and carrying American flag, arrested for picketing Mayor Stinson's home; listed as AWOL at Ft. Bragg.

Danville - continued

July 17 - In related action, the New York offices of Dan River Mills was picketed.

Meanwhile, families of jailed demonstrators began receiving food and clothing from as far away as California and New York. More than 200 had been arrested in past six weeks; 100 were still in jail. 11 who took part in demonstrations were declared ineligible for unemployment compensation; some others lost their jobs.

July 20-26 - more demonstrators were arrested following shooting incident involving patrol car night of July 19.

Legal Developments -- June 27 - July 19 - On June 27 Negro attorney Len W. Holt (of Norfolk) spent night in jail after arrest for inciting riot in recent demonstrations. His bond was set at $5,000. Mr. Holt was among 13 Negro leaders indicted by grand jury for participation in the riots; 11 are in jail. Bonds now total $146,450 for those arrested during demonstrations of past month. This figure does not include any bonds posted for cases in juvenile court.

On June 26 Harold J. Flannery, a Justice Department attorney, had conferred at length with Mayor Stinson seeking commitments on city employment of Negroes. Later, Stinson charged Flannery with "veiled threats and vague promises."

July 2 - The Justice Department supported more than 100 Negro citizens in seeking to transfer their trials from a Danville city court to the U. S. District Court in Charlottesville. Both attempted removal of the cases from local court and the decision to file a "friend of the court" brief strongly supporting this move were described by a government attorney as "without recent precedent." Negro leaders have charged that during recent racial tension Danville Judge Archibald M. Aiken has usually appeared in public with a large revolver at his belt, and has taken a personal hand in attempting to disperse crowds of Negroes. Negroes also have complained that Judge Aiken has lined his courtroom with as many as 40 uniformed policemen during trials of demonstrators, and that he has ordered Negro attorneys (both male and female) searched for weapons upon entering his court. Judge Thomas J.

Michie of the U. S. District Court for Western District of Virginia received the petition and was expected to announce his decision this week. Meanwhile, on same day, Judge Michie granted the city's request for a temporary restraining order against any acts of violence or violation of city laws over the July 4 weekend, when Rev. M. L. King Jr. scheduled to address a rally. Michie said injunction did not bar rally to hear King speak; permit for a parade was withdrawn.

July 5 - City Judge Aiken extended his anti-demonstration injunction from July 6 to July 29.

July 10 - U. S. Judge Michie advised he would return cases to city court and would lift temporary order restraining demonstrations.

July 19 - City officials conferred with Gov. Harrison and state legal authorities.

July 23 - U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals notified City no ruling to be made before September 23 on injunction barring racial demonstrations. Municipal Court trials began for 12 persons.

Falls Church -- June 17 - a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal -- Howard Johnson's desegregated, mid-April.

Harrisonburg --Howard Johnson's desegregated, mid-April.

Leesburg -- June 25-July 1 - Orderly picketing of theatres began and continued several nights.

June 29 - Pitts Tally-ho Theatre opened its doors to Negroes and Casey's Diner (under construction in shopping center) announced it would serve all persons. Picketing continued at swimming pool.

July 1 - Bowling center desegregated recently.

Lynchburg -- July 17 - Negro group asked U. S. Justice Department to investigate charges of brutality by Lynchburg police in the arrest of 5 Negro girls July 13, and charged police with brutality in arrest of Negro woman on June 6. It was declared that metal "claws" were used during arrests and caused swollen areas on girls' arms.

Martinsville -- July 17 - City Council tabled proposal by Martinsville-Henry County Civil League for a biracial committee.

Newport News -- Biracial committee in operation since June.

Norfolk -- June 26-July 2 - Negro leaders indicated possibility of demonstrations in wake of Norfolk County Council's rejection of 4-point petition for broad racial integration. City Council designated 25-member biracial committee, originally charged with studying re-development and planning, as its biracial problems body.

July 2 - Ocean View Amusement Park desegregated. Citizens Advisory Committee invited Negro Leaders to present grievances. Subcommittees were appointed to deal with special problems.

Petersburg -- July 17 - City Council sanctioned formation of biracial commission; it has no official connection with city government.

Radford -- June 25-27 - member biracial committee named.

Richmond -- June 25-July 10 - On June 25 a Negro was wounded by a shot from a passing car; he said it was occupied by two white boys.

July 6 - Six of 28 fire companies to be integrated, and all-Negro unit dispersed.

July 7 - The Rev. Robert W. Hare (white) preached his first sermon as pastor of a Negro Presbyterian church.

July 10 - City Council approved formation of biracial committee and received proposed ordinance which could lower racial barriers at city's six park houses. Mayor Eleanor Sheppard promised to appoint committee "as quickly as possible." A Citizens Advisory Committee will discuss desegregation with motel and hotel operators.

Roanoke -- July 4 - City is considering niring Negro firemen. Mayor M.A. Stroller said it appeared unlikely repairs could be made to Washington Park (Negro neighborhood) swimming pool in time for it to be used this summer.

Roanoke - continued

July 7-14 - firms voluntarily dropped discrimination in hiring policies.

July 17 - Mayor Stroller said he would move July 22 to have Roanoke's last ordinance requiring segregation stricken from books. The law required separate seating on buses.

Suffolk -- June 28 - The Rev. M. L. King spoke to cheering crowd of 5,000; no demonstrations occurred. Following day statewide pilgrimage to Danville announced for July 3 to protest arrests of demonstrators.

Virginia Beach -- June 29 - Majority of hotels, restaurants, motels, and movie theatres have quietly dropped racial barriers.

Waynesboro -- Howard Johnson's desegregated in mid-April.

Winchester -- June 25 - Negro leaders conducting public relations campaign for Negro job opportunities.

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED: JUNE 24 - JULY 24

ALABAMA:
- Birmingham
- Gadsden
- Huntsville

ARKANSAS:
- Hot Springs
- Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:
- Cocoa
- Fort Myers
- Gainesville
- Orlando
- St. Augustine
- Tallahassee
- Winter Park

GEORGIA:
- Atlanta
- Augusta
- Cordele
- Macon

LOUISIANA:
- New Orleans

KENTUCKY:
- Bowling Green
- Danville
- Frankfort
- Hopkinsville
- Paducah

MISSISSIPPI:
- Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:
- Charlotte
- Durham
- Gastonia
- Greensboro
- Hickory
- Mount Airy
- Raleigh
- Roxboro
- Salisbury
- Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA:
- Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:
- Anderson
- Charleston

TENNESSEE:
- Chattanooga
- Knoxville

TEXAS:
- Amarillo
- Austin
- Beaumont
- Corpus Christi
- Corsicana
- Dallas
- Denton
- Fort Worth
- San Antonio
- Waco

VIRGINIA:
- Charlottesville
- Clifton Forge
- Leesburg
- Norfolk
- Richmond
- Roanoke
- Virginia Beach

SUMMARY

CITIES WHERE THERE HAS BEEN PROTEST ACTIVITY: JUNE 24 - JULY 24

ALABAMA:
Talladega

ARKANSAS:
Little Rock

FLORIDA:
Bradenton
Ocala
St. Augustine
St. Petersburg
Tallahassee

GEORGIA:
Albany
Americus
Atlanta
Columbus
Savannah

LOUISIANA:
Baton Rouge
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI:
Clarksdale
Greenville
Greenwood

NORTH CAROLINA:
Chapel Hill
Fayetteville
Goldsboro
Henderson
New Bern
Oxford
Raleigh
Thomasville
Williamston
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA:
Charleston

TEXAS:
Amarillo
Austin
Commerce
Fort Worth
San Antonio

VIRGINIA:
Danville
Leesburg
Lynchburg

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11SOUTHERN STATES SINCE JUNE 24:

1,323

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
September 5, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENT, III*

This synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South covers the period of July 24-August 28, 1963. It also includes events since April 1, 1963, not carried in the first or second synopses, dated June 26, 1963, and July 26, 1963, respectively. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 26 - Defense Secretary McNamara issued off-limits directive: "Every military commander has the responsibility to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents and to foster equal opportunity for them, not only in areas under his immediate control, but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours." Local commanders must secure permission from the civilian service secretaries before invoking off-limits restrictions on racial grounds.

August 8 - The Defense Department made public a memorandum dated June 17 stating that all morticians holding armed forces contracts have been advised their contracts will not be valid in the event of racial discrimination.

August 28 - Police estimate 210,000 persons from a majority of the 50 states gathered in the Capitol to march briefly and hear leaders' speeches in affirmation of rights for Negroes.

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* This is principally compiled from newspaper sources.

ALABAMA

Birmingham - July 24 - (The day following city's repeal of its segregation ordinances) Two Negro youths arrested for attempting to enter a movie theatre and refusing to leave when requested. July 30 - 6 downtown variety and department store lunch counters integrated. July 31 - 4 white men arrested protest-picketing desegregated lunch counters;and 7 stores in 3 suburban shopping centers integrated eating facilities.

August 6 - The American Guild of Variety Artists Shows for Freedom - an integrated cast and program - held benefit performance for integrated audience at Miles College (use of city auditorium denied).

August 15 - Homemade tear gas bomb explodes in recently integrated department store.

August 20 - Disorder in the streets between an estimated 2000 Negroes and police follows the bombing of a Negro Attorney's home.

Gadsden - Atmosphere of tense quiet reinforced by presence of 100 state troopers in town until July 19 when downtown marches resumed with 15 arrests, Negroes charging state troopers with harsh treatment of demonstrators during subsequent week. August 3 - Approximately 700 marchers staged city's largest anti-segregation demonstration to date, over 300 arrests and use of electric cattle prods reported. August 4 - Over 100 Negroes sang in protest outside city jail. August 5 - 14 arrested seeking lunch counter service.

August 22 - 4 Prominent actors (white) fly in for church rally. City buses reportedly desegregated since late July.

Huntsville - August 8 - Representatives of 40 industrial firms with government contracts form Association and issue statement in compliance with the Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

Linden - June 29 - Baptist pastor resigns his church rather than "tear it up" over his support of granting membership to Negroes, should they apply.

Macon County - August 17 - Hires its first Negro deputy sheriff.

Mobile - July 26 - Negro leaders charge in telegram to Justice Department that a Negro army sergeant was arrested and beaten for seeking lunch counter service the day before.

ALABAMA (Cont'd)

Mobile (cont'd) - August 15 - Negroes file a petition with City Commission asking desegregation of public facilities and passage of anti-discrimination public accommodation ordinance.

July 26 - State Supreme Court refused to review Alabama Court of Appeals conviction of 11 clergymen arrested during May, 1961, Freedom Rides. The 11 have alternative of submitting to sentence ($100 fine, 10 days in jail) or appeal before federal judiciary.

Montgomery - August 3 - Police Department announces plan to employ 3 Negro policewomen as school crossing guards.

Selma - August 2 - Voter registration worker arrested on "false identity" charge ($500 bond set) 6 days before scheduled to testify at Justice Department hearings on voter intimidation.

Tuskegee County - August 13 - Hires Negro deputy sheriff.

ARKANSAS

Fort Smith - Defense Department* telegraphed by local civil rights organization that city recreational facilities and public accommodations unavailable to Negro servicemen at nearby Fort Chaffee.

Hot Springs - Following 12 weeks of negotiations, as of July 17 most theatres, restaurants, and lunch counters desegregated. By August 3, additional facilities, including thermal bath houses, following suit.

Little Rock - July - Included in a White Citizens Council boycott of desegregated facilities has been the Arkansas Travellers (have a star Negro outfielder) baseball park. (Gov. Faubus attended opening.) August 6 - Parade of about 25 around a motel protesting wages, working conditions of Negro employees.

Marion - July 17 - Negro youth suspected of rape shot by whites; sheriff's office later reported no rape; as of July 27 FBI investigating death.

* Pertinent to Defense Department directive, see page 1.

ARKANSAS (Cont'd)

Pine Bluff - July 24 - small-scale demonstrations resumed by youths after 3-month truce. A cafeteria desegregated. July 28 - August 7 - at least 5 separate demonstrations at segregated drive-in hamburger stand resulted in 62 arrests.

August 1 - 25 arrested in protest at main library over refusal to issue cards (Negroes had used Negro branch, been permitted to borrow from main library only non-fiction unavailable at Negro branch). August 5 - library announces "open to all" policy.

August 4 - Approximately 25 anti-segregation demonstrators marched at Arkansas AM&N College during Governor Faubus' appearance.

FLORIDA

Clearwater - Although all the city's public facilities have desegregated, on at least three occasions in July (14 and 21) swimming parties of Negroes have been advised to leave the public beach when whites threatened disorders .

As of August 1 - at least 4 restaurants desegregated.

Fort Lauderdale -

August 3 - Announcement made of desegregation by 47 members of the Restaurant Association; also, theatres and drive-ins. Police Department actively recruiting Negro officer trainees. Has 22-man biracial committee appointed in late May.

Jacksonville - July 22 - Picketing for Negro employment begun at Southern Bell.

July 24 - Negro leaders considering mass demonstrations after a year of little action via Chamber of Commerce's Committee on racial relations.

August 3 - 12 department and clothing stores hire Negroes.

Miami - Week of July 8 - Roosevelt Savings and Loan Association (board of directors - 7 whites, 5 Negroes) opens, reportedly first state-chartered integrated institution of its kind in South.

July 28 - Police Department integrated as "Negro precinct" abolished.

Miami (cont'd) - August 1-3 - Picketing at drive-in theatre protesting fence between Negro and white entrances. Manager announces all entrances open to all.

August 10 - Picketing of ice cream stand results in its closing, pickets sued.

Miami Beach - July 21-26 - Orderly groups numbering 20-30 picketed National Governor's Conference with signs urging integration.

Ocala - July 20-21 - Total of 46 arrested demonstrating in protest over jailing of leader who had launched restaurant picketing June 29. During previous week a biracial committee automatically disbanded when mayor resigned. While 5 chain store lunch counters desegregated, further picketing recommenced July 23. On July 25 jailed leader charges police brutality; police request mental competency examination (found competent July 26). As picketing continued, on the night of July 27 a Negro leader's home was fired into with a shotgun. July 30 - 21 pickets arrested, adult leadership joins demonstrators for first time July 31, pledge to continue. Arrests total 111 after 2½ weeks.

Orlando - July 23 - City Commission (acting on recommendation of city's interracial committee) votes to desegregate all city owned facilities except pools.

Panama City - July 20 - Total of 35 arrested picketing motels and restaurants.

August 1 - Negro leadership notifies Defense Department* that local public accommodations are denied Negro service personnel from Tyndall Air Force Base and Navy Mine Defense Laboratory.

Pinellas County -

July 23 - Biracial Committee elected four standing subcommitties to deal with executive matters, education, employment, and public accommodations.

St. Augustine -

Demonstrations for integration of accommodations and facilities continuous and peaceful from late June until week of July 15 when police began arresting juveniles and refusing to release them in custody of parents if latter refused to prevent them from demonstrating; threatened sending them to deliquents' home.
July 23 - Crowd of 300 gathered at jail to protest action.

St. Augustine - (cont'd)

July 25 - Jail demonstration repeated, 5 arrested trying to force release of prisoners.

St. Petersburg -

July 30 - Theatre picketing suspended pending a attempt at negotiated desegregation. A cafe which serves Negroes through a side window but denies access to main entrance picketed.

Tampa - July 20 - Members of Merchants Association announce training course designed to prepare 30 Negro applicants for sales positions September 1. August 5-6 - peaceful picketing at cafeteria, 3 arrests.

GEORGIA

State Action - August 1 - First Negro admitted to National Guard since 1905.

Albany - July 23 - Bullets fired into headquarters of student civil rights group.

During July - An Episcopal church announced it is "a house of prayer for all people" and that Negroes have attended.

Week of July 26 - Negro railroad flagman shot in back by a white Marine. Federal Appeals Court ruled city police cannot enforce segregation in publicly owned or regulated facilities.

August 6 - Federal grand jury indicts 9 persons previously active in local protest nvolvement on charges of conspiring against a white grocer who as a juror had voted against a Negro plaintiff in a federal suit: 3 for obstructing justice; 6 for perjury.

Americus - July 26 - Protest - marchers singing attempts to enter - aimed at only downtown movie theatre (segregated) and some lunch counters have been continuous since mid-June, arrests steady. After an August 9 mass meeting Negroes marched downtown, there was some disorder, use of hoses. As of August 17, an estimated 120 had been arrested in a month, no solutions arrived at.

Athens - July 30 - Demonstrations protesting segregated movies commenced here and one theatre admitted Negroes, continued through August 2 when 2 restaurants, 2 hotels desegregated, 5 arrests.

Athens - (cont'd)

August 6 - 138 arrested in protest march on city hall. New city ordinance prohibits more than 5 Negroes in one block at one time. August 9 - 2 advisory committees (white-15, Negro-10) appointed by and meeting with mayor. August 25 - A Baptist and a Methodist church each admitted Negroes to worship. August 26 - Picketing recommenced with 6 arrests.

Atlanta - July 26 - Several weeks concentrated picketing one segregated restaurant climaxed with arrest of 13 who sat down in street, were fined and started serving sentences July 29, released August 2. August 2 - Fulton County Grand Jury, following charge of Fulton Superior Court judge, returned indictments on 75 arrested in violation of Georgia's anti-trespass law. Estimated sit-in arrests April 27 to date: 116. Anti-integration pickets appearing regularly at 3 or 4 restaurants. Some restaurants reportedly resegregated.

August 5 - Approximately 250 Negroes peacefully marched to city hall largely in protest over poor city maintenance facilities in Negro neighborhoods.

August 28 - White pastor arrested during attempts to integrate church in June receives maximum misdemeanor sentence.

Employment protests: picketing has been continuous at Southern Bell. Picketing of Coca Cola Company threatened, has not materialized. Picketing of 4 liquor stores halted altogether August 27 as owners agree to employ Negroes.

Baxley - July 28 - Mississippi Governor Barnett discussed civil rights at a beauty pageant.

Calhoun - August 10 - Hires first Negro policeman.

Columbus - July 18 - Negro leadership agrees to suspend demonstrations (previously at pools, parks, libraries, schools) pending negotiations. July 22 - City Commission created biracial advisory committee (6 Negroes, 14 whites). August 14 - City hires first Negro policeman in 5 years, announces future employment of 3 more. August 21 - Full library desegregation announced for September 1.

Decatur - July 28 - Christian Church minister preached "The time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church...must be open to all of God's children without restriction."

August 3 - Attempts to integrate lunch counters (successful) and movie (unsuccessful) and to swim at 2 DeKalb County pools. August 6 - Negro leaders met with County Commissioners to discuss grievances.

Fitzgerald - July 27 and 29 - Negroes attempted to use public library on 2 occasions, 21 arrests on the latter date.

Savannah - August 1 - Accord reached over October 1 desegregation of some motels, hotels, bowling alleys, and theatres and suspension of demonstrations for 60 days. Only one arrest made - August 7 - of demonstrators who reportedly eluded arrest during June-July protests. Also August 7--50 Negroes convicted on varying charges arising out of previous protests.

Terrell County -

August 19 - Demonstrators arrested in Americus (Sumter County) reportedly being held at Terrell County Work Camp, one of the state prison facilities officially closed following clean-up in May.

Valdosta - July 28 - 18 Negroes arrested protesting segregated movie theatre. July 29 - 2 carloads of white youths who tried to force a car of Negroes off the road sentenced in court. July 31 - Mayor plans to form biracial committee.

KENTUCKY -

Hazard - July 25 - Reports all its recreational facilities (pool closed since 1959) desegregated.

Henderson - July 26 - 5 of 13 pickets seeking restaurant desegregation arrested.

Lexington - July 24-August 2 - Several small scale demonstrations and a city hall march, all without incident, culminated on the latter date with the arrest of 9 sitting in a department store aisle protesting discriminatory employment. August 3 - Judge dismissed charges.

LOUISIANA -

Baton Rouge -

July 25, 26 - Picketing City Park and pool without incident until August 3 when some disorder in attempts to enter pool, 5 arrests.

Baton Rouge - (cont'd)

August 1 - 3 Negro policemen commence duties.

August 6 - Lunch counters at 13 downtown retail stores and in 2 suburban shopping plazas desegregated.

Belle Chasse -

August 10 - Plaquemines Parish Council president Leander Perez urges children of Navy personnel at nearby Collendar Field be barred from parish schools and adult personnel from parish public accommodations, in response to Defense Department directive (page 1).

Buras - August 27 - Catholic school which had attempted to integrate in fall, 1962, shattered by midnight explosion, its third.

Clinton - August 2 - White voter registration worker arrested at courthouse while assisting Negroes in registering.

New Iberia - August 3 - White man charged with kidnapping and intimidating 2 Negro employees of Sanitation Department (which had recently hired 3 Negroes for the first time).

New Orleans -

August 1 - Federal court orders desegregation of city's 106 recreational facilities and on August 8 upheld desegregation of the luxury restaurant and cocktail lounge at the airport (only coffee shop and snack bar previously integrated).

August 1- Firemen doused a burning cross on statue of former Supreme Court Chief Justice Edward Douglas White.

August 8 - Angry groups of whites and Negroes scuffling in parks dispersed twice by police.

July 21 - At nearby Lake Pontchartrain Beach 8 persons unsuccessfully sought access to private amusement park.

Plaquemine -

Mid-July - Start of fairly continuous chain store picketing. July 26 - White man arrested for tearing down "white" and "colored" signs at Iberville Parish courthouse restrooms and water fountains. July 29-August 3 - Week-long voter registration clinic.

August 11 - 25 arrested seeking desegregated seating aboard a Mississippi River ferryboat. August 19 - Police permitted one downtown march, turned tear gas on the second wave, and arrested 16. Downtown marches continued August 20-22, with over 200 arrests. City obtained anti-picketing injunction.

August 25 - 2 white churches admit Negroes, 2 turn them away.

Shreveport - July 20 - Following several days of lunch counter sit-ins, 12 arrests, police patrolled downtown, arrested 4. July 22 - Local Negro minister arrested (he had not participated in sit-ins). On August 6 Negroes presented city council with list of grievances, and second formal request for biracial committee.

Rayville - July 31-August 1 - During the night a total of 45 crosses burned throughout Richland Parish.

MISSISSIPPI -

Clarksdale -

July 30 - Largest protest demonstration to date results in arrest of 52, including Negro leader whose wife was dismissed in the past month from her teaching job with the Coahoma Board of Education. July 31 - 15 more marchers arrested. (In both cases, small groups were parading separately.)

August 8 - An interdenominational group of ministers from other parts of the country tried without success to call upon the city government, effect a resolution of differences.

Greenville -

July 17 - 4 sat-in at drugstore counter, without success or incident. July 20 - After obtaining parade permit, a group of 16 held orderly downtown march calling for boycott of stores on their placards. August 3 - 21 persons paraded again.

Greenwood - August 6 - A total of 50 Negroes staged a "vote-in": appearing at city hall in groups of 5, they filed affidavits protesting their omission from poll lists, and cast ballots.

Jackson - July 17 - In first anti-segregation in over a month, 12 Negro youths arrested attempting to integrate 2 city parks. July 19 - Over 150 attempted night march downtown, were stopped by police, who made no arrests. July 24 - 10 arrested parading before city hall. July 27 - 14 demonstrators arrested at 3 different sites.

August 9 - 5 additional Negro policemen hired (1 hired earlier). On same day 11 teenagers protesting before department stores arrested.

McComb - July 27 - Group of Negroes asked to leave white railroad station waiting room, refused lunch counter service in city's first racial demonstration since 1961.

Ruleville - August 6 - 3 Negroes arrested for "unlawfully attempting to procure registration."

NORTH CAROLINA

Ahoskie -- July 22-28 - Negro and white preachers jointly conduct week-long, nightly series of integrated services and meetings.

Asheboro -- August 2-5 - Two movies integrated on consecutive nights, following which loitering white (4) and Negro (4) youths involved in dispute, shotgun fired, all arrested. Police chief termed it "hoodlum trouble, not racial trouble."

Chapel Hill --July 14-August 9 -- Continuation of daily marches of 100 or more demonstrators resulting in first mass arrests (34 on July 19) in the city. Committee for Open Business is organizing marches and picketing to urge passage of public accommodations ordinance by town council. (14 stores maintain segregation.)

Charlotte -- July 22 - Municipal clerical staff integrated with hiring of Negro billing clerk.

Dunn -- July 17 - Bi-racial Human Relations Committee named by mayor held first meeting.

July 18, - Pickets at supermarket and funeral home reported struck by cars.

July 25 - One arrest for picketing without permit.

August 5 - Cross burned before business of Negro member of Committee.

August 7-16 - Twenty arrests (including local leader) for sit-ins and picketing at cafe, bakery.

Durham -- In July a school for retail sales clerks established as part of Negro training program.

Elizabeth City -- Week of July 8 - First two Negro policemen employed.

July 19 - Mayor appoints 18-member bi-racial committee.

Enfield -- August 7 - Restaurant picketed, 11 arrests. (Earlier anti-segregation demonstrations at town's only movie resulted in its closing.)

Goldsboro -- Early August - Demonstrations which were halted in late June pending action from bi-racial committee resumed, leaders charging some establishments had resegregated

August 7- Thirty-two arrests out of 300 demonstrators included personnel from nearby Seymour Johnson Air Force Base.

August 9-12 - At least 209 arrested during city's greatest display of protest (over 400 persons per march).

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Greensboro -- July 25 - Announcement made of desegregation of 41 restaurants (25% of total seating capacity, 30 of 41 integrated prior to recent protests), 4 theatres, all bowling alleys.

July 30 - Human Relations Commission appointed 6 subcommittees on recreation, hotels and motels, employment, eating places, education, and progress and information.

Havelock -- July 25 - Approximately 95% of merchants agreed to desegregate, forestalling threatened demonstrations and following protest to Defense Department* (Havelock is near Cherry Point Marine Air Station).

Henderson -- July 17 - Vance County commissioners reject Negroes' petition for public accommodation ordinance and school and employment integration.

High Point -- July 27 - March protesting segregated movies cancelled when Mayor agrees to confer with theatre owners.

July 30 - Bi-racial Committee announces desegregation of all lunch counters (most motels, hotels and restaurants integrated early in July), public facilities including pools, and appointment of Negro to civic service commission to insure merit employment.

August 24 - During singing march of 50 persons, 15 arrested.

Hillsboro -- August 1 - Bi-racial committee (5 Negroes, 5 whites) held first meeting.

Lexington -- July 14-18 - After 200 staged protest march, swimming pool desegregated, then damaged by vandals unknown. Re-opened integrated when repaired.

August 1-10 - Daily picketing at movie theatre, 26 arrests.

August 20 - Three Negroes indicted on murder charges in connection with a death during June 6 riot. Police have several times dispersed crowds outside jail where the prisoners are held.

Monroe -- July 30 - Three integration leaders report their car was fired upon by four other cars.

Mount Airy -- August 3-4 - Thirty-Seven Negroes arrested in two sit-in protests at drugstore lunch counters, which are desegregated but will not serve groups of Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

New Bern -- Late July demonstrations at segregated drive-in during which 9 Negro Marines (from nearby Cherry Point) were arrested prompted wires to Defense Department*, investigation by Justice Department, and mayor's plan to name bi-racial committee.

Oxford -- Early August - Picketing of firms protesting discriminatory hiring. Bi-racial committee is active.

Raleigh -- July 12 - Cross burned (second this summer in North Carolina), before home of woman assisting in interracial project.

July 27 - State's Young Democratic Club shifts summer meeting from segregated to desegregated hotel.

Rockingham -- July 13 - Mayor appoints City Council-approved, bi-racial Good Neighbor Committee (4 whites, 3 Negroes).

Rocky Mount --Week of July 8 - Restaurant picketing peaceful and simultaneous with Negro leaders-businessmen negotiations. Some restaurants and municipal facilities, including pools, desegregated.

Statesville --August 5-6 - Attempts by Negroes to use city pool prompt its closing.

Thomasville-- July 18 - Shot fired into Negro church during rally.

August 19 - First meeting of bi-racial committee held. Desegregation of movie theatre is principal demand.

Williamston --July 30-August 1 - Twenty-eight arrested during picketing and marches which climaxed a month of demonstrations (approximately 200 persons per day), aimed at restaurants, pool (now closed), and library.

August 2 - Arrival of Governor's race relations troubleshooter produced truce and talks between bi-racial committee and city leaders.

August 6 - City employment practices integrated and race signs removed from municipal facilities. Commissioners claim they lack authority to desegregate library (private) and pool (leased to private operator).

Wilmington -- During July - Pool integrated.

Wilson -- July 13 - City Commission agrees to remove race signs from municipal facilities.

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Winston-Salem --July 13 - After arrest of 55 persons July 12, protesting at cafeterias, Negro leaders suspend demonstrations pending negotiated desegregation.

July 23 - August 4 - Picketing of cafeteria resumed and continued daily after one in the chain desegregated, with 50 arrests. On some evenings during this period there were singing marches through downtown to the jail.

August 6-7 - Nighttime prayer marches to city hall.

August 8 - Demonstrations suspended by Negroes to allow businesses to desegregate "without pressure."

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City--July 24 - Private amusement park resegregated after a month of integrated operation.

August 24 - Negro youths attempted to attend Services at 20 churches and were turned away at 3.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Statewide -- August 20 - Forestry Commission announces all state parks to be closed September 8 in avoidance of court ordered integration by September 10.

Anderson -- July 31 - City had its first racial incident in 18 months when white men attacked 2 Negroes who were among 50 being served at 8 formerly segregated lunch counters.

Charleston --July 29 - Following some lapses in demonstrations while businessmen negotiated with Negro leaders, protests, currently over unwillingness of some merchants who will integrate to identify themselves, entered eighth week. By August 3, 107 merchants publically agreed to extend equal courtesies to Negro and white customers and commence equal hiring practices; selective picketing of others which have not has continued.

August 7 - USO announces it will integrate August 15, substituting arts and crafts, discussion groups, etc., for hostesses.

Columbia -- August 27 -Dynamite explosion at Henri Monteith's home.

Florence -- August 2 - City's month-old bi-racial committee and city officials under attack from Citizen's Council.

Orangeburg-- August 2-3 - Picketing of chain grocers and sit-ins at restaurants took place without arrests.

Sumter -- July 19 - The city which has been without racial demonstrations in 2 years witnessed prayer groups at city hall and courthouse.

Sumter (Continued) - July 22-26 - Chain and variety stores picketed all week, climaxed July 26 and July 27 by nighttime marches of 100 to 200 persons.

August 6 - Fifty-two downtown paraders arrested in the afternoon, 300 marched without incident in the evening. Mayor has announced he will name a liaison committee to meet with Negro representatives.

Whitmire -- August 9 - Mayor reports town has been placed off limits to nearby military personnel (Swift Strike III maneuvers) after several Negro soldiers refused to leave a poolroom when asked to.

TENNESSEE

Statewide -- July 30 - State parks' director discloses all state parks have been integrated without announcement during the summer season.

Brownsville-- August 3 - Twelve demonstrators routed from courthouse by police using fire hoses, 1 arrest. (Haywood County has bi-racial committee.)

Chattanooga --August 5 - When denied admission to pool owned by city and leased to private operater, 8 Negroes picketed the facility without incident.

Humboldt -- July 21 - Bi-racial Committee announces the library is desegregated.

August 1 - Thirty-six arrested during march.

Jackson -- July 21 - After unsuccessful presentation to 150 business leaders of Negroes' petition for desegregation of public facilities, integration leaders have urged a boycott.

Knoxville -- August 4 - Three hospitals (Baptist, Presbyterian, and Catholic) announced their simultaneous desegregation during previous week.

Nashville -- July 30 - Federal district court ruled against segregation in private businesses in government-financed renewal areas (case involved a Nashville motel which voluntarily desegregated a month ago).

August 15 - Druggist Association votes to integrate all drugstore lunch counters.

Oak Ridge -- July 27-28 - Laundromat which has denied service to Negroes picketed.

Somerville -- July 20-26 - Week of protest saw marches, sit-ins, 110 Negro students leaving school, 43 arrests, crowds dispersed by smoke bombs, and ended with establishment of 10:00 p. m. curfew.

TEXAS

Austin -- July 29 - Integration leader spent 24-hour vigil in Governor's office seeking appointment, which was granted. Conference fell through when other leaders wished to attend. Picketing of Governor's mansion continued through August 7. Negroes are protesting his anti-civil rights bill testimony.

Dallas -- July 20 - Negro attempting to be served in segregated cafe, slashed with broken bottle when he refused to leave.

August 4 - City's racially-mixed South Oak Cliff area launches (white sponsorship of 5 churches) neighborhood program to promote community development and inter-racial cooperation.

La Porte -- August 5 - City Council votes to establish bi-racial committee to study desegregation of public facilities.

Galveston --August 16 - County Commissioners appointing county-wide (Galveston) bi-racial committee to deal with desegregation in all unincorporated areas.

VIRGINIA

Statewide --August 6 - Commanders at Camp Pickett (Nottoway Co.), Camp A. P. Hill (Caroline Co.), and Ft. Lee (Prince George Co.) have been directed by Defense Department to report by August 30 what steps they have taken to comply with late July order that they advise military personnel of their legal right to send children to integrated schools.

Danville -- July 25 - August 28 - With minor exceptions demonstrations have subsided as last of jailed civil rights leaders released, 100 remain jailed, and over 300 await court hearing on charges of violating temporary anti-demonstration injunction.

July 28 - Seventy-seven were arrested during midtown march and observing newsmen threatened with jail if they did not leave scene.

July 29 - Negro leader arrested at 4:00 a. m. and brought to court barefoot and wearing bathrobe. Injunction, to have expired on this date, extended on day-to-day basis.

July 31 - 275 appear on appeal from lower court convictions.

August 2 - Court made permanent previous temporary injunction. Negro leaders have turned to pushing voter registration (400 registered July 11-August 5).

August 5 - Trials of demonstrators moved to 6 state courts outside Danville.

August 6 - Nine arrested for lying down in street.

August 7 - Trial of demonstrators declared mistrial.

Danville (Continued)

August 8 - Federal court enjoined city from trying demonstrators pending September ruling on validity of city law. City continues arrests, 7 on this date.

August 9 - City officials begin receiving "freedom"phone calls.

August 10 - Three pickeced without incident.

August 13 - A city Councilman offers resolution for a bi-racial committee.

August 15 - Out of several groups of pickets, 6 arrested for not walking far enough apart.

Farmville --July 25-August 1 - First protest action since June sit-ins began with downtown march of 60, followed by daily demonstrations for a week with 33 arrests.

August 3 - Demonstrators paraded despite denial of permit, 12 arrested.

August 5 and 7 - 25-35 secured permit and picketed without incident.

August 10 - Fifty paraded with permit for area slightly outside downtown. Subsequent protests have followed same pattern

Fredericksburg -- August 6 - City Council names 4 Negroes, 4 whites to new bi-racial commission on race relations.

Lynchburg --August 1 - FBI clears city police of brutality charged in July 13 arrest of 5 sit-in demonstrators, who were given suspended sentences.

Manassas -- August 14 - Over 20 restaurants and the only theatre in the area agree to desegregate following Chamber of Commerce Committee's negotiations with owners.

Norfolk -- July 23 - Citizens Advisory Committee (bi-racial) announces that over 75% of motels and hotels agree to integrate.

Petersburg --August 8 - Police department hires first Negro patrolman.

Portsmouth--July 31 - Mayor intercepted group of Negroes enroute to sit-in at restaurant, promised further desegregation (10 establishments agreed to integrate previous week), from talks with businessmen, and denied need for bi-racial committee.

Richmond-- August 3 - Additional 17 restaurants desegregated, since June 18 (when 35 agreed to integrate).

August 6-9 - Picketing around city hall protesting discrimination in municipal employment climaxed by delivery of grievances petition to City Council.

Richmond -- (Continued) August 17 - Seven arrested during sit-in at segregated restaurant.

Staunton -- August 9 - Negro petition on grievances in housing, education, and public facilities and accommodations presented to 6-member (3 Negro) bi-racial Community Relations Committee.

Suffolk -- July 18 - City asked by Negroes to form bi-racial commission.

August 1 - County (Nansemond) asked to form joint bi-racial commission with city.

Waynesboro--August 2 - City hires first Negro policeman.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED JULY 24 - AUGUST 28*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ALABAMA
- Birmingham
- Gadsden
- Mobile

ARKANSAS
- Little Rock
- Pine Bluff

FLORIDA
- Jacksonville*
- Miami
- Miami Beach
- Ocala
- St. Augustine
- St. Petersburg
- Tampa

GEORGIA
- Americus
- Athens
- Atlanta
- Decatur
- Fitzgerald
- Valdosta

KENTUCKY
- Henderson
- Lexington

LOUISIANA
- Baton Rouge
- New Orleans
- Plaquemine
- Shreveport*

MISSISSIPPI
- Clarksdale
- Greenville
- Greenwood
- Jackson
- McComb
- Ruleville

NORTH CAROLINA
- Chapel Hill
- Dunn
- Enfield
- Goldsboro
- High Point
- Lexington
- Mount Airy
- New Bern

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)
- Oxford
- Statesville
- Williamston
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA
- Charleston
- Orangeburg
- Sumter

TENNESSEE
- Brownsville
- Chattanooga
- Humboldt
- Oak Ridge
- Somerville

TEXAS
- Austin

VIRGINIA
- Danville
- Farmville
- Portsmouth
- Richmond

*Cities starred had demonstrations or desegregation prior to July 24 not included in previous synopses. See text on preceeding pages for exact date.

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED JULY 24 - AUGUST 28

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Macon County
Montgomery
Tuskegee County

ARKANSAS

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA

Clearwater
Fort Lauderdale
Miami
Orlando
Tampa

GEORGIA

Athens
Calhoun
Columbus
Savannah

KENTUCKY

Hazard

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
New Iberia

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro
Charlotte
Durham
Elizabeth City
Greensboro
Havelock
High Point
Rocky Mount
Williamston
Wilmington*
Wilson*

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Charleston

TENNESSEE

Humboldt*
Knoxville
Nashville

VIRGINIA

Manassas
Norfolk
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Richmond
Waynesburg

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE JULY 24

2,043

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
December 31, 1963

CIVIL RIGHTS: YEAR-END SUMMARY

During 1963 an estimated 930 individual public protest demonstrations took place in at least 115 cities in the 11 southern states.

More than 20,083 of the persons, Negro and white, who have so demonstrated have been arrested.

Ten persons have died under circumstances directly related to racial protests.

And 35 known bombings have occurred.

On the positive side some progress toward integration has taken in an estimated 186 localities in the 11 southern states. In an estimated 102 of these cities, towns, and counties biracial committees with varying degrees of official sanction are currently working toward the achievement of further integration.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
December 31, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IV*

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South from September 1963 through November 1963. It is principally compiled from newspaper sources. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

ALABAMA. (Statewide)

September 6 - Legislature appropriated $25,000 for two years to its joint Commission to Maintain the Peace, created earlier in the year to investigate subversive elements in racial disturbances.

Anniston: September 15-16 - Two Negro ministers beaten by over 25 whites during attempt to use library; following day they were escorted by city officials to the Anniston library, which then integrated.

Atmore: August 18 & 30 - Six separate attacks committed upon Negroes. By September 20, six whites, aged 18 to 23, from Florida charged with assault with intent to murder.

Birmingham: September 4 - Bombing of Arthur D. Shores home set off riot in which one Negro was killed.

September 8 - A. G. Gaston home bombed.

September 15- Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombed, killing 4 Negro girls; two Negroes killed in subsequent clashes.

September 18 - Brief, 3-block long demonstration halted during funeral for 3 of the 4 dead.

September 25 - Two consecutive bombs exploded in early morning on street of Negro residential area.

President Kennedy met with separate Negro and white delegations in Washington, sent his own mediators to city. No further Negro demands - employment of Negro police, desegregation of facilities - have been met. There have been no bombing convictions. No further demonstrations. A biracial subcommittee has held meetings.

October 3 - Bombing of Negro store front admitted by Negro.

Florence: In October - city government approved plans to hire first Negro police, none hired as yet.

Gadsden: In September - Negroes filed suit in Federal District Court seeking integration of municipal building, auditorium, tennis courts, swimming pools, recreation center, schools. September 13 - Grand Jury did not bring indictment against grocer held in slaying of Freedom Walker William Moore. November - Store hired 2 Negro butchers and a cashier following economic pressure from community.

*(Includes events prior to August 29, 1963, which were not reported in previous chronologies. Does not deal with school desegregation.)

ALABAMA (Cont'd).

Huntsville: August 31 - City Council approved 9-man bi-racial committee.

September 29 - Seven motels and a leading hotel integrated.

Mobile: Mid-November - City's picketing ordinance ruled unconstitutional by circuit judge.

Montgomery: September 5 - One of 3 Negro members of 50-man integrated Kansas high school drum and bugle corps en route to Florida beaten by two unidentified white men in lunch counter of Trailways Bus terminal.

September 15 - Clash of whites & Negroes outside segregated movie controlled by police, with no arrests.

Selma: September 16 - October 16 -- Demonstrations began September 16 when high school students cut classes, attempted sit-ins marched downtown, 67 were arrested. Protests originated over Birmingham bombing, then focused early on voter registration and segregated facilities.

September 17 - Twelve arrested.

September 23 - Fifteen arrested, parade attempt halted.

September 24-- 132 arrested during two marches and kneeling at housing project. Justice Department lawyers arrived.

September 25-- 28 arrested picketing court house.

September 29 - Four Negro women integrated First Presbyterian Church.

October 1-2 - Six pickets at court house and post office arrested.

October 7 - Over 200 Negroes stood in line all day to register (under 40 applications processed). Two Negroes attempting to take sandwiches to registrants arrested and two newsmen received rough treatment from state troopers and police.

October 15-16 - Smaller groups of Negroes attempted to register.

White leadership has refused negotiation. Charges were parading without permit (permits applied for have been denied), truancy, contributing to delinquency of minor, unlawful assembly, interfering with officer, picketing without license, disorderly conduct.

Tuscaloosa: September 10-- 3 Ghanaian students, a white student, and a white minister from out of state driving through the city were taken into custody by police, released, later stopped on highway and beaten.

November 17,18,19 - 3 Separate bombings, 2 of them near University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS.

Benton and Conway: September - Drive-in movies integrated.

ARKANSAS (Cont'd).

Fayetteville: Summer - Theatres, some motels, most restaurants, and municipal swimming pool integrated.

Fort Smith: August 12 - Negroes picketed supermarket without incident, seeking employment.

Helena: November 16 - 32 arrested during drugstore and restaurant sit-ins, reportedly town's first demonstration.

FLORIDA. (Statewide)

A 1957 statute (Section of the Hotel and Restaurant Commission Act) declaring public lodgings and food service establishments "private enterprises" found to block passage of municipal "open" public accommodation ordinances.

Late October - Florida National Guard integrated by first Negro member.

Bradenton: Since Summer - has formed bi-racial committee.

Clearwater: September 9 - Movies integrated, with one exception.

Jacksonville: October 5 - Over 1,000 staged peaceful march asking jobs, bi-racial committee, desegregation of accommodations. (On September 5 all but two restaurants pledged open policy, but no integration to date.)

Miami: September 15 - Over 1,000 marched in Birmingham memorial procession.

Ocala: September 21 - The Florida Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, holding hearings, was refused motel accommodations, heard testimony on harassment of Negroes advocating integration.

St. Augustine: July 23-October 25 - Demonstrations which began in June have gradually come to a standstill. Police dispersed a Labor Day protest march in the tourist section, have permitted some subsequent picketing. A few lunch counters and one restaurant have integrated. Mayor refuses to name bi-racial committee. Four juveniles arrested July 23 during drugstore sit-in are still held in state reform school. An atmosphere of unrest has been accentuated by some violent incidents, including 2 Negro homes and 2 Negro juke joints shot into, car tires slashed and cars turned over.

August 31 - Eight arrested during drugstore sit-in.
September 2 - Thirty-two arrested in city park for holding a public meeting without a permit.

September 12 - City manager issued indeffnite ban on parades and open air mass meetings.

September 19 - Four integration leaders severely beaten at Ku Klux Klan rally (which was held in the open air). (Charges against one of the Negroes dismissed in November after complaining Klan witnesses twice failed to appear.)

Week of October 21 - Four bombs thrown at integration leader's home.

October 25 - One of 4 white men driving with a rifle through a Negro neighborhood slain.

November 7 - Two Negroes arrested in connection with shotgun deaths of 2 whites, including October 25 incident.

Sarasota: Since Summer - has formed bi-racial committee.

Tallahassee: September 13-16 -- 248 college students arrested in renewed picketing (after 2 month lay-off) of movie theatre. Approximately 475 marched to jail protesting arrests and 104 of those arrested in their effort to pack jail.

November 7 - Negro student at Florida A & M University shot in arm while walking near campus.

Mid-November - Students have been picketing restaurants adjoining Florida State University campus. One has subsequently served Negroes.

Tampa: September 9 - All movies integrated.

GEORGIA:

Albany: Library recently integrated on stand-up basis.

Americus: August 8 - November 2 -- Four workers in the efforts of voter registration and integration of library, movies and municipal facilities arrested August 8 and 17, charged with insurrection, held 70 days until November 2, until suit brought in Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals secured their release and prohibited further prosecution under the capital charge.
October 22 - Two arrested for picketing movie in only overt protest activity since August.

The 20-man Urban Renewal Committee has 5 Negro members.

Atlanta: September 7 - State Senator Leroy Johnson's office picketed.

As of October 1 - Most drive-in movies integrated after previous 30-day test period.

October 7 - An estimated 500 Negroes picketed Governor Wallace's speech.

October 21 - 25 picketed First Baptist Church.

October 29 - Mayor named bi-racial panel to study Negro municipal employment.

November 3 - Atlanta Summer Leadership Conference (9 organizations which united in October) asked negotiation of Negro goals with no threat of demonstration.

Week of November 11 -- Lovett School picketed.

November 13 - Negro leadership met with Chamber of Commerce and Board of Alderman. Chamber issued public statement urging end to discrimination in business and employment.

A Sierra Leone visitor, State Department official, and two Atlantans refused service at one restaurant, police called when they refused to leave.

Atlanta (Cont'd)

November 14 - Board of Aldermen refused to permit Mayor to speak, refused to endorse resolution for voluntary desegregation.

November 19 - Retail Merchants Association joined Chamber of Commerce in endorsing voluntary end to discrimination in public accommodations.

November 21 - Approximately 400 Negroes picketed Rich's seeking employment of Negroes among extra holiday sales personnel. Negro leaders and hotel owners conferred.

Augusta: During late summer - Mayor appointed bi-racial advisory commission. Parks and library integrated. A Negro bus driver hired.

Late September - Merchants began hiring Negroes in non-traditional jobs.

October 9 - Polling places integrated for Mayor's election.

Columbus: September 2 - Library integrated

September 4 - 25-Member (15 whites, 10 Negroes), bi-racial committee named by City Commission.

During October - Movies integrated.

Decatur: During October Municipal Recreation Center used for first time by integrated group (had previously been integrated in principle).

DeKalb Co.: During September an unofficial bi-racial study committee organized to stimulate voter registration.

Fort Valley: November 12 - Negro comm nity formally requested open public accommodation ordinance and integration of municipal facilities.

Griffin: November 9 - Integrated group of 21 Peace Marchers arrested. Main library has integrated recently.

Jekyll Island: September 24 - Suit filed for integration of state park facilities here.

Macon: September 22 - Vineville Baptist Church admitted Negro to church membership; is reportedly first Southern Baptist congregation to do so.

As of October - More than a token number of Negroes have been employed in mercantile jobs. Library integrated recently.

Rome: September 24 - Sorority cancelled scheduled October Air Force Band concert. (Earlier in month Air Force barred its personnel's participation in events before segregated audiences.) Defense Department announced other service arms were doing likewise.

Library recently integrated.

GEORGIA(Cont'd)

Savannah: October 2 - Two motels, two hotels, andthree downtown movies integrated.

A Negro delegation to the City Council officially protested five fatal shootings of Negroes by police during the year. (In addition, one Negro woman's home has been shot into seven times within year with no convictions made.)

October 29 - One integrated movie tear-gas-bombed simultaneous with picketing by 15 Klansmen.

Tifton: Library recently integrated.

Valdosta: September 5 - Mayor appointed bi-racial (14 white, 10 Negro members) committee held first meeting. Library subsequently integrated.

Warner-Robbins: September 5 - Integration requests formally presented to mayor by Negro committee.

During October - Although city recently passed a picket-proscribing ordinance, a supermarket has been regularly picketed without incident.

October 19 - Seventeen arrested during drugstore sit-in.

KENTUCKY.

Hopkinsville: Late August - Many restaurants, movies, and bowling alleys voluntarily integrated.

Lexington: August 31 - Over 250 demonstrators marched downtown carrying signs saying newspapers discriminate.

During August - 4 private businesses and secretarial schools integrated.

Louisville: September 12 - Ordinance prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodations went into operation; carries fines up to $100 for violation, injunction for public nuisance after 3 convictions. Bowling alleys have all publicly announced compliance. Tavern owners have brought suit challenging ordinance's constitutionality.

By September 15 - Negro leaders reported tests showed 80 restaurants integrated.

LOUISIANA.

Baton Rouge: October 1 - 4th Negro policemen (3 hired in August), joined force.

Large number picketed food store where clerk allegedly threatened 2 Negroes with gun.

Clinton: October 12-13 -- Twenty-six arrested for picketing. At the city's request, a state court issued injunction banning racial demonstrations.

October 22 - Federal Court extended indefinitely a stay of injunction.

Gonzalez: Late August - A Negro arrested for disturbing the peace when refused restaurant service in bus station.

LOUISIANA (Cont'd).

Hammond: September 5 - Approximately 275 marched to City Hall, attempted 2 sit-ins, in city's first racial demonstration. School suspended for a week participating students (who had cut classes).

September 7 - Mayor met with Negro leaders.

September 8 - Some students returned to school and accepted work penalties in lieu of suspension.

September 9 - Students picketed their school protesting suspension. Mayor agreed to name bi-racial committee and Negro leaders to no further demonstrations.

September 17 - Commission Council passed resolution creating bi-racial committee on community relations (8 whites, 8 Negroes), reportedly second such committee in state (other in Baton Rouge).

September 18 - Committee held first meeting.

Newly formed Association for Preservation of Constitutional Government began efforts (meeting with 115 attendance) to have Mayor recalled.

Jena: September 29 - A KKK rally of 5,000 in a pasture.

New Orleans: August 13 - 10 Negroes hired by Sanitation Department as garbage collectors (job previously unavailable to Negroes).

September 4 - A Methodist church made public announcement that worship services were open to "any and all."

September 10 - 3 leading hotels and 1 motel agreed to accept Negroes as convention delegates.

September 18 - City announced it will appeal July 1 Federal Court order to integrate municipal auditorium.

September 19-20 - Students marched before City Hall protesting discriminatory voter registration practices. 83 arrested on the 20th.

September 30 - Parade permit and police protection granted City Hall march of approximately 5,000.

November 4 - Three arrested at City Hall cafeteria (sit-ins have been held here regularly).

November 5 - Five arrested outside Mayor's office and 4 arrested in restaurant protesting segregation.

November 7 - Six arrested in City Hall cafeteria included a Negro Catholic nun.

Opelousas: September 3 - Approximately 300 attended meeting decrying Negro "second class treatment," asking negotiation with city government.

Plaquemine: September - Demonstrations began here August 19 when annexation to the city of 2 Negro neighborhoods (one of which is nearly surrounded by the city) and bi-racial committee denied. A second temporary restraining order

LOUISIANA (Cont'd).

Plaquemine (Cont'd):

(first was stayed by 5th Circuit) issued by U. S. District Court judge on September 1 failed to halt demonstration that night in which 68 were arrested protesting alleged police brutality in smaller protest the night before. Tear gas, electric cattle prods, fire hoses, and mounted police were used to drive retreating demonstrators, including 6 ministers, from a church.

Negro students refused to eat in school cafeteria in protest over firing of lunchroom worker who participated in demonstrations.

September 26 - In response to Negro suit, Federal District judge did not lift, but extended, demonstration ban through October 10.

October 4 - Approximately 500 students held "freedom song" demonstration in high school; 35 students suspended indefinitely.

October 7 - Protesting suspensions, 400 students attempted to protest at school board office, met road barricades and tear gas.

October 8 - Sixty students dispersed from attempted sit-down at white school.

October 9 - A tear gas grenade thrown into a Negro church during protest meeting.

October 10 - Approximately 40 students dispersed from a demonstration at their own school with tear gas; 2 arrests. Nine students dispersed from restaurant sit-in with cattle prods.

October 11 - Individual students served with copies of the anti-demonstration injunction.

October 26 - A scheduled civil rights meeting broken up when arriving participants met at church by armed police.

In long-range efforts, Negroes are attempting to do most of their buying in 20-mile distant Baton Rouge; have offered a full slate of city and parish candidates for December 7 primary.

Pointe a la Hache:

October 10 - Plaquemine's Parish Council authorized Leander Perez to lease an old fort as a stockade for racial demonstrators, and to take Martin Luther King, Jr., into custody should he "visit the Parish."

Shreveport: September 22 - Parade permit denied for a Birmingham (church bombing) memorial march. (By contrast, large marches took place in North Little Rock, Ark., Miami, Fla., Columbia, S. C., and Raleigh, N. C., to name a few places.) When some Negroes attempted to march, police dispersed them with tear gas, arrested one teacher and one student after group took refuge in a school.

October 9 - Four Negroes arrested attempting to register at motel.

MISSISSIPPI.

Indianola: October 22 - Fourteen youths, including 2 Yale students, arrested for distributing literature without a city permit during write-in election drive for Mississippi Negro leader Aaron Henry for governor.

Jackson: October & November - City has been the scene of repeated attempts by integrated groups to worship at white churches, only 2 of which (Catholic and Episcopal) have admitted them.

October 6 - Two Negro and 1 white Tougaloo female students arrested on charges of disturbing public worship at Capitol Street Methodist Church.

October 12 - National Council of Churches, on coeds' behalf, filed suit contesting law which permits arrest of persons trying to integrate church services.

October 13 - Same 3, with a white minister, turned away at same church; no arrests.

October 20 - Twelve arrested at 2 churches.

October 27 - Two ministers arrested when, after police had turned them away from church, they knelt on sidewalk.

November 17 - Ten, including 5 clergymen, 3 of them white, arrested at 4 churches.

Other events have included:

September 4 - U. S. District Court judge released the city as defendant in suit seeking to enjoin it from enforcing segregation under state and city laws.

September 7 - U. S. District Court judge ordered city to remove segregation signs outside 3 terminals. (The 2 bus and 1 railroad company had already removed their own signs inside building. Also, the same judge had earlier refused so to order the city, but his decision was overturned by 5th Circuit.)

September 17 - Two Negroes served on trial juries, reportedly for first time in state in recent years.

October 15 - A Negro shot to death a white service station attendant in argument over use of "white only" drinking fountain.

November 19 - Two white youths arrested for setting fire to drive-in restaurant because owner recently employed Negro car hops and waitresses.

During November - Three Negro girls drew irate crowd of students when they integrated Millsaps College's Christian Center for a play performance.

MISSISSIPPI (Cont'd)

Meridian: August 30 - Three busloads of Negroes, returning from Washington March, refused service at "white only" bus station facilities; some beaten by white bystanders.

October 5 - Four additional Negro policemen hired (previously one on force).

Natchez: August 30 - One Negro arrested for using "white only" service station restroom; complained to Justice Department he was beaten by sheriff's deputies.

Winona: September 9 - Justice Department brought suit charging police with brutality in custody of 5 who sought bus terminal restaurant service last July.

Yazoo City: November 5 - Police met and dispersed election workers, warning them of ordinance against circulating handbills without a permit.

NORTH CAROLINA (Statewide)

Governor Sanford keeps personally informed of racial demonstrations via statewide telephone reports from State Highway Patrol ever 24 hours.

Ahoskie: September 10 - Town Council passed ordinance regulating picketing.

Charlotte: November 22 - All 14 (a 15th is all-Negro St. Andrew's) white Lutheran churches announced January publication of a self-study asserting the churches are open to all.

November 25 - Home in white neighborhood which owner-incumbent had sold to a Negro, shot into 4 times.

Concord: September 10 - Negro youths demonstrated before 2 movies, staged a subsequent protest, and on third day, Nov. 16, drew a crowd of 500 hostile whites whom police dispersed.

September 19 - Mayor dissolved 2-month old bi-racial committee saying the demonstrations violated the terms of its formation. Negro members of the committee denied any agreement not to demonstrate.

Dunn: September 20 - Bi-racial Human Relations Committee issued progress report of desegregation, cited integrated drug-store lunch counters and agreement of 11 firms to commence merit hiring. An official truce had been in effect, August 13 through November 13.

November 26 - Negro leadership denied "anything concrete" accomplished in 90-day period.

Elizabeth City: September 14 - Approximately 250 students staged orderly anti-segregation march in reportedly city's first protest of the year.

September 15 - Approximately 450 participated in peaceful prayer march to courthouse.

September 16 - Another march of 150-200, without incident.

September 20 - Negroes made formal announcement of objectives; integration in churches, schools, employment, public

NORTH CAROLINA (CONT'D)

Elizabeth City (Cont'd):
accommodations and municipal facilities.

September 25 - Mayor's bi-racial Committee on Human Relations agreed to negotiation with suspension of demonstrations through November 9.

Enfield: August 31 - 1,200 demonstrations clashed with police as violence erupted over failure of bi-racial committee's negotiations and passage of picket-regulating ordinance.

September 4 - Governor's race relations aide visited city but failed to break deadlock.

September 7 - Department store pickets protesting discriminatory hiring arrested as fast as they appeared until jail was filled.

Gatlinburg: October 15 - AFL-CIO's Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights meeting here noted all leading motels, hotels, and restaurants are integrated.

Gastonia: During November - Protests initiated asking integration of movie theatres.

Goldsboro: November 18 - Bi-racial Council announces formation of also bi-racial Woman's Good Will Committee to improve communication across race lines.

High Point: Demonstrations which began in mid-August, and reached a crescendo in early September have centered on public accommodations and employment and resulted in the arrest of over 1,000 by September 10.

September 1 - Seventy-five Negroes marched through downtown and converged on segregated drive-in restaurant.

September 2 - Three leaders of singing march of approximately 120 arrested.

September 3 - Nearly 50 of 200 demonstrators arrested in 3rd consecutive night at drive-in.

September 4 - 225 marching on drive-in met by about 800 angry whites, 2 of whom were arrested for inciting to riot.

September 6 & 7 - Cafeteria, 2 movie theatres, & drive-in picketed.

September 8 - Mass meeting of 900 at City-County Building and downtown march of 380.

September 9 - 363 arrested in 3 waves of theatre-restaurant protest.

September 10 - Mayor requested, Negro leaders rejected moratorium on demonstrations, pending negotiations, 10 of 700 marchers arrested as police restrained 2,000 onlookers from near clashes. To date police had kept order, drawn praise from Negro leaders.

N. C., High Point (Cont'd)

September 11 - A hail of rocks, eggs, and tomatoes thrown from crowd of 3,000 at approximately 500 marchers caught some innocents in crossfire; police used tear gas to keep order, arrested 9 for trespass.

September 12 - Negro leaders agreed to 90-day (through December 6) suspension of protest actions and City Council deferred passage of severe anti-demonstration ordinance. A permament 11-member human relations commission planned to replace bi-racial committee.

September 30 - Women's Good Will Committee held integrated luncheon.

November - Two Negro firemen hired in recent weeks and negotiations with bowling alley owners in progress.

Kenansville: November 8 - Two Negroes served on Superior Court jury in criminal trial (burglary and rape) of a Negro.

Kinston: October - Two Negro firemen hired.

Laurinberg: October 15 - First Negro policeman hired.

Monroe: September 4 - Approximately 125 marched around county courthouse protesting school segregation.

Murfreesboro: During September - Board of Commissioners approved naming of Advisory Committee on Bi-racial Affairs.

Raleigh: During September - A permanent Community Relations Committee succeeded temporary group named in May.

Southern Pines: September 1 - Town's first Negro policeman hired.

Statesville: September 19 - Voters in recall election elected 6 new city councilmen pledged to holdrreferendum on status of swimming pool integrated during summer.

November 19 - Mayor named additional members to expanded bi-racial human relations committee.

Wadesboro: September - Negro community formed its own Economic Development Corporation, established shirt factory providing new skilled jobs.

Washington: September - Bi-racial committee established and second Negro policeman hired.

Williamston: August 29 - After a week-long truce and city's enacting an anti-picketing ordinance, 11 were jailed in violation of it.

August 30 - Approximately 400 Negroes, protesting previous arrests, met phalanx of police. All in all, demonstrations had been held almost daily for 32 days through....

October 15 - When Negro leaders telegraphed the governor to intervene, staged a peaceful march of about 100 persons.

November 17 - Fifteen white ministers from Boston area arrested while protesting with local citizens and jailed in Greenville and Washington (N.C.) where Williamstonians regrouped and protested November 18.

N.C. Williamston (Cont'd):

November 21 - Seventy Negroes, 11 white ministers, and several white seminarians marched in protest despite Superior Court restraining order issued in the morning.

November 22 - Further demonstrations planned for weekend cancelled because of President's death.

Wilmington: October 2 - Approximately 100 arrested demonstrating at movie theatre.

November 16 - An estimated 1,000 persons attended Ku Klux Klan rally 6 miles from city.

Wilson: September 1 - Negroes assembled to sing on courthouse steps; whites formed a counter demonstration with some minor incidents, 5 arrests.

September 2 - Two downtown marches of approximately 125 persons each before movie theatres conducted peacefully.

Winston-Salem: September 3 - Picketing resumed (first since August 28 Washington March) at downtown cafeteria without incident. Bi-racial committee appointed sub-committee to evaluate integration; Negroes claim restaurants are foot-dragging.

September 7 & 8 - Drive-in restaurants with heavy Negro patronage picketed with demands for Negro employment.

September 10 & 11 -- Cafeteria and drive-in picketed, 2 arrests.

September 12 - Largest demonstration - 55 persons - since August as pickets sang in front of cafeteria.

SOUTH CAROLINA. (Statewide).

September-October -- A legislative committee chaired by Representative James C. Arrants held 11 hearings throughout state to take testimony on whether state should maintain open or closed its 26 state parks after federal court ordered integration (parks closed indefinitely by Forestry Commission on September 8). The consensus was for open parks. The Arrants committee will make its recommendations to the General Assembly in January.

Anderson: November 28 - The Ministerial Association, sponsor in past years of the Annual Thanksgiving Day ceremony at the city's recreation center, asked the City Council for permission to hold an integrated program. When the request was denied, the Association, which this year admitted 6 Negro clergymen, withdrew its sponsorship.

Charleston: August 30 - A supermarket and automobile company picketed by approximately 25 Negroes.

September 1 - Picketing. It was announced by Negro leaders on September 7 that this and other demonstrations would be discontinued indefinitely. Unpublicized negotiations reportedly taking place with the bi-racial committee.

S. C. (Cont'd)

Columbia: September 9 - City's first anti-segregation demonstration of the year was a 4-block, few minutes march of 17 youths. Later, on two occasions, at noon and in late afternoon, 23 were arrested trying to integrate movie theatres.

September 10 - Fifty-two participated in theatre demonstration; no arrests.

September 14 - One youth arrested at theatre aroused 20 marchers to sing before jail.

Florence: September 16 - Twenty-member Bi-racial Community Relations Committee under fire from Citizen's Council, drew declaration of unequal support from City Council.

Greenville and Newberry: Bi-racial committees have been formed.

Orangeburg: Communications lapsed here following an August 20 formal presentation of 10-point integration program by Negro leaders to city officials.

September 28 & 29 - Three downtown marches comprising about 200 persons each - 1 on Saturday and 2 on Sunday - resulted in arrest of nearly 500. State law officers and highway patrolmen reinforced local police in city's first large protest action since 1960. (To date this year there had been intermittent sit-ins, fewer than 50 arrests on trespass charges.)

September 30 - During the morning 12 arrested at restaurant sit-ins as 190 paraded downtown and were also taken into custody. During afternoon, 130 marched by jail without incident.

October 1 - 262 demonstrators arrested attempting a second parade. Police had permitted a march of over 100 earlier in day but warned against repetition.

October 2 - With approximately 1,000 arrested in less than a week, Negro leaders met with city officials. Mass demonstrations halted, but single pickets were out.

October 10 - Approximately 80 arrested picketing schools, where partial boycott of classes continued for several days and one teacher was dismissed for protest activities.

October 23 - After a two-week lull, 50 youths arrested during march to police station to register for picketing as required by new ordinance.

By November - Arrests in 2 months of protest have surpassed 1,500 and there has been no resolution of problems.

Seneca: During September - A movie theatre and some lunch counters integrated. A bi-racial committee was formed earlier in summer.

Sumter: August 19 - Two Negro women attempted to integrate a courtroom during trial of 6 ministers charged with trespass for sit-ins. The two served 12 hours in jail on contempt

S. C. (Sumter Cont'd)

charges rather than pay fine.

October 6 - Forty-four arrested during attempted prayer gathering at courthouse in memorial of Birmingham bombing.

October 13 - 102 who were singing and hand-clapping arrested in protest march. Similar but silent marches have occurred in recent weeks without incident.

TENNESSEE.

Chattanooga: Mid-September -- Mayor and City Commission formally declared Chattanooga an "open"city.

October 8 - A vacant house in a predominantly white neighborhood which had been shown to prospective Negro buyers wrecked by dynamite.

Franklin: During August - Bi-racial committee established.

Jackson: November 4 - Seven Negroes arrested in attempted restaurant sit-in.

November 23 - Twenty-five, including 4 white students, arrested in attempt to be served at 4 different restaurants.

Johnson City: September 5 - Members of the City Commission and Chamber of Commerce, as individuals, signed and circulated for public approval a resolution calling for complete integration of public facilities.

Memphis: August 31 - Approximately 400 Negroes marched downtown protesting double shift school day.

September 12 - Sit-in at segregated, privately leased restaurant in railroad terminal.

Smithville: September 3 - Shotgun and pistol fired into home and car of Negro family whose two children integrated the elementary school. Sheriff and a former sheriff arrested on warrant sworn out by the parent. Charges dismissed September 9.

TEXAS.

Austin: August 28 - Eleven persons reportedly paraded in White Citizens' Council counter-protest to civil rights march which took place later in day with several 100 participants.

During October - City Council took under advisement a public accommodations ordinance.

Dallas: October 1 - A Marine color guard scheduled to participate in woman's club meeting did not attend because of armed services directive against participation in segregated gatherings.

Galveston County: September 4 - Fourteen members appointed to biracial committee to deal with racial problems in county

government employment, service at county hospital, and in public accommodations in unincorporated areas.

Marlin: August - Established a bi-racial committee.

Prairie View: November 9 - Boycott of football game and home-coming requested by students of the Prairie View A & M student body and alumni to support efforts to integrate nearby Hempstead effective as about 100 persons attended (attendance in previous years: 9,000).

November 15-16--White ministers joined students picketing restaurants in Hempstead.

VIRGINIA

Statewide: Oct. 15 - Two Negro applicants passed examinations for National Guard but have not been inducted to date.

Charlottesville: Sept. 22 - Peaceful Birmingham memorial march.

Covington: Sept. 3 - First Negro policeman hired.

Danville: August 30 - Twenty-five arrested for parading without permit.

September 1 - An Episcopal church Holy Communion service integrated.

September 17 - More than 80 participated in peaceful public prayer meeting (for those who died in Birmingham) on Post Office Building steps.

October 16 - First Negro policeman hired.

November 21 - A League of over 200 white citizens petitioned mayor to approve a biracial committee.

Eastville: September 5 - Negro ministers from state's two eastern shore counties, Accomack and Northampton, formally requested biracial committee in first such action in area.

Farmville: September 5 - Picketing and selective buying had been fairly continuous to date when three merchants pledged to employ Negro sales personnel.

September 7 - Fifty staged singing protest before movie theatre without incident.

September 12 - A fourth merchant agreed to open jobs. Picketing continued before those who have not agreed.

Fort Lee: During September - A biracial committee and an equal employment opportunity committee formed.

Fredericksburg: October 11 - Biracial Commission reported several large motels and hotels in the area have integrated eating and sleeping accommodations.

Virginia cont'd

Hopewell: September 18 - City's first Negro policewoman hired as school guard.

Martinsville: During August - A bi-racial committee established. First Negro policeman joined force thereafter.

Norfolk: September 19 - More than 2,000 Negro students paraded before Norfolk School Administration Building and a student delegation presented list of grievances about the city's only Negro high school to the school superintendent.

Petersburg: September 19 - Over 1,000 Virginia State College students marched 8 miles carrying coffin labeled "Birmingham Justice."

Portsmouth: November 20 - Full integration of hospital medical staff to be recommended at hospital board meeting in December as a result of meeting with Negro leaders. No action taken on request for integration of facilities.

Radford: A bi-racial committee has been established.

October 1 - Public roller skating facilities integrated and Recreation Department announced its basketball program would in integrated at season's opening in December.

Richmond: September 4 - Twelve-member Bi-racial committee held its first meeting.

Staunton: September 28 - Hired first regular Negro policeman.

Tappahannock: A 12-member bi-racial committee has been established.

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CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SEPTEMBER - NOVEMBER, 1963

ALABAMA

Anniston
Birmingham
Selma

FLORIDA

Jacksonville
Miami
St. Augustine
Tallahassee

GEORGIA

Americus
Atlanta
Warner Robins

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Clinton
Hammond
New Orleans
Plaquemine
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Concord
Elizabeth City
Enfield
Gastonia
High Point
Monroe
Washington
Williamston
Wilmington
Wilson
Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston
Columbia
Orangeburg
Sumter

TENNESSEE

Jackson
Memphis

TEXAS

Austin
Hempstead

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Norfolk
Petersburg

* *

CITIES WHERE SOME PROGRESS TOWARD INTEGRATION HAS OCCURRED

ALABAMA

Anniston
Florence
Huntsville

ARKANSAS

Benton
Conway

FLORIDA

Bradenton
Clearwater
St. Augustine
Sarasota
Tampa

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Augusta
Columbus
Decatur
Macon
Savannah
Valdosta

KENTUCKY

Louisville

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Hammond
New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson
Meridian

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Dunn
Gastonia
High Point
Laurinberg
Murfreesboro
Southern Pines
Washington

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Greenville
Newberry
Seneca

TENNESSEE

Franklin
Johnson City

TEXAS

Galveston County
Marlin

VIRGINIA

Covington
Danville
Farmville
Ft. Lee
Fredericksburg
Hopewell
Martinsville
Radford
Richmond
Staunton
Tappahannock

Estimated number of arrests in 11 Southern states since August 28, 5,125.

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments, V

This synopsis covers the period December 1-23, 1963.

ALABAMA - In Birmingham on December 9 a meeting of the National States Rights Party called off when only 12 persons attended. On December 10 a window in the home of a Negro civil rights attorney was smashed by a steel ball. On December 12 a U.S. District Court judge ordered integration of the Birmingham Airport Motel.

In Tuscaloosa on December 19 and 20 five National Guardsmen were arrested on charge of setting off three November explosions near the University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS - In Helena on December 6 three integration workers were arrested.

FLORIDA - In Ocala on December 7 12 white students and teachers who were picketing with Negroes (who were permitted to continue) were arrested.

In Tallahassee on December 12 a petition signed by 116 Florida State University faculty members asking integration of off-campus restaurants ran as a full-page ad in FSU student newspaper.

GEORGIA - In Americus on December 5 one of the four rights workers who had been held and later released on insurrection charge was convicted of assault with intent to murder.

In Atlanta there was considerable activity highlighted by the following:
-Dec. 3 - Board of Aldermen voted 10-4 in favor of open public accommodations resolution;
-Dec. 9 - Federal suit filed by Negroes against segregated motel built in Urban Renewal area;
-Dec. 15 - Outdoor civil rights rally of approximately 2,500;
-Dec. 16 - City's remaining segregation statutes invalidated by Board of Aldermen;
Dec. 21 & 22 - A total of 21 arrested in two restaurant sit-ins;
-Dec. 22 - First Baptist Church congregation voted to admit Negroes to worship.

In Dawson at about midnight on December 8 a Negro home which had been used by registration workers was shot into and bombed.

LOUISIANA - In Baton Rouge on December 12 a Negro integration leader from nearby Plaquemine was convicted on a bad check charge. A suit seeking the integration of the city's Parks and Recreation Commission's facilities is pending; to be heard January 17.

In Clinton on December 4, 5, & 6 a total of seven pickets at segregated businesses were arrested.

In Monroe on December 13 a resolution calling on state's Congressional delegation to oppose civil rights legislation introduced at meeting of the state bar association's house of delegates.

MISSISSIPPI - In Jackson the following events occurred:

-Dec. 11 - Six Negro housewives were fined $500 each and sentenced to six months in jail on charges stemming from their picketing a downtown store December 6;

-Dec. 13 - Citizens Council advocated a $6,000 a year raise for mayor for "a job well done" on racial problems;

-Dec. 15 - Two Negro and two white ministers arrested attempting to enter Methodist churches.

Also, during the month, Britain's Manchester Guardian criticized conductor Sir Malcolm Sargent and revealed a white British student was arrested for attempting to attend a segregated Royal Philharmonic concert here with a Negro.

NORTH CAROLINA - North Carolina Good Neighbor Council on December 10 reported increase of Negroes in non-traditional jobs, both commercial and municipal, in Asheville and Buncombe County, High Point, Gastonia, Winston-Salem, Ahoskie, Alamance County, Goldsboro, Laurinberg, Fayetteville, Greensboro, and Rocky Mount.

Alamance County Board of Commissioners on December 13 refused to give county's human relations council power to negotiate with local businessmen and other groups, but agreed to increase council's membership from 24 to 28.

Goldsboro in early December reported more than 100 Negroes had been employed by local stores, 92 (including three policemen) by city itself, and 121 by a local manufacturing firm employing a total of 383 workers.

Wayne County appointed its first Negro deputy sheriff December 12.

In Winston-Salem on December 9 three sat-in at a coffee shop; left when owner called police.

OKLAHOMA - In Tulsa public hearings on a proposed public accommodations ordinance ended December 12. Fifty person spoke in favor of it; 33 against.

SOUTH CAROLINA - In Columbia Main Street movie theatres and a luxury motel quietly integrated in late November. A biracial drive to integrate all local motels, hotels, and restaurants launched in early December. Dec. 16 - Over 100 marchers arrested.

TENNESSEE - Nashville's Metropolitan government adopted a non-discriminatory hiring policy for all local government workers in December.

TEXAS - In Austin on December 20 20 students picketed Lynda Bird Johnson's dormitory at the University of Texas protesting segregation of coed dorms.

The Dallas News reported on December 12 that the hiring of Negroes has "become normal employment practice in a broad spectrum of Dallas stores."

VIRGINIA - In Danville on December 10 9 of 20 demonstrators were arrested at a theatre and restaurant in city's first racial incident since last summer. Fifteen more demonstrators were arrested December 11 and 12. A fair employment ordinance prohibiting discrimination in hiring of city employees was passed by city council on December 10.

VIRGINIA cont'd.

In Norfolk the Virginian-Pilot reported December 13 that two Negro leaders are expected to run for the city council next June.

In Roanoke two Negro firemen were hired during December.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

BY

M. HAYES MIZELL

This report is the outgrowth of a conference held at Penn Community Center in the winter of 1963. The conference and this report are jointly sponsored by:

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARA	Area Redevelopment Administration
FHA	Farmers Home Administration
MDTA	Manpower Development Training Act
NDEA	National Defense Education Act
RAD	Rural Areas Development
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture

Within the next 15 years the rural South will be less populated, will have fewer small farms, practically no sharecroppers, and there will be a considerable decline in the demand for unskilled laborers. These predictions were recently made by Dr. J. Gilbert Hardee, Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at North Carolina State College.

Dr. Hardee spoke at the "Conference on Training Programs and Jobs for Rural South Carolinians" sponsored by Penn Community Services and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. He pointed out that just as the rural South has become less populated during the past ten years, so will this trend continue in the next 15 years.

As small farms become less profitable, many people will move to the urban areas to find employment which yields a higher guaranteed income. Thus as the remaining farms grow in size and make technological improvements in order to receive a higher profit from the increased capital expenditure which will be required, more labor will be released for other employment. Much of this surplus labor will be poorly educated, untrained for any position other than agricultural employment, and unable to keep pace with the rapid technological changes occurring in all fields of employment.

The federal government has recognized that unless this surplus labor is provided with the training and skills required for productive employment in the farm and nonfarm areas, unemployment can be expected to increase. In order to meet the challenge

of this problem, the government has established a number of agencies to aid in training and retraining those workers who have been displaced by the revolution in rural farming. So that these people will then have a place to work, these agencies also aid and encourage the establishment of industries and commercial enterprises in rural or underdeveloped areas. But the agencies seek not only to create industry and equip the workers with the necessary skills for employment, they are also vitally interested in helping to improve the life of the small farmer who is still in operation and living in the existing rural community. The government desires to do all that is possible to help the farmer make his business productive and his life more pleasant for his family and meaningful to his community.

One such government agency is the Rural Areas Development program under the administration of the United States Department of Agriculture. This program is primarily concerned with the total economic development of the rural community. It assists rural communities in developing the total resources of the area, helps to discover the conditions that cause low income and unemployment, and establishes the organizational framework necessary for the people to unite and improve the economic development of their community. With the help of Rural Areas Development(RAD) officials, the people of a rural area can work to develop an awareness and understanding of unemployment and how this critical problem can be solved.

RAD seeks to create more rural industry to absorb the

unemployed. It also examines public facilities to see which ones are missing and how they can be brought in to the community. In order to provide more recreation and more jobs through recreation, RAD encourages the expansion of recreational facilities in the rural area.

The key to the success of the RAD program is local initiative. Rural Areas Development can be truly effective to the whole community only if it is begun in the local rural area by people who are thoroughly familiar with the problems and potentials of their region. In no event will RAD try to come in to the local community and tell the people what to do. Such an action would be completely contrary to the whole RAD program.

In some instances the local county extension agent (sometimes called the "farm agent") will call a meeting of rural citizens in order to discuss the present economic situation in their area and determine the potentials for their community. In other cases, the initial meeting is called and organized by one or more local leaders who are interested in improving the economic status of their area. In any event, the extension agent should be consulted and brought in on the first meeting. He can offer his experience and education in this field in making the establishment of a productive project a much smoother and efficient operation. The agent should also be contacted for any information concerning RAD.

At the initial meeting of interested citizens a temporary chairman is usually selected to call other meetings. Every effort should be made to encourage all interest groups of the area to

attend this meeting so that they can learn of the nature of the movement and contribute their ideas to it. Interest and participation in these meetings should not be restricted because of race* and the appointment of anyone to a committee should be based strictly on ability.

As this local committee becomes increasingly cohesive, it is important that it also become more organized. A chairman, an executive secretary, a steering committee, and a number of sub-committees should be selected. The sub-committees have the responsibility for making surveys and studies of special problems in their specific area of interest. Finally, the findings of these sub-committees are reported to the whole committee and specific proposals and long and short range goals are established.

When the local committee has selected a project, it contacts the RAD office, usually through the county agent. The RAD office works primarily with the other federal agencies within the Department of Agriculture, and these agencies in turn assist the local communities in carrying out their selected project. Thus the RAD program is concerned, for the most part, with coordinating the myriad operations and agencies of the Agriculture Department so that they can better serve the local community.

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*It should be noted, however, that most RAD local committees in the South do not have Negro representatives, even though Negroes usually form that segment of the community most in need of better jobs and expanded recreational facilities. Individual Negroes could seek such representation through the county agent and if with no result, then through the Farmers Home Administration - first on a local - then state - then federal level.

The Farmers Home Administration, for example, coordinates educational leadership on the state and local levels in the form of "technical action panels" which then offer technical advice to the local committees. FHA also makes loans to farmers for nearly every type of home and farm improvement as well as loans to develop water supplies, disaster loans, loans for housing for senior citizens, etc. (See bibliography under FHA). The Rural Electrification Administration, the Forest Service, the Farmer Credit Association, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Farmer Cooperative Service are but a few of the more than twelve different agencies that work with the RAD program in order to improve the economic structure of the rural community. With the cooperation of these agencies, RAD has helped people in Summerville, Texas to obtain a dependable water supply; it has helped citizens in Lyons County, Alabama to get water for their homes; and it has aided the people of Chesterfield, South Carolina in their project to establish a garment plant.

As has already been pointed out, there are many unemployed people who need to be trained or retrained in a marketable skill. In order to do this, the Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA) was passed in 1962 to provide for the training and retraining of workers who are unemployed but who have the ability to learn a skill needed in his area.

To be selected for training under the MDTA, a person must be unemployed or a member of a farm family with less than $1200 annual net family income. The act also provides for those persons

who are working or who will be working less than full time or will become unemployed because their skills have become or are becoming obsolete. There is also a provision for those who are 16 years old but not yet 22 and who need further schooling or occupational training. Those persons who are working below their skill capacities also qualify for training.

There is no cost for this training, and in fact the trainees may be paid allowances during their training period if they qualify. Trainees are eligible for allowances if they are selected and enrolled in a training course, are unemployed, are the head of a family or household, and have at least three years experience in gainful employment. There is also an allowance available to persons between 19 and 22 years of age who are unemployed, and there is a reduced allowance for those who are taking training while they are employed. When the training facility is not located within commuting distance of the trainee's residence, there is a transportation and subsistence allowance for those who qualify.

In order to apply for training an individual should first visit his local State Employment Service office. Propsective trainees will be interviewed and counseled, and they will also be tested to determine their interests, suitability and aptitude for job training. It should be understood, however, that the trainee will receive training only for a skill for which there is a demand in his area.

If the trainee is selected by the State Employment Service,

he will be referred to a specific vocational training course. The training period will vary depending on the skill that is being taught, but the trainee will be expected to maintain satisfactory attendance records and to make satisfactory progress in the course pursued. Following his training, the trainee will be assisted in finding a job by the State Employment Service.

The Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) is another agency which makes an effort to encourage the establishment of local industry, reduce unemployment, and raise family incomes. Created in 1961, the ARA's primary functions are to give long-term, low-interest loans to help create new industry or expand existing industry. Grants up to 50% also are made to finance the building of public facilities which are needed by communities to help new industry. The ARA also provides programs to retrain jobless workers and provides subsistence allowances while these workers are in training. Technical assistance is also available so that communities can find answers to their economic problems.

ARA differs from RAD in one notable respect: its programs are limited to certain selected and specified counties whereas any rural county is eligible for RAD assistance. Another important point to be noted about ARA is this: ARA assistance in rural areas is given where the income is below a certain level. Studies have shown that many counties in the South are eligible only because of low Negro income. Yet there is no provision whatsoever for equal employment opportunities in industries set up with ARA assistance.

Before an area can be designated as eligible for ARA help, it must meet certain requirements. The ARA provides two sets of criteria for such a designation -- one for urban areas and one for rural areas. Briefly, in the urban area there must be a current unemployment rate of 6% or more, or the annual average rate of unemployment must have been 50% above the national average in three of the preceding four calendar years; 75% above in two of the preceding three years; or 100% above in one of the preceding calendar years. For rural areas, there must be a low median farm income of $1,170 a year or less, a low median family income of $1,500 a year or less, or the area must be one with a labor force under 15,000 with substantial and persistent unemployment, or it must be an area of low production farming.

Like the RAD program, the success of the ARA hinges on the initiative and hard work of the local community. Before any community can be granted an ARA loan or any other form of ARA assistance, it must first prepare and submit to the ARA an Overall Economic Development Program (OEDP). The OEDP is evidence that the community has carefully organized and planned its project so that it will know what steps must be taken to reach the objective. Essentially, then, the OEDP is a description of the organization and people behind the movement for community improvement and it is an assessment of the resources and facilities in the community. The OEDP also, however, is an evaluation of what roadblocks impede the progress the area wishes to make; in other words why ARA assistance is necessary. Too, the OEDP provides

the ARA with the community's concrete program of action for creating new employment opportunities.

One of the Area Redevelopment Administration's most important functions is to provide loans. Commercial and industrial loans can run for as long as 25 years, have an annual interest rate of 4%, and can possibly provide as much as 65% of the total cost of the project. These loans are made, however, only in those cases where it is evident that the project cannot be financed from some other source.

The ARA also makes loans available to communities wishing to improve or extend their public facilities. Such loans are made only when it is clear that such an improvement of public facilities will make some contribution to permanent industrial and commercial employment. These loans are also available to projects which will promote the tourist industry and thus cause more people to be employed because of the increased tourist trade. The public facility loans also are given only when it is shown that alternative financing is not available. Grants will be made when there is no other source available to pay for the project and it appears that the project cannot be completed without ARA assistance.

The ARA also provides for a job retraining program quite similar to the same type of program offered by the Manpower Development Training Act. The greatest difference between the two programs is that the ARA provides for a maximum period of training of only 16 weeks while the MDTA program offers a maximum

period of training of 52 weeks.

The ARA offers technical assistance to the local community too. Such assistance may be given when the community knows of the existence of a natural resource but does not know how such a resource can be properly exploited in order to offer more jobs. When a community redevelopment group is confronted by a lack of essential information necessary for the fulfillment of its project, then the ARA can provide technical assistance to obtain such information. In special cases technical assistance can be provided to help a community prepare an Overall Economic Development Program.

Title VIII of the National Defense Education Act is a training program geared to meet the demands for highly skilled workers. These skilled technicians are employed in such work as data processing, electronics, and even the maintenance of manned rockets. Such work, of course, requires individuals of above average intelligence. This program is usually instituted in high schools with the teaching of technical drafting, physics, technical report writing and technical math.

Courses offered under Title VIII are held in high schools and the new vocational training centers. As yet, however, there are no high school programs for Negroes in South Carolina, to cite one southern state, and no Negro has been admitted to the one technical education center already opened in South Carolina. Indeed, at this center, located in Greenville, qualifying scores were set at such a level as to have the effect of excluding

Negroes. Thus it would appear that Negroes have been excluded completely in the Title VIII program in South Carolina.

For teaching electronics and other technical courses that require technical equipment, the program should not be begun if this equipment and proper financing is not available. More information concerning this program can be obtained from the United States Office of Education.

It should be pointed out that in each of the programs mentioned there is a need for close cooperation between the community and county, state, and federal officials. Such programs usually require patience and hard work on the part of the local community or the individual citizen. It has been emphasized that RAD, FHA, etc., are aimed primarily at helping the little people, giving them a larger share of the nation's prosperity. But such aid is not forthcoming without a great deal of effort by the interested citizens.

It is unfortunate, however, that more of the people who need to take advantage of these government programs do not know that these programs exist. Our government now has programs for most every need. The problem is that many people do not know how to institute the proceedings for beginning such a program or how to find out that such a program exists. We would suggest that when an individual or community has exhausted every local and state agency without finding some means of remedying his problem, the agencies of the federal government should then be contacted.

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SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

BY

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

*THIS REPORT IS TO BE PRESENTED TO THE
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AT ITS
ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 6, 1963

SOUTHERN CHILDREN UNDER DESEGREGATION*

ROBERT COLES, M. D.

INTRODUCTION

Confronting certain children in the South today are the tasks of getting an education under unusual conditions of social stress. These children, their families and teachers, have happened upon a moment in historical change, and their behavior in such circumstances deserves our attention. For nearly ten years now the deep South has faced increasing national pressure upon its avowedly segregated system of public education, and slowly, with stated reluctance, it has been forced to begin to permit the entry of a few Negroes into its colleges first, its high and elementary schools later.

We need not doubt the highly charged and symbolic meaning of desegregation for many people in the cities of the South. The mere approach of one six-year old colored child toward a white school could arouse so old and sophisticated a city as New Orleans for weeks, bringing in its

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*This study has been sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, a group of prominent Southerners, white and Negro, whose purpose is "to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people of the South." I am deeply grateful to them.

wake unease all over the city, with mobs, vandalism, and international notice as expressions and consequences. Atlanta spared herself what other cities had experienced in this regard only through the most careful and determined planning of an alerted police force thoroughly supported by the local political leadership and the newspapers.

What has happened again and again is the explosion of words of hate and deeds of violence by certain white people, these in turn prompted by fears and anxieties. Public disorder, organized scorn, or, under conditions of order, carefully patrolled calm, such are the external conditions somhow faced and managed by those scatterings of Negro children who continue to press their admission and attendance upon formerly all white schools; and these dark children are received by their waiting white classmates in various ways. As psychiatrists, we must look further, trying to find out how these several groups of people think and feel, looking at their responses under tension, evaluating their survival and manner of accommodation with new realities daily urged upon them. In any crisis of society are the individuals who enact it, seeking it, caught in it, attempting to flee it. This particular struggle has many roots in our history and culture, many implications in our current political and

economic life, all of them beyond the present concerns of this paper, which must be with the individual child and his psychological development and adjustment. We may only emphasize that such distinctions are arbitary if necessary. No child can be separated from the history of his people, from their lot and their condition. This is not the place to chronicle the fate of the Negro in America, nor to trace the development of the white man's attitudes in the South, or North likewise, toward him. Such has been done by historians, (1-4), sociologists (5), psychologists (6-8), and psychiatrists (9-14), and, as we take up our work here we are forced merely to mention these facts of "culture" or "environment", or "socio-economic context." It must be obvious, however, that at every moment in the life of these children, such facts are firm realities for them.

Nature of This Study

Our Negro children have been selected by others, by themselves and their parents by virtue of application, by federal judges by virtue of decision, by school boards by virtue of compliance and permission. Our white children have been those who attended class with these Negroes, in the beginning simply living their normal lives of growing and being schooled; suddenly finding themselves with new questions of attitude and behavior. Finally, the parents of all these children, white and colored, and their teachers,

all of them white, have been a part of our study, supplying valuable observations about their children and students, talking a good deal about their own problems in what is for many of them, of both races, a critical adjustment in habit and thought.

We have tried for lengthy acquaintance with children of several ages. They have been as young as five and as old as eighteen. In New Orleans they were the little ones, entering first grade, attending second and third grades. They included the four Negro girls, who at age six, first entered two white schools in 1961, and four of their classmates; the six additional Negro children who entered the same and other schools the next year, and seven of their white classmates. In Atlanta they were the ten Negro children who were selected for that city's first year of desegregation, five to enter the twelfth grade and five the eleventh of four high schools, and ten of their white classmates.

All of these children have been followed for two full school years. We have seen the children in Atlanta at least once a week, often twice weekly, depending upon the child and the circumstances at work in his personal and school life. We have visited the children in New Orleans every month, seeing them two or three times in a period of a week's stay. With the teen-agers and their parents we have come to their homes and talked with them; with younger children we

have come supplied with toys, crayons, and paints. Though regular home visitors, we have also been to their schools, talked with their teachers separately and in groups. We have known many of them months before schools opened, watched them enter on their first day, and graduate or be promoted on their last. Among white children we have aimed at diverse opinions on segregation. In both cities we have children from families actively in favor of desegregation and very earnestly opposed. In Atlanta one family is connected with the Klan, two others militantly segregationist; in New Orleans four families of like mind.

In brisker fashion we have journeyed to other cities, other Southern regions where desegregation has begun, hoping in a few interviews with children, parents, teachers for comparative information on adjustment and progress. Little Rock in Arkansas, Clinton and Oak Ridge in Tennessee, Burnsville, Asheville, and Charlotte in North Carolina, have offered rural and urban contrasts, and information from a more northerly South than Georgia and Louisiana.

Observations and Discussion

Our chief concerns have been what color means to a child, how these children, Negro and white, see themselves and respond to one another, how they handle the strains of desegregation, the shock of one another's presence, the anxiety and anger on the streets or the fear inside their

homes; finally, how their attitudes and feelings change or persist over the months of these eventful and unusual school years. It would be fatuous indeed to ignore the separate nature of existence for the black and white child in the South. We must therefore, tell their fate and our findings separately, starting, in each case, with the young and moving on to the older child.

Negro Children

We may note, initially, that there are no obvious social or economic ways to distinguish these families whose children participated in the first years of desegregation. These children have come from all classes, the very poor to the comfortable, the educated to the barely literate, long time city dwellers and recent arrivals from fast disappearing farms, and a wide variety of motives have pressed upon them or their parents, most especially the desire for better education, and the advancement of their people's struggle for equality. In no case were they cajoled, rewarded, or even asked to apply.[1] In both Atlanta and New Orleans many

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[1]One of the most common beliefs I have met in the South, held not only by segregationsits, but by many people very sympathetic to desegregation, often by many kind teachers, is that the NAACP in some way recruits these children, then rewards them, pays them, bribes them, the verb depending on the attitudes of the particular person. I have yet to see evidence of this with any of our children.

were eager, but only very few chosen. Selection was based in both cities upon the declared regard of school officials for seeking children able and capable of surviving an obviously special and possibly traumatic experience. In both cities and in others over the South, psychological tests were given, personal interviews held. Four in New Orleans, ten in Atlanta, survived these for first year desegregation. These children represent, therefore, a residue deemed by educators fit and superior to other aspirants.

We have seen, and we must emphasize, heavy and hard, that each of these Negro children must learn and has learned how to manage in the white world of the South. From their first years they must be taught, and, slowly begin to realize fully for themselves, what they may do, where they may go, how they must behave. These dusky children of six, their yet smaller brothers and sisters of three or four, are fast learning such facts of social life, and their older kind in Atlanta have already mastered these childhood lessons quite well.

Drawings of these young children reveal their emerging sense of shame and worthlessness, their feelings of weakness before white skin and their envy of it. While all children have their troubles with many of these emotions, early sorrows, frights, rivalries and angers, for the Negro child, in contrast with the white child's experience, they

have a real basis in the world outside the home, regardless of the pleasure and happiness within.

For instance, a six year old boy, several months at a heavily boycotted but desegregated New Orleans school, draws his view of himself and one of his few white classmates, and, in another picture, sketches his idea of his place in school. Another child, a girl of seven, having faced daily mobs, draws her school and herself. The boy leaves some white on his right arm and leg, draws himself smaller, more bound and animal-like than his blond classmate, who, in reality, is smaller and much less active and darting. He puts himself in one part of his school, his white schoolmates in another, although, he assures me, in actual fact they are together in classes. ("They say we're not supposed to, but we are.") The girl pictures herself a lonely blackbird, cautiously winging her way toward the school, hesitant, fragile before white mankind as birds generally are before people, a host of her black kin segregated in distant knots of black upon a blue sky. Another of the four girls, one who saw a whole school empty in the face of her admission, draws her school with bright flowers on one of its sides, a stealthy brown squirrel on another. Again, she draws a white girl friend as large, smiling and blooming with cheer, while a colored child ("it's not me," she hastens to tell me with no prodding) appears in a corner

of the paper, dour and droopy, lips puckered, legs looking lamed.

In these homes I have seen white dolls kept separated from colored ones, called, in two instances, King and Queen. On the other hand I have seen our same children eventually feel free enough to hit, crush, or shatter these small white worlds of dolls and toys, looking at first fearfully or guiltily at me, later able to talk rather clearly about their deep feelings of resentment and hurt. ("If the white hits the colored, the colored has to hit him back." Or, "The white people call us bad, but they are the real bad and we never get bad enough to be bad like them, so I'm just fooling." He had just been rather merciless with a white boy in a coloring book, crossing him out with giant strokes of his black crayon.)

In her very overworked and overstated affection for whites in paper and in play a five year old girl shows other, contrary attitudes at work. She never quite felt free enough to express them directly, but their symbolic presence could not be concealed. She had always given white people features, had drawn carefully and precisely their blue eyes, had marked their fine noses by thin pink lines, had outlined their slim, curved lips, jarred only rarely by all too excessive teeth which loomed larger than the mouth which presumably contained them, and almost threatened the entire face. Negroes never

had eyes, noses, mouths, only large ears. They were anonymous, and would thus not reveal their true feelings, though they were listening all the time. One day she looked furtively at me as she started drawing eyes and a nose for a colored mother and her daughter, then quickly left her crayons for the escape of skipping and dancing. We both knew why. She had always been able to talk about how white children played and felt, telling me stories to go with her drawings, telling me thereby about many of her own normal problems of growing and getting along with her mother, her father, her sister and brothers. What she feared talking about was one problem, how she felt about being a Negro, how she felt about the restrictions and prohibitions which even then she was learning, which even then were being reinforced in their power over her spontaneous urges, in busses, in stores, in movie houses, in lunch counters. At school she could play with white children and study with them, but she knew this condition was special, and precarious at that. She found attendance at a desegregated school much easier, however, than revealing her private, her family's private fears and hates, of those white children, of their parents, of their entire world. Several months later she again drew a Negro woman, again gave her eyes and a nose and lips which were surely, widely Negro. She was able to finish her work, filling in details of sky and ground, and, in reply to my

hesitant question, "What does the woman see?" I heard "The dark, 'cause the sun isn't out." She laughed and pushed her paper with its nicely done picture aside; then volunteered "one more." It was an obvious witch, broom and all, under a black sky, over two buildings of red and orange brick, similar to ones she had done before of her house and her school. Halloween had passed by three months. I noted that to her. She replied, "Some witches are always alive, and this one just stayed around." This particular sorceress was brown-skinned. At this point I felt I could mention that to her, and did. She replied, "Oh, yes." I pressed with "Why?", and she eventually explained that some people, she knew it, didn't like Negroes. Here she was showing what others thought, but also what she thought, with ugliness and isolated eccentricity the image held of them by whites, but also by themselves, by herself, too; and with shrill vengeance the Negro's secret fantasy.

Positive feelings toward this white doctor, occur. Apart from an occasional doorstep visit from an insurance salesman or such, these children and their parents have never before acted as friendly host to a white guest in their home. Real trust must, therefore, be distinguished from early, anxious, fearful ingratiation, just as these must be differentiated in older children and adults, race apart, too. In three children, particularly expressive with crayons and

paints, lessened distrust and fright seemed to appear with pictures of me, to which they would hastily add brown skin or coloring. First my tan or dappled complexion would be erased with a new picture started, or an apologetic remark indicating an error voiced. After a while I could be left colored, and they learned that it caused me no pain. Two asked me if I minded. No, I didn't, they found out, then tested my words and tried their freedom to make us seem more alike by embarking upon a spate of such drawings for a few months. Eventually they abandoned this game. One of them was able to tell me once that she was soiling me, for which she was very sorry. I remarked to her that she had painted a large shining sun, and that, perhaps I was being sun-tanned. Yes, she murmurred, that, too. Those children who found desegregation a happier experience than expected drew schools progressively less forbidding and impersonal, played games less hectic or guarded. Those whose school experiences had been frought with much tension expressed much of this in our games, trying, oftentimes, to make sense out of the experience by re-enacting it. One girl would imitate the crowds, the unfriendly crowds, then turn on them, disperse them in a model of police efficiency painfully in contrast with what had actually happened on the streets. "I'm better than the police," she told me once.

These angry crowds took on highly individual implications

and meanings for each child. Mob reproaches are fitted into the normal problems of growing. A child who feels guilty about her wishes to hurt or eliminate her brothers and sisters can wonder whether the epithets of street walkers are not really designed to punish her for her secret, and sometimes not so hidden, fantasies. At five, six, or seven, they are very much involved in the rights and wrongs of the world, how to tell them apart, how to mediate between their evolving conscience and quick-rising wishes. One six year old boy, whose mother was pregnant, drew his large bellied mother standing near his desegregated school, a fire hose nearby, a few whites standing afar. Asked for his rationale, he explained the story he was drawing, "They're mad (whites) because we are going to their school, and they want the fire hose back, but it's ours, too." Oedipal strivings and the realities of dealing with mob dispersal are fixed neatly together here.

What the parents intuitively knew was that they must acknowledge their children's perceptions of a sullen or hostile world, all the while assuring them that there were other worlds of affection, and, even among whites, support. One mother put it this way, "I tells her that she's right and those folks don't like her nor me either just 'cause we're colored. But I say that me and her daddy went against worse in the older days, and we is going to go right through this, and, we got a lot of the whites who are helping us all the way." For many

parents this was a forthright chance to talk openly with their children about their problems as Negroes. By no means is it easy for Negro families to talk with one another about such matters. Shame, self-hatred which can express itself in contempt for one another, these make such open talk hard. A father illustrates this: "Before I tried to fool them maybe a little, because I figured there'd be plenty of time for them to find out what the world is like, and, besides, I figured we'd take each situation as it comes up. Sometimes they'd try to get me to take them into a restaurant or a movie, and I'd invent all kinds of stories and try to take their attention away, divert them you might say; but I kind of knew they were too smart underneath. First they'd keep on asking, or ask questions like 'why not?' and then sometimes I'd lose my temper and tell them to shut up. Then they'd give you that look that makes you feel stupid, or maybe like crying, and I'd hear them later on, telling one another the truth .... 'because we're black' they'd say. They say you can't fool children, and I guess they is right, but can you blame a parent for trying?... Now we can relax, and it's all in the open, and it's easier with the other kids just as with her" (the girl in the de-segregated school.)

Balancing outside threats and anxiety were the inside supports of the school as well as the home. While these

children were applauded by their own communities, and many people all over the world, they also received help from their teachers and white classmates, few to many in number, depending upon the year and the school involved. Three of them, learning their letters in an abandoned school, had no white classmates the first year and about fifteen the second. One of them studied largely alone at first, though she always had about five, then about ten white students with her at the beginning, and later, in the second year, over one-hundred returned to school with her. Perhaps if we hear two recorded comments, from a Negro and a white mother, we will understand what happened inside these battered schools. A Negro mother told us "Ruby came home the other day and told me that a new white girl came and she came right up to Ruby and told her in the middle of the recess that she wasn't going to play with her, 'cause her mother done told her to stay clear of niggers, but Ruby said they played together right afterwards." A white mother, who kept her children in school under constant threat and intimidation commanted: "Once they were in school, it was fine. Why, they practically worshipped that little girl (Negro) After all they'd never had it so good ... so few of them to a teacher, and all that excitement. They loved it. I got scared, all the calls and their faces ... but the kids kept me calmer than I kept them. They weren't afraid...they had a real school spirit... they

sang songs like "Frantz School Will Survive"...they became real close together... Yes, it was like a family, and I guess the police were like their fathers, and they even joined in with the singing. I think the teachers became more determined than ever to stick it out and protect the children after they saw what those people were like. I've never heard such foul language..."

We saw evidence of anxiety, nervous loss of appetite, fretful disposition, unusually scrappy behavior with brothers and sisters, rare tearfulness before going to school, and one temporary episode of bed-wetting, but never were these crippling in length or severity, similar to the kinds of complaints which bring children to child guidance clinics. Parental anxiety could trigger a child's, but none of these parents ever seemed near collapse in their ability to cope with daily living. Subjected to curses, warnings of attack and death, job loss, these people drew close together, inside their own families, and within the shared assurance of a group. Very important, often overlooked, is the fact that theirs has been a life time of adaptation to what they know and feel to be unfair treatment. A father put it this way: "It's not new, and it won't be the last time, but now my child is closer to me than ever before, and we both are going to get through this, because at last we've got a reason for our hardship, and, Lord, that makes it easier

than ever before." We heard similar sentiments over and over again, in every city visited, from our teen-aged children in Atlanta particularly, able as they were to talk for themselves.

If the young child can draw and play his sense of himself and the white world outside, draw and play his fears and tensions under desegregation, and how they fit into his problems of growing up, the older child will have a style of living, a manner of thinking and feeling and acting which do likewise. In our adolescent children we have heard over the months conscious and unconscious expressions of lessons learned earlier, now organized into patterns of behavior: meekness masking rage, anger expressing shame or anxiety, fearful guilt following expression of frustration or humiliation, and, in general, a thicket of rationalizations, apprehensive controls, and bland denials, covering sadness, bitterness, and, always with "the Man"[2] around, uncertainty and fear.

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[2]Negroes often refer to the white world as "the Man" or "The Bossman." A fine coat might be called a "Boss Coat." When I went on vacation I was told several times to have a "Boss Time." Words used by whites and Negroes in the South to describe Negroes are associated with all kinds of social and cultural variables, often hard neatly to categorize. I have heard Negroes and whites use different terms to describe Negroes depending upon where they are and with whom, as well as their feelings behind the words. Poor white people generally use the word "nigger," and I have heard many Negroes do likewise, in serious and humorous self-description or derogation. Many middle-class southerners use the term "nigra," and it often emerges in quiet, honeyed fashion, with no mean intent, but simply a natural derivitive of the southern accent. Many southerners, much conscious of race relations or interested and responsive to northern custom use the word "Negro," sometimes, I feel, a little awkwardly and unnaturally, because it is not a word until recently used by most southerners to describe the Negro. I feel that the word "colored" is more often used by gentle white northerners, but I have heard it used by many Negroes in the South, and more rarely by white southerners. Of course, the "black man" the "dark people" and the "Africans" also have usages which are perhaps too specialized to discuss here.

We must emphasize, again and again, that for many of these conscious feelings of rage or intimidation to be revealed, for many dreams and fantasies to be spoken, much time and development of trust was needed. The parallel with any psychotherapy is obvious, but the contrast between these "healthy" Negroes, these "normal," even "superior" teen-agers and their white classmates in ease and freedom of social expression is startling. White children, can, and often do, say what they feel about Negroes to themselves and, often, to Negroes, say friendly things, say hurtful things. Negroes not only have no such relatively ready confidence or articulation with a white person, a fact which is obvious to many people but still denied by many more, but Negroes often are unable to talk with one another about their lot and problems as Negroes. Self hate, learned from a culture which has bound, ostracised, and proscribed them, becomes a hate for one another. The dreams, associations, comments and written remarks, drawings and paintings, and letters of these children richly illustrate such developments.

Of course, all adolescents have their problems, of quick growth and heightened awareness, of torn feelings, of doubts and dreams charged with new hormonal strength; but, again, the Negro adolescent has a special problem with the all too real social and cultural truth of his past exploitation and still curbed apartness. The whole play of the mind will be

seen in these youths, their projections and introjections, their distortions and excuses, a host of justifications and remedial responses to the lessons of inferiority, well learned by them, gathered by them from the white ocean of habits, customs, its culture which surrounds them and controls them from their first years to their last moments. From tapes we can hear their words: "I'm glad I'm not white, all that worrying about losing Atlanta's reputation if a riot comes when we desegregate," or "I don't think there's any real difference between white and colored, except that we're lazier most of the time." Or, "We deserve what we get, and until we work harder, we'll just have to take it." Again, after a year and a half, "I never told you the truth, because I never trusted a white man before... Why should we?... Sometimes we hate all of them, it doesn't make any difference who they are, it's the whole race... You know, sometimes I could just kill every white man in sight, whether I knew them or not, but that's more like what you call a daydream. I'd never really do it, it's just when you get so frustrated and they treat you like an animal, that's when it comes out..." A boy who had been at a white high school for months, and seen a Negro wield a knife in the downtown section of his city remarked to us: "Negroes are uncivilized more than whites... Sometimes they behave like animals... I feel ashamed of them... Yes, I guess it makes

me feel ashamed of myself, too." Finally, "The whites are scared of us. They've always been. That's why they have to try so hard to keep us down... Yes, I guess I think their fears are justified, because I think most of us do, way down, hate them... Well, it's like the cart and the horse, I mean whether they're scared of us because of the way we feel toward them, or if we were made to feel that way and then they get scared because of what they did to us." Little psychiatric interpretation is necessary here.

At fifteen, old ideas, old experiences, racially tinged admonitions from parents, racially connected epithets from the outside world, bulk larger and stronger. Negro adolescents in Atlanta met no mobs, but their age and its own burdens, as with the younger children in New Orleans, merged with the stresses of desegregation. Months before nine of them entered four high schools their names and pictures were in the local papers. While police can deter public throngs; threatening, highly abusive phone calls, similar messages by mail, pressures on employers, pressures by employers, these are less easily contained. Night after night calls came, menacing, foreboding ill, and, in the morning, special deliveries of the same kind appeared. Atlanta was determined to have law and order, but during that anxious summer before initial desegregation was under way, no one could really know what bomb and dynamite threats, what murderous innuendo,

might materialize even with the most elaborate precautions. Nor was the heritage of these families, several poor and recently from farms, conducive to reassurance and thoughtful serenity.

Among the children and their parents, too, anticipatory anxiety and defenses against it were quite prominent. Especially common were the use of denial and rationalizations, such as "I'm not worried about anything," or, "What's there to worry about?" or, "They'll bother the boys" from a girl and "at least we can protect ourselves" from a boy. Frequent projective maneuvers were seen, like "I'll bet they're plenty scared (the whites) of what'll happen," and, "It's nothing for us to worry about; it's their problem, not ours." Loss of appetite, migraine headaches, insomnia were seen. One boy read a law book, versing himself on "assault and battery" sections particularly, but he "just happened to be" doing this, then. Another boned up on kerate, keeping his once slack muscles newly poised. Many, wishing for a foreseeable end to increasing tension, trapped themselves into forecasts of early ease once the first few days of school were over.

Such, sadly, was not to be the case. Long moments of history may disappear, bur not necessarily at the speed hoped by an anxious child. During the school year the trials of hard work, frequent loneliness and isolation, and occasional insult had to be met, and each child had his

or her own way of dealing with these pressures. One of the original ten selected, a very bright girl of seventeen, dropped out just before school opened, she and her family unable and unwilling to bear the daily, rising tension ("We're too far out from the police, and it's too exposed here. They could shoot to kill or dynamite us, and I'm not going to take the chance," the girl admitted, guilty about her decision, but more afraid of what would happen were it not made.) Another slightly younger girl, also quite intelligent, asked to return to her old Negro high school a short while after her first report card showed two A's and three B's, the highest grades of all the Negro students, obtained in a tough academic program. A well spoken, attractive girl, from a middle-class family, of the three Negroes, probably the favorite of teachers and students alike, her withdrawal for what she called "an emotional upset" confused her city a great deal. Front page publicity, local and national, with editorials and heavy television coverage, remarks of concern by the Governor of Georgia, conflicting explanations of the cause, such attention gives some hint of the interest, hopes, the fears, and guilts attached by so many to desegregation in the South.

Having known her for six months, I had seen her respond to apprehension with heavy reliance upon detailed, increasingly burdensome rituals. She was getting little

sleep, eating sporadically and excessively of sweets, and not simply studying but exhausting herself in tangled, midnight minutiae, in unrealistic and obviously hurtful anticipation of all of the next day's possible recitals. While these classrooms were, in fact, for these children, an awkward, silent, closely watched and often fearful stage, this girl could not handle her role as easily as the eight others who stayed and survived. The reasons seemed more connected with her fragile personal and familial history, frought with divorce and parental strife, than desegregation alone. A crisis had sharpened old angers and sorrows, had upset a precariously balanced relationship with her father and sister, and had found her abilities, even assisted by a relatively friendly school body, newly weakened by rigid and frail defenses.

Depressions, headaches, stomach aches, all these were seen with some frequency. Three of the five girls developed definite increase in premenstrual pain, and, thereby temporary absence from school. All three boys seemed prone to headaches and dreams of thinly disguised rage: "I dreamt I was in Little Rock,[3] and they (whites) were coming after

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[3]Events like Little Rock stick fast to these children. They were eleven or twelve at the time, awakening to themselves and their world. All refer to memories of Little Rock on television and identification with the Negro students there. No less than four have used that even in their dreams, to symbolize such feelings as isolation, determined resistance, anger, etc.

me... I started to run, then I found I had a gun, and I turned and it turned out to be a machine gun, so I fired away; I opened up right at them, and I think they stopped... I had another dream later that night. I dreamed I got arrested for driving too fast, and my father said I'd better go to jail because he didn't have the money to pay the fine, and then I woke up ... what a night, it was as bad as school!" This dream-pair of anger, of crime and punishment, was followed weeks later, in the same boy, with "I was running real fast, but then I looked around and no one seemed to be chasing me, so I relaxed. Then I saw a girl walking down the street. She was a white girl, so I looked the other way. You know. Then, a funny thing happened. She told me it was O. K. to look, 'cause I was white, too, and she smiled at me. I think we talked for a while or something, but suddenly she turned Negro and ran from me, and I felt bad, like I'd done something wrong. Then I woke up. I couldn't get the dream out of my mind, it was one of those that stick with you real clear all day... Mostly the feeling of doing something wrong ... I think I woke up before I could get caught or something, maybe the police were around the corner." Sexual identity, racial identity, fears, hopes, guilts, all raw and sharply summoned.

Though harassed, these children were also honored, and, just as the New Orleans parents averred, so did they, that

here was a chance for purposeful stress in contrast to the arbitrary stresses of the daily rejections and exclusions encountered by the Negro in his living and working. Indeed, eight out of ten selected in Atlanta successfully finished these last one or two years of their high school education, though not without signs of tiring and of strain. As wearying as their psychological problems were their academic ones. They come from overcrowded, poorly equipped schools, from years of education in a separate school system which reflects inevitably the position of the Negro, the restricted hopes, the frequent poverty and the precarious affluence, (16) the continual fears, the lessened pace, the boredom, apathy, and that, too, the reactive rage and its impulsive, expressive violence. One says what many have said, "More kids dropped out because they had to go to work, and they didn't think they'd do much better even if they stayed and graduated. Even if they graduated from college, they might end up not any better than if they left in the 9th grade... Man, it's a white man's world all the way. You sure can see it when you get to an integrated school. These white kids have hope, I don't know how I know it, but they do, you can just feel it... I almost feel as if I've been let out of jail and let into America, like walking into one of those TV programs, you know, where people seem free and kind of happy...it's like feeling you're participating, not just always watching and peeking around."

They studied hard, curtailed social activities, graduated. Those who followed them the next year, over forty in number, less carefully picked, struggled even harder with some of these problems of academic adjustment required at so late a time as the last years of high school.

One of the most common difficulties encountered by these colored students was their own ambivalence, their pride of person and new self-respect as Negroes, their identification with changes in Africa, in Asia, in their own country; but also, along side such feelings, the results of their ancient exile from American culture, a sense of their own lowly, tainted nature, an aloof, hesitant, distrust of whites, a self-hatred appearing as suspicion of them even when they are kindly and affectionate: "I don't know what to do when they get nice. It's easier when they ignore you, at least then you're used to it, and we know what to do...when they get friendly, I feel as if they've got some angle to it, or trying to pull something... I guess I don't really believe we've got some equality now...I finally got up enough courage, and walked over and sat with them... Oh, I knew they were friendly, and they wanted me to come over...but you know how it is... But it all went good. I think they were as nervous as I was, but now when I sit with them, no one thinks anything of it." A less successful outcome, in a school less hospitable to its two Negro children, shows one way of dealing with daily rebuke and insult: "I don't care what they say, or what they think of me,..

I'm going to graduate from that school if it's the last thing I do. They can all leave if they want... Man, that's my school as much as theirs, and they don't scare me, and if I scare them, they can go... go and give me the whole school to myself.."

White Children

Since the white children mostly do not leave these schools, or, when they do, usually return after the crisis of violence or mob action subsides, they, too, have reactions to desegregation, a new and often surprising reality to them.

Born and reared in a region which has, however recently, (2) as successors to slavery, developed an elaborate array of social customs, strongly bulwarked by law, which regulate from birth to death doings, if not feelings, between the races, these children are now asked to participate in the beginning of the end of these ways. For the young white child, this ordinarily requires little effort. His age and its momentum appear to overcome even parental injunctions. I have watched them play, children from segregationist homes, urged by their mothers to keep good distance from the one or two colored children among them, yet forgetful of these ideas and pleas in the abandon of play. Teachers say as this one did: "They forget what they're told at home when they start playing. You can't expect children of this age to worry about skin color when they want to play a game or jump rope... I

suppose if their parents scare them to death about it (skin color) they'll remember, but it'll take work to prevent children from being friendly one minute and nasty the next regardless of what color they are."

Two such children and their parents showed us how dark skin can, in fact, become an object of anxious avoidance, a focus for emotions communicated from parents to child by daily example, by daily intimacy of phrase and example. Their parents were not simply voting segregationists, but preoccupied segregationists, fervently involved believers in distance between the races, in Negro inferiority and harmfulness. Their mothers' associations, culled from many interviews, indicate that for them, the Negro is dirty, diseased, promiscuous, a source of contamination, and that all these thoughts, held by many others in a casual or quiet fashion, are of strong, constant concern to them. Joining together the words of one mother from several tapes, we must emphasize the urgency and passion of her delivery: "They're dragging us down, and you know why? Because they're made lower and they're born with less intelligence than we have. Just look at them...[4] they're more animal than spiritual, and the Bible tells us not to mix the two if we can help it...They have their place, and

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[4]There is no absence of curiosity in people like her, albeit from a distance.

it's not anywhere near us...they're dirty, they're drunks, and they slash one another with razor blades and flood Chairty Hospital with their V. D. and illegitimate children... I don't think they know what family life is, and now they want us to catch it from them, get all our children sick, and start them off with little nigger kids in school. I sent him back there (Frantz School) because I figure there's only one or two, and we can get by if he stays away from them, but what about our grandchildren, when they flood us in twenty years?...I get sick near them, because they smell and I almost want to vomit..."

She had felt sick in the past, with nausea, cold sweats, loss of appetite, in a northern restaurant, seeing them nearby. She and her husband and two children had hastily left. She avoided them, particularly any chance of touching them or being touched, and she had taught this to her young girl and boy. In turn, her son, aged six, could draw a desegregated school under dark clouds, brown colored with black smoke emerging from its chimney. In one of its corners, encircled by a black line, the thinnest skeletal outlines of a Negro child could be seen. He drew another picture of his school, the same school, but of orange brick under a blue sky and full sun, scarcely any brown there but the land (dirt) under the flowers and grass. The two separate drawings had come about through the following conversation: (Dr.) "Would you want to

draw a picture of your school now?" Nodding, "Should I draw the whole school?" Hesitating a moment, (Dr.) "As much as you want to." He sketched one, then another picture, telling me it was a big school, "except it still isn't filled up again." (The boycott by whites had collapsed, and he, like other white children, had not been allowed to attend.) He was a sturdy and tidy boy, well mannered, rather close to his mother, bright and a good talker, a good artist, too. He wanted to be a doctor, had so for about a year. Doctors, he told me once, had to be clean, and had to scrub their hands very hard before they cut into people. We had embarked on that line of thought after a small discussion of the little Negro girl in his school. "I don't go near her, because I don't like her looks and she's a bad girl... My best friend is Jimmie and he said he wouldn't play with her either because she'd ruin the game, but I don't like her around <u>anyways.</u>" He did indeed stay away from her, and sought friends who did likewise, or simply were doing likewise not in any exclusiveness, but in the natural order of play. His mother, affectionate toward him and truly confident of his loyalty, felt that his assurances to her that he remained clear from the Negro child were unnecessary. "Sometimes he tells me he hasn't gone near her when he comes home, but I know he hasn't regardless." He hasn't, but he is not without a silent interest, a certain preoccupation. He will draw the

colored child, then cross her out, he will wipe her out in play and shoot her, but not fail to mention her, bring her into his assertive, frolicsome games.

Other children seem less anxious to draw the Negro into our talk and play. Their parents may have welcomed desegregation, and there is no issue for them, though several of them are very much aware at five or six what it means in our country to be a Negro. One girl at school and in class with a little Negro girl informed me that "most white people don't like them, but I don't mind them." Their parents may not have welcomed desegregation at all, but may place little emotional store in its slow onset. A mother told me she did not want her children at desegregated schools, but she wanted them attending school, and there seemed little alternative but certain private schools, which, she felt, were not the best choice, educationally, for her children. "If I had a lot of money, I'd send them to real good private schools; this way, I figure it's best to keep them in school even with the two nigras... I tell them (her two children involved) to keep away from them and never to play with the,...Well, maybe they do, in the yard sometime, but I don't think that'll cause any trouble. I'm not against young children playing, I mean nigras and whites. I'm against giving them equality in schools and restaurants and things like that, because I don't think they're equal, to be truthful. I just don't believe any fair minded

person can look at them and the way they live and believe they are. I just don't." Attitudes like this, long held and deeply, honestly believed, are less likely to kindle a young child's resolute fear and horror. This woman states her opposition, but her capacity to weigh other values and concerns in determining her position. Unlike several of our parents, she will not march out on any street in agitated demonstration. Her children, therefore, duly understand her views, and adopt them as their own, but her daughter occasionally will acknowledge a rope game with the little Negro girl in her class, and one day, settled the entire problem for herself by telling me she'd let one Negro girl into her doll house, but no others. "I mean all the others will have to be maids, but she (the one) can have a cup of tea with us." (She loved serving tea in her doll house, and was a most gracious hostess.)

With adolescence, old ideas, stored but forgotten in games, emerge newly influential. In Atlanta, the problem of white boys and girls, now fast growing, struggling with problems of identify, of belief and career, were aptly summarized for me by a high school senior who found a Negro in several of his classes, and felt torn by old traditions and perceptions and new realities: "It's a shock to us, I'll have to say that. I mean, I'm not against Lawrence. I've grown to respect him; but it's like this...they were slaves here and we had them in bondage. We fought a war over the

thing and got beat, but even so, we've all grown up with them living one way, and us another...they've worked in our kitchens and taken care of us, and suddenly you wake up and find them in your schools sitting across from you... It's not the way we've ever lived with them before, and you can't expect us not to find it hard for a while."

Attitudes varied from immediate sympathy through indifference to marked hostility. One form of hostility was the direction of overworked attention and conversation to the Negroes with a paternal attitude which they could scarcely not notice and frequently describe: "I'd rather have them swear at us than all that fake sympathy she gives out. She thinks she's big-time roylaty, doing us a favor with her friendship. She tells us how much she likes us, but how does she know if she does, when she doesn't know us at all?" Others, less impelled by unconsciously wrought reaction-formations, developed slow sympathy with these children, often identifying with them in their loneliness or suffering. One adolescent boy of fifteen, in so many ways reminiscent of Anna Freud's (15) description of the teen-aged youth in all his ambivalent turmoil, remarked feelingly, "I know what it is to be alone... they must be boiling underneath, but I guess they know how to keep up a good front. I think I was against desegregation, and I still am in a way, but I really feel for those two kids, and I've got to admit I like both of them in spite of what I

thought I'd feel...you know, you've got to hand it to them... sometimes I see them just sitting at the table, and I say to myself, we're rotten animals, us human beings are just mean all over. Then I want to go up and sit and talk with them, but I don't dare...you know why, I'll have to be honest, it would just make it too hard for me. I'd have to take more than they do, I think."

Slowly, as the months go along, many of these white students, less and less afraid of social ostracism, have made overtures to their Negro schoolmates, words, a smile, a question, a nod. Desegregation has then moved from its legal and physical reality to its emotional onset.

Others feel and continue to feel differently: "They're no damn good, and never will be...just look at Africa...All they do is sit and drink...They live like animals and they sure look like them, too. Have you ever smelled them, real close? They make me sick just to go near them!" Strong are the words and feelings these young men and women have and much the notice they are willing to give the Negro: "Most kids ignore us, and a few are really nice, but there are three or four who won't leave us alone. They just stare all day long... I think they've got a kind of 'thing' about us, and it won't let them alone, so how can they let us alone?"

Three of these young people, two boys and a girl, have never felt unwilling or unable to describe their anger and

scorn for the two Negroes at school with them. Listening to their words, and feelings underneath those words, one finds, however, sensitivity and guilt as well as rage, revealing them, unconsciously, troubled and conscience stricken by the very harm they would so freely cause. One would describe with apparent pleasure the isolation and fear experienced by a Negro girl in his class, then wish, always after telling of her painful moments, that she go to Africa, surely an escape as well as an exile. Another talked quietly about his segregationist views, becoming loudly, angrily, critical when he described a bullying word or deed toward a Negro in which he shared. He always had to fend off his own sense of right and wrong in these specific situations by such excesses of rationalized pique. One rather bright and athletic boy, with no significant medical or psychiatric history, revealed the clashes and contradictions of sympathy, fear, and hate within himself: "I don't hate Martha. Fact is, I feel sorry for her, and for the other one, too. She's pathetic, the way she just sits there all alone, smiling at you if you look at her, and working away all the time, trying to prove something, I guess. It's the NAACP and the professional nigger lovers I'm against, because they're taking advantage of Martha just like the rest of us to cause trouble between the races... We've had a lot more use for the nigger here than up North... I've gone up there and I know how they live there... Here,

we've got respect for one another, and most niggers will tell you they don't want to be with us any more than we want to be with them...This is an insult to them as much as to us, and I think Martha is a dupe, and even if I feel sorry for her, I can't forgive her for letting herself be used."

Our Negro and white children, regardless of their differing views and hopes, all agreed on the interesting point that most white children, despite their declared opinions, in practice were indifferent to the Negroes who entered their schools. Over and over from the Negroes we heard, "They couldn't care less." Time and again we heard from white children, "I've got more on my mind than a couple of niggers... my work and basketball are what I think of all day...who cares? I mean, they're here, and we didn't want it, but what difference does it make, now? I don't think <u>any</u> in your everyday life."

Changes in feelings are reported and observable, too. Several of our high school juniors and seniors have noted changes in sentiments from mild antipathy or disinterest to respect or even affection, often to their own surprise. The unpredictable nature of human behavior, the accumulative effects of conscious and unconscious guilt and atonement, of changed perceptions and newly developing social customs, are all perhaps summarized in the experience of a Negro girl who went through a year of silence and sometimes much worse, only

to be herself surprised in her last day of school at the requests of eighteen white classmates to autograph her yearbook. Their messages, from "best wishes" to "I am sorry for my silence, but you will understand why," from "I know you have had an unpleasant time, but we have all had a difficult year, and we have come through it successfully" to "you have proven yourself a fine person, and I have been sorry we could not know you better," speak for themselves, self-evident examples of changing emotions, slowly incubating amid the complicated silence of an unusual school year.

Parents and Teachers

We may only briefly here refer to the parents and teachers of these children. It is a commonplace that these children are much affected by the attitudes of both. We have been particularly interested to note, in city after city of the South, that teachers may have felt tension between their roles as teachers and their private feelings. In the two battered schools of New Orleans, in Central High School in Little Rock, in the unharassed but tensely protected (some police scruntiny all year long) high schools of Atlanta, we have heard teachers reflect what their society obviously faces, the anxieties and mixed feelings of social and cultural change. One teacher put it very well, speaking to me in a group of several teachers meeting to discuss their observations of how desegregation was

proceeding: "We felt betwixt and between our traditions as southerners and the Law. I wouldn't disobey my school board, because I know I have responsibilities as a teacher, but I had my private opinions about this, of course. You know, we were as nervous as the students were... you could hear a pin drop... I think I've learned as much this year as my students, and maybe a little more... You can't change a whole way of living without a little trouble here and there, but I'm right proud of our children here in Atlanta."

Parents, of course, will vary, and teach their young children what they themselves feel, from kindness to fear. Many children in Atlanta obviously reflect their parents' views. Many don't, however. A white boy, son of a militant segregationist father, found friendliness toward Negroes, spoken and acted,a means of teen-aged rebellion. Several young students differentiated most precisely their views from those of their parents. "We're from another generation," a refrain as old as man himself, was not absent among these youths. Nor do Negro students heed their parents so resolutely. Often their parents, all too aware of past hurts, all to fearful and suspicious, had opposed letting their children transfer to white schools. Family splits, mother approving, father dissenting, or vice-versa, were not rare, with younger and older children alike. Once under the crisis of actual participation, however, these splits seemed to be welded together in

the common familial need for mutual support against an outside world potentially harmful.

The Psychiatrist's Roles and Reactions

We can only mention in passing at this time some of the problems encountered by a psychiatrist working in the midst of active social and political crisis, though this subject deserves to be pursued further. For a white psychiatrist to go to Negro homes in the deep South, regularly and over a two-year period of time, was, in itself, as unusual as desegregation. We met apprehension and fright; their expression in suspicion, in ingratiation or withdrawal, in awe or in ire, and slowly, in testing and teasing. We found that the more freely these people felt they could talk with us, the more honestly they could express their feelings, their fears, angers, sorrows, and the more frankly they could acknowledge their initial, conscious deceptions. In several instances, as in individual psychotherapy, long standing grievances were slowly mentioned, and attitudes of docility, followed by those of resentment and deeply felt hostility appeared and yielded slowly to a sustained relationship coupled with discussion of these very feelings, for these Negroes the first time they had such an opportunity with a white person. Well over a year after we had started our visits, we began to hear in many homes remarks like "now we're telling youwhat we really think," or "we just didn't know at

first what to say, and to be honest, we just don't trust any white people to be really truthful to them..." Increasing involvement between these children and their parents and me allowed them to forego many of their stylized maneuvers of dealing with what they most often feel to be the alien white lord. They felt free to share their phrases, their humor, their bitterness and sadness at their fate, and they felt able to talk about how they mask these feelings, summoning constant energy in conscious guile, bluff, and falsehood: "Tell them what they want to hear," or "Smile and hope they die on the spot." Such searing wrath demands constant vivilance lest it escape in open violence, sometimes against whites, though this is made hard by the very nature of the society which legally, socially, politically, enconomically subordinates them, more often against themselves, in quick fury, in long self-hatred and despair.

As with any group of people, different types of relationships developed, depending upon the child and his or her family, and the investigator. This was a study to determine attitudes, reactions, adjustment in a crisis for presumably "normal" people, but the therapeutic quality in the work soon appeared. For Negroes under stress to talk with a white psychiatrist about their feelings, their trials and hopes and tensions, over a long enough period of time for a firm relationship to develop is obviously of some value

for them as well as for the psychiatrist. Briefer contacts in several southern cities helped us obtain information and make observations less intimately related to the child's life history, but more pertinent to his every day experiences and adaptations. An effort was made to achieve both, general information about daily psychological phenomena, and the deeper, longer investigation of the individual personality and life history.

With white families, particularly segregationists, we had a different order of problems, not racial, but idiosyncratic, our initial reception varying from the friendly to the suspicious and guarded. We had expected difficulty talking with segregationist, but soon learned that those strongly moved and agitated by this issue wanted very much to talk about it, indeed, need to do just that. Changes among white children both did and did not occur, and do and do not occur in those children untouched by studies like this. Several of our children attribute new feelings to talks with us: "I think just thinking about all these things when you come makes you see more of what's going on... I've wondered how I'd feel about them if I hadn't talked to you this year." We have met children in small rural towns, in larger cities, who have come to new ideas and responses to the Negro children beside them by themselves, through their own experiences and thinking, through discussions with friends and relatives, out

of their own life history with its development of conscience, awareness, available intelligence, vitality and quiet of mind.

The psychiatrist, as always, must learn from his own anxieties, his own affection, angers, and depressions, as they arise in his work with other people. In a study such as this, these feelings are sure to be met, telling us, all along, about the range and intensity of the emotional forces hugging racial attitudes hard; showing us, surely, how such forces derive much of their powerful and persuasive momentum from sources deep within the individual's emotional life.

Conclusions

From our work, we would venture the following impressions:

1. Negro children, young and old, in most cases, endure the stresses of initial desegregation in Southern cities without evidence of significant psychiatric illness. In order to understand why this occurs, the general problems of adjustment required of the Negro in his daily life, from birth to death, must be considered. Many of the strains met by these children and their families are similar to those often encountered elsewhere. In order to cope with such conditions, these children must learn, must be also taught, a variety of psychological maneuvers, and these will serve in desegregated schools as well as on busses, outside theatres, and restaurants. These

defenses described in this paper agains anxiety, fear, retaliatory anger, shame, and guilt, develop slowly, require constant emotional energy, the continual vigilance of a precarious position in our society. For these children, therefore, desegregation is an opportunity, a kind of trouble which, in contrast, to other experiences, makes sense and offers hope of a better life with less hurt in the future. So long as their home life is reasonably satisfactory, so long as they do not have serious personality disorders stemming from their personal psychological development, they seem able to withstand mobs, and the variety of pressures arising from their entry into white schools. We have tried to document some of these pressures and responses to these pressures, and we have seen that the trials of desegregation fit into the other problems of the growing child, reflecting them, increasing them, or serving their expression.

2. For the white child, desegregation will have a variety of meanings, depending on his family, his age, and his own nature, needs, and wishes. Compassion, lack of interest, annoyance, strong aversion, all these reactions have been seen, and their roots traced in individual children and their parents. We can clinically distinguish between those families where segregation is a consumming, highly charged interest, a passionate expression

of other problems, and those where it is less integrated in earlier, more basic emotional troubles; thus more changeable as a social habit or custom, strongly and long held, but slowly dispensable when opposed by other wishes or customs. Even among the poorest and most insecure, of our families, socially and economically, these differences obtain.

3. Some of the meanings of color, of black and white, to children have been explored. Deeply present in our culture, they indicate the developing sources of later attitudes and behavior in both whites and Negroes. We have attempted to convey the feelings of these children toward one another, helped by their actual words, their dreams and drawings, their play. We have also tried to indicate some of the ways their parents and teachers choose to behave, how they, too, get along in these tense situations. Finally, we have indicated some of the hurdles along the path of such study of active social and political crises by a psychiatrist.

4. We have seen changes in these southern children, in Negroes toward less doubt and more trust, in whites toward less hostility and more freedom to see another person as a person, regardless of skin color. We have also seen hardening of suspicion, congealing of hatreds. Since we are dealing with a problem in human development,

in stress and response to stress, in early anxieties, rivalries and strains within the family becoming reflected and expressed in later social and economic realities, there is every reason for both hope and despair. Genes do not present an ineradicable barrier, grounded in biochemistry, against easing conflicts or or harsh legal and social inequalities among individuals and groups; but the fatal and reciprocally stimulating engagement of private disorders, personal anxieties, fears, and frustrated hopes, with publicly sanctioned expressions for them, solidified in history, allowed by law, encouraged by communities for their various reasons, is not easily broken. These children have shown us both possibilities, of growth and of continuing affliction.

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SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

TOKEN DESEGREGATION AND BEYOND

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Speed, Not Deliberation

It is now more than nine years since this court held in the first Brown decision . . . that racial segregation in state public schools violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. . . .

. . . we cannot ignore the passage of a substantial period of time since the original declaration of the manifest unconstitutionality of racial practices . . . the repeated and numerous decisions giving notice of such illegality, and the many intervening opportunities heretofore available to attain the equality of treatment which the 14th Amendment commands the states to achieve. . . . Given the extended time which has elapsed, it is far from clear that the mandate of the second Brown decision requiring that desegregation proceed with "all deliberate speed" would today be fully satisfied by types of plans and programs for desegregation of public educational facilities, which eight years ago might have been deemed sufficient. Brown never contemplated that the concept of "deliberate speed" would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools, let alone other public facilities not involving the same physical problems or comparable conditions.

—Mr. Justice Goldberg, speaking for the Supreme Court in the case of *Watson v. Memphis,* decided May 27, 1963. The decision, which was unanimous, ruled that, public parks in Memphis, Tennessee, must be desegregated at once, not with "deliberate speed."

Introduction

A NEW TERM—"token integration"—has emerged in the struggle for racial equality in public schools in the South. Although employed in more than one way, the term is generally used to describe deliberate efforts to keep racial integration at a minimum. It differs from "massive resistance," aimed at preventing any integration, for it allows for some breakdown of racial segregation. But token integration has essentially the same goal as massive resistance: it seeks to preserve, in effect, the established pattern of segregation. Thus it differs from gradual desegregation which urges a slow pace in the process of changing the segregated pattern, but which at the same time envisions the elimination of segregation eventually.

Authors and advocates of plans providing for token integration have made clear their hope that such plans can prevent sizable change. For example, consider the arguments used in support of North Carolina's Pupil Placement Act of 1955, which, including local option and transfer provisions, constitutes a plan for token integration. The report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, urging adoption of the plan, began describing the problem confronted by public schools in the state:[1] "The educational system of North Carolina has been built on the foundation stone of separation of the races in the schools. . . . The decisions of the Supreme Court have destroyed our foundation on segregation required by law. . . ." The report pointed out that defiance of the Supreme Court would be "foolhardy" because it would alienate those who might be won to the segregationist's way of thinking and it could mean "the closing of the public schools very quickly." To avoid such alienation and the closing of schools, it suggested that a child not be barred from a particular school solely because of color since this had become unconstitutional. Nevertheless, racially separate schools could be maintained, the framers of the report believed, through a form of natural and voluntary separation in the following way: ". . . an administrative body may well find . . . that under local conditions it may not be feasible or best for a particular child to go to a particular school with children of another race. *A color bar by law is one thing. A factual local condition bar, even if color is one of the causes of the condition, is a different thing.* . . . We believe that members of each race prefer to associate with other members of their race *and that they will do so naturally unless they are prodded and inflamed and controlled by outside pressure.*" The writers of the report concluded by saying that they were ". . . proposing the building of a new school system on a new foundation—a foundation of no racial segregation by law, but assignment according to natural racial preference and the administrative determination of what is best for the child."

In sum, token integration plans are designed to meet the demands of the

[1] The full text of the report is found in *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 581-586.

Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain *de facto* segregation. Token integration, then, is an end in itself—an end in which the established patterns of segregation prevail.

What are the various plans of token integration, and how well have they fared in the courts? What have they accomplished, and at what price, financial and human? What is the rationale behind token integration, and how soundly based is such rationale? These are among the questions with which this report will deal.

Methods of Keeping School Integration at Token Levels[2]

Pupil Placement Plans

A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of public placement laws. The eleven former Confederate states[3] have passed such laws, which, in essence, authorize either a state or local board to assign pupils individually to different schools. The criteria for assignment range from a few broadly stated principles, such as "orderly and efficient administration of the school," to as many as 20 or more detailed considerations. Included in the latter may be the availability of teachers and transportation, the pupil's preparation and ability, the moral and health condition of the pupil, and the anticipated effect of the admission on other pupils and on the community itself. None of the plans mention race itself as a criterion of assignment; instead, they allow the operation of racially separate schools to shift to other grounds. Hartwell B. Lutz pointed this out in commenting on the Alabama Pupil Placement Law when he said that it was:

> . . . of common knowledge that the bill was passed with the intention of preventing, or, at least, delaying racial integration. The manner in which the bill might accomplish this is obvious; when a Negro child applies for admission to a white school, the Board of Education can simply assign him to a school that has only colored pupils on any one of approximately 20 grounds.[4]

In actual operation pupil placement laws have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race. The limited amount of integration that has taken place has come through application for transfer from the school of initial assignment through provisions of the placement laws. If an individual wishes to contest his assignment, he is allowed to do so, but he must carry his request through an involved and cumbersome administrative route. Just how elaborate this procedure may be is illustrated by Section 4 of the North Carolina School Placement Law:

> Any person aggrieved by the final order of the county or city board of education may at any time within ten (10) days from the date of such order appeal therefrom to the superior court of the county. . . . Upon such appeal,

[2] Among the sources relied on in this section are the following: *Race Relations Law Reporter* (published by the Vanderbilt School of Law); U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1962); G. W. Foster, Jr., "1960: Turning Point for Desegregation?" *Saturday Review*, December 17, 1960, pp. 52-54; G. W. Foster, Jr., "Token Desegregation and the Law," a working paper.

[3] Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, (see U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962*, p. 4, footnote 12 for reference to where these plans might be found).

[4] Hartwell B. Lutz, "School Placement Bill—Its Practical and Legal Effect on Racial Segregation," *Alabama Law Review*, Fall, 1955, p. 229.

the matter shall be heard *de novo* in the superior court before a jury. . . . The record on appeal to the superior court shall consist of a true copy of the application and decision of the board, duly certified by the secretary of such board. If the decision of the court be that the order of the county or city board of education shall be set aside, then the court shall enter its order so providing and adjudging that such child is entitled to attend the school as claimed by the appellant, or such other school as the court may find such child is entitled to attend, and in such case such child shall be admitted to such school by the county or city board of education concerned. From the judgment of the superior court an appeal may be taken by any interested party or by the board to the Supreme Court in the same manner as other appeals are taken from judgments of such court in civil actions.[5]

In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus, actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment, as has been well pointed out by a law professor at the University of North Carolina: "A Negro parent seeking to assert his child's constitutional rights to attend a desegregated school in some sections of the South must have unlimited courage, resources, time, and energy to litigate with the massed power of the state. He must also be prepared to face economic, and, sometimes, physical sanctions."[6] The comparatively few Negro children who have successfully protested their assignment and who have been admitted to former all-white schools have constituted the "token" numbers of Negro pupils in school with whites. Because there have been so few, the pattern of racial segregation has, in fact, prevailed where placement laws are the only means for desegregation.

School Closing, Tuition Grants

A number of states with pupil placement laws have included "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate. The arrangement has usually been to leave the decision of continuing or suspending the operation of schools up to the localities themselves, either through vote or through the action of the school board or board of supervisors. In order to make school closing legal, constitutional statutes requiring the state to maintain public schools have been amended. The North Carolina local option act gives the rationale for such a provision in the following way:

It is . . . recognized that our public schools are so intimately related to the customs and feelings of the people of each community that their effective operation is impossible except in conformity with community attitudes. Our people in each community need to have a full and meaningful choice as to whether a public school, which may have some enforced mixing of the races, shall continue to be maintained and supported in that community. It

[5] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 240-241.
[6] Daniel H. Pollitt, "Equal Protection in Public Education: 1954-61," *American Association of University Professors Bulletin*, Vol. 47 (1961), p. 205.

is the purpose of this Act to provide orderly procedures, consistent with law, for the effective expression of such choice.[7]

The act then spells out how a board of education may call for an election on the question of closing public schools. It was under a comparable Virginia provision that Prince Edward County closed its schools in 1959.

Another device for avoiding integrated schooling has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools. Six states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia—have passed such legislation.

The Louisiana Act states:

> . . . it is the policy of this state to encourage the education of all of the children of Louisiana. In furtherance of this objective, and to afford each individual freedom in choosing public or private schooling, the Legislature finds that it is desirable and in the public interest that financial assistance should be provided from the public funds of the state for education of the children in private non-sectarian elementary or secondary schools in this state.

In order to allow children to withdraw entirely from public schools if they are integrated to any degree, several states have amended compulsory school attendance laws. The Virginia provision reads, in part: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no child shall be required to enroll in or attend any school wherein both white and colored children are enrolled."[9]

Restrictive Transfer Provisions

Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan. Nashville was the first city to utilize such a plan. It began desegregation with the first grade in the fall of 1957 and reached the sixth grade in the 1962-63 session. Initial assignment in most plans has been made on geographical proximity, the child being assigned to the school nearest him. But Nashville and most of the other cities adopting such a plan have allowed those children assigned to a school in which they were in a racial minority to transfer to the nearest school in which their race is in a majority. Such a transfer provision has been aptly termed "restrictive," for it applies to certain children and not to others.[10] Whites in predominantly Negro schools may transfer under this provision while Negroes in that school may not; Negroes in predominantly white schools may transfer while whites in that school may not.

The effect of this restrictive transfer arrangement has been to resegregate the previously all-Negro school. As a rule, white children assigned to all-Negro schools seek and are automatically granted a transfer to the nearest school in which whites are in a majority. Some Negro children assigned to all-white schools ask for a transfer, and those remaining constitute the comparatively few in integrated schools.

[7] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 934-935.
[8] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 921.
[9] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 1 (1956), p. 1096.
[10] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962*, p. 14.

Extent of Integration in Public Schools

Just how effective have been these devices of pupil placement, school closing, tuition grants, stair-step plans and restrictive transfers in keeping integration at token levels? The figures on the number of desegregated school districts and the proportion of Negro pupils in schools with whites provide an answer to this question.

When the Supreme Court declared in 1954 that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional, 17 states and the District of Columbia required the separation of races in public education. Since the Supreme Court ruling, the District of Columbia and six of the states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—have moved more or less steadily toward compliance, and may therefore be called "compliant" states. The other eleven states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—have passed legislation to prevent or to slow down desegregation. They may be called "resistant" states. In order to gain even a rough impression of the effectiveness of the plans for token integration, it is necessary to separate the extent of school integration in the "compliant" states from that in the "resistant" states.

We may look first at the number of school districts that have desegregated since 1954. A school district is regarded as desegregated when a single Negro child enters a school formerly attended only by whites, or when a single white child enters a school attended up to that time only by Negroes. Such desegregation is possible only in bi-racial school districts, that is, districts in which there are both white and Negro children residing. Table 1 shows how many bi-racial school districts had been desegregated as of November 1962.

It can be seen that little more than one out of ten of the bi-racial districts

TABLE 1

DESEGREGATION OF BI-RACIAL PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

States	*Total Number of Districts*	*Number of Bi-Racial Districts*	*Number of Desegregated Districts*	*Per Cent of Bi-Racial Districts Desegregated*
Resistant**	3,043	2,283	270	11.8
Compliant***	3,186	775	702	90.6
Total	6,229	3,058	972	31.8

* Source: *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1962), p. 3. For later data on a state-by-state basis, see Appendix.

** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

*** Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

in the eleven resistant states have been desegregated, while slightly more than nine out of ten have been desegregated in the compliant states. Moreover, it should be noted, of the 270 desegregated districts in the resistant states last fall, 176 were in Texas alone.

Because a district is desegregated, it does not follow that all Negroes and whites in the district go to school together, for, as previously noted, a single child in school with children of a different race makes an entire district desegregated. Table 2 summarizes the extent of actual integration in the desegregated districts, pointing out how many Negroes were in schools with white in those districts. *It can be seen that in the resistant states only 2% of all the Negro children in the desegregated school districts were actually attending school with whites.*[11] *Or, stated another way, 98% of the Negroes in desegregated districts in the resistant states went to segregated, all-Negro schools.*

TABLE 2

NEGRO PUPILS IN DESEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

	Negro Pupils in Desegregated School Districts		
States	*Total Number*	*Number in School with Whites*	*Per Cent in School with Whites*
Resistant**	624,825	12,217	2.0
Compliant***	443,853	243,150	54.8
Total	1,068,678	255,367	23.9

* Source: *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1962), p. 3. See also Appendix.
** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.
*** Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

A final set of figures indicating the extent of integration in southern public schools shows how many Negroes in all districts, racial and bi-racial, segregated and desegregated, attend school with whites. Table 3 presents those figures for the fall of 1962.

This clearly illustrates how exceedingly limited the actual amount of racial integration is in the eleven resistant states. And the caption on the lead article of the December 1962 issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS—"7.8 per cent of Negro Pupils in Classes with Whites"—is, therefore, exciting until one reads further to see that 95.2% of those Negroes in school with whites are from the compliant states (*i.e.*, 243,150 of the total of 255,367 Negroes in school with whites).

[11] It is of interest to note that in one school district, Nashville, of the 810 Negroes reported as being in schools with whites, 540 of them were in a school with two non-Negroes, a white and a Chinese-American child. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962*, pp. 112, 115.

Thus racial integration in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98% of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6% of the Negroes in all school districts are in segregated schools. And thus the segregated pattern continues to prevail in the eleven resistant states.

TABLE 3

NEGRO PUPILS IN ALL PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

States	*Total Number*	*Number in School with Whites*	*Per Cent in School with Whites*
Resistant**	2,803,882	12,217	0.4
Compliant***	475,549	243,150	51.1
Total	3,279,431	255,367	7.8

* Source: *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1962), p. 3.
** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.
*** Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

Some Court Rulings on Token Integration Plans

How have the numerous plans to keep racial integration at token levels fared in federal courts?"[12] Court rulings on such plans will largely determine how long they may continue as effective instruments for maintaining *de facto* segregation. But it should be pointed out that there have been many and, at times, diverse court rulings, and that new rulings continue to be made. For this reason, only those cases which appear to be of major importance to this subject are selected. The reader should keep in mind that the situation is far more complex than the cases and rulings cited would indicate.

Pupil Placement Plans

When first adopted, the pupil placement plans proved to be generally acceptable to the courts as plans for desegregation. In a North Carolina case in November 1956, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit stated: "It is argued that the Pupil Enrollment Act is unconstitutional; but we cannot hold that that statute is unconstitutional upon its face and the question as to whether it has been unconstitutionally applied is not before us, as the administrative remedy which it provides has not been invoked."[13]

Later, in May 1958, a three-judge U. S. District Court ruled that the Alabama placement law was not unconstitutional on its face.[14] The district court ruling was affirmed the same year by the U. S. Supreme Court. But again, as in the North Carolina case, the plaintiffs had not sought transfers under the law, and therefore there was no evidence that it was being used in a discriminatory manner.

Lately, however, the federal courts have become increasingly critical of pupil placement laws. This criticism has been directed at the laws in two ways: on their application and on their acceptability as plans for desegregation.

In regard to their application, federal courts have ruled that pupil placement laws are being used in an unconstitutional manner when Negro children are subjected to hurdles not encountered by whites. For example, the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals condemned the application of the assignment plan in Roanoke County, Virginia, in the following ruling:

> A Negro pupil who wishes to free himself from the segregated school in which he has been routinely assigned under the dual racial zoning system must apply for a transfer. Regardless of the applicant's place of residence, the county school officials habitually refer his application to the state board with the recommendation that he be assigned to the Negro school. By the

[12] Many references will be made in this section to federal courts. Since frequent mention is made of circuit courts by number, it might be helpful to know in which circuits the "resistant" states are located: in the 4th are Virginia, North and South Carolina; in the 5th are Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; in the 6th is Tennessee; and in the 8th is Arkansas.

[13] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 2 (1957), p. 20 (*Carson* v. *Warlick*).

[14] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 3 (1958), pp. 425-434, 867. (*Shuttlesworth* v. *Birmingham Board of Education*.)

established practice of the state board, a Negro, in order to be admitted to a white school, must not only live closer to that school than to the Negro school, but he must in addition, meet a requirement that is not imposed upon white students seeking transfers, namely, in aptitude and scholastic achievement he is required to be substantially above the median of the class in the white school. . . . The obvious function of these transfer criteria, which find application in respect to Negro children only, is to place next-to-impossible hurdles in their way so as to perpetuate segregation.[15]

In this same decision, the 4th Circuit Court also undermined the effectiveness of pupil placement plans which require Negro plaintiffs to present their case individually. For this court held that not only the plaintiffs but also "those similarly situated in Roanoke County are entitled to injunctive relief from a continuance of this unlawful discrimination."[16]

In a comparable ruling in North Carolina, the 4th Circuit Court ordered the City Board of Education of Durham to stop subjecting pupils seeking transfers to "futile, burdensome or discriminatory administrative procedures."[17] It ruled further, in the same case, that: "So long as the school board allows its practice of racial assignments, the injunctive order should require that it freely and readily grant all requests for transfer or initial assignment to a school attended solely or largely by pupils of the other race."

On the same day (October 12, 1962), this same court ruled that the Caswell County School Board violated the spirit of the North Carolina Pupil Assignment Law by refusing to transfer Negro children to white schools and by using the Assignment Law "only when dealing with interracial transfer requests."[18]

The courts have raised questions too about the acceptability of pupil placement laws as plans for desegregation when schools under these laws continue to be segregated. Late in 1959, both the 5th and 8th Circuits of the U. S. Court of Appeals questioned the validity of these laws as desegregation plans. In a Dade County, Florida case, the 5th Circuit said: ". . . there is nothing either in the Pupil Assignment Law or the Implementing Resolution clearly inconsistent with a continuing policy of compulsory racial segregation."[19] The 8th Circuit Court stated in a Jefferson County, Arkansas case that the superintendents and officers of the defendant school district and its Board of Directors throughout the three school years in which the pupil placement plan was in effect had:

. . . carried into effect, enforced and maintained a rigid, racial segregation policy in all of its schools which, without exception, permitted no entry of any colored child into its white schools. . . . It is established, too, that the Board intends a continuation of that policy, without any change or modifications and that its professing of the Pupil Enrollment Act of 1956, having

[15] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 7 (1962), p. 416. (*Marsh* v. *County School Board of Roanoke County.*)

[16] *Idem.*

[17] *Southern School News,* November 1962, p. 9 (*Wheeler* v. *Durham Board of Education; Spaulding* v. *Durham Board of Education.*)

[18] Idem. (*Jeffers* v. *Whitley*).

[19] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 4 (1959), p. 861. (*Gibson* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Dade County.*)

been applied and in operation during the years 1957, 1958, and 1959, is but a cover-up to conceal its anti-racial and pro-racial segregation attitude.[20]

The most direct challenge to pupil placement laws in meeting the legal requirements for school desegregation was made in Tennessee in March 1962. The 6th Circuit Court ruled in a Memphis case that "The Pupil Assignment Law might serve some purpose in the administration of a school system, but it will not serve as a plan to convert a bi-racial system into a non-racial one."[21] The Court went on to say that the burden for bringing about desegregation was on the shoulders of Negro children and their parents who requested transfers, and that something more was needed to establish non-racial schools.

In August 1962 the 5th Circuit Court in a New Orleans* case emphatically denounced the Louisiana Pupil Placement Law as a plan for desegregation:

> This Court, like the district court, condemns the Pupil Placement Act, when, with a fanfare of trumpets, it is hailed as the instrument for carrying out a desegregation plan while all the time the entire public knows that in fact it is being used to maintain segregation by allowing a little token desegregation. . . . The Act is not an adequate transitory substitute in keeping with the grandualism implicit in the 'deliberate speed' concept. It is not a plan for desegregation at all.[22]

School Closing, Tuition Grants

The legality of closing public schools in order to avoid desegregation has involved the question of whether or not a state is practicing equal treatment of its citizens if state money is provided for public schooling in some districts but not in others. Prince Edward County, Virginia, is the only school district that has closed its public schools; since the fall of 1959 white children have attended private schools in the county while Negro children have been without formal education. In July 1962 the U. S. District Court declared that such closing was contrary to law:

> The Court holds that the public schools of Prince Edward County may not be closed to avoid the effect of the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court, while the Commonwealth of Virginia permits other public schools to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers. . . . The School Board of Prince Edward County is herewith directed to complete plans for the admission of pupils in the elementary and high schools of the county without regard to race or color and to receive and consider applications to this end at the earliest practical date.[23]

This ruling has been appealed to the 4th Circuit Court.

In a U. S. District Court ruling on January 3, 1963, Powhatan County,

* Single, nonracial attendance zones for the first and second grades of the Orleans Parish public schools were approved by a 3-1 vote of the Orleans Parish School Board this spring and will become effective for the next school year.

[20] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 5 (1960), p. 54. (*Dove* v. *Parham.*)

[21] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 7 (1962), p. 43. (*Northcross* v. *Board of Education of Memphis.*)

[22] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 7 (1962), p. 700. (*Bush* v. *Orleans Parish School Board.*)

[23] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 7 (1962), p. 409 (*Allen* v. *County School Board of Prince Edward County.*)

Virginia, not far from Prince Edward County, was ordered to take no action, "directly or indirectly," to close its public schools while other public schools were open in Virginia.[24] School officials were directed to refrain from closing schools either by withholding funds or by failing to appropriate funds.

These two decisions clearly indicate that federal courts will not permit a state to allocate funds to some public schools while others remain closed to avoid desegregation.

The legality of tuition grants, not explicitly tied to desegregation, has not yet been passed on by federal courts. In Virginia the original tuition grant laws provided for the availability of grants only in those areas where schools were desegregated. In 1959 "State and Local Scholarships," as they are officially called, were made available to any student to attend an accredited nonsectarian private school. But in August 1961 a U. S. District Court held that such scholarships could not be granted in Prince Edward County as long as public schools remained closed. In this ruling the judge stated that in granting scholarship stipends the state had contemplated a freedom of choice between public and private schooling. He cited the regulation of the State Board of Education to support the state's intention: " 'Scholarships will be available for pupils of legal school age who are eligible to attend the public schools in the county, city or town in which the parent, guardian or such other person standing in loco parentis is a bona fida resident.' . . . This rule is plain and unequivocal. State scholarships are not available to persons residing in counties that have abandoned public schools."[25]

Grade-a-Year Plans

Federal courts have usually accepted grade-a-year plans as valid desegregation procedures. However, several considerations have entered into their acceptance. The plan, for example, must be more than just a promise to desegregate. Thus, a proposal in December 1960 by the Chattanooga School Board to desegregate the first three grades of selected schools beginning in 1962-63, with desegregation also to be considered in special programs, was rejected by the U. S.. District Court as being too indefinite and not an adequate start.[26]

Another consideration involves the degree of desegregation in neighboring school systems. In some cases, the courts have required that desegregation levels in contiguous areas be made equal. This approach was evident in a case involving Davidson County, Tennessee, where the city of Nashville is located. The County Board of Education submitted a grade-a-year plan four years after the Nashville grade-a-year plan had gone into effect. The U. S. District Court accepted the plan but required that it be speeded up to include

[24] Associated Press report in the Lynchburg *News*, January 4, 1963. (*Bell* v. *Powhatan County School Board.*)

[25] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 6 (1961), p. 754. (*Allen* v. *County School Board of Prince Edward County.*)

[26] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 6, (1961), pp. 107-113. (*Mapp* v. *Board of Education of the City of Chattanooga.*)

the first four grades immediately in order to bring desegregation in line with that already in effect in Nashville.[27]

Still another factor conditioning the acceptance of grade-a-year plans has been evidence of the willingness of the school board to move with "good faith," toward compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. This factor can be seen in a decision of the 6th Circuit Court regarding a grade-a-year plan proposed by the Knoxville, Tennessee School Board. The Board had chosen to operate under Tennessee segregation statutes until compelled to do otherwise, and the Court criticized this position in these words:

> The position of the board that it would continue to operate under these unenforceable laws [*i.e.*, Tennessee statutes prohibiting the mixture of races in schools] until compelled by law to do otherwise, does not commend itself to the Court for the acceptance of a plan that provides for a minimum degree of desegregation. . . . We . . . believe . . . that more grades than contemplated by the board's plan should now be desegregated. In the light of the board's experience with the present plan, it should be enabled to submit an amended plan that will accelerate desegregation and more nearly comply with the mandate of the Supreme Court for 'good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date.'[28]

The courts have given different rulings on whether or not the grade-a-year plans may be used simultaneously with the transfer provisions made available under pupil placement laws. The 6th Circuit Court refused transfer requests by pupils in grades other than the ones desegregated by the grade-a-year procedure in both the Davidson County and Knoxville cases cited above.[29] The Court's reasoning was:

> . . . we think the Supreme Court contemplated that there would have to be plans for the transition and that some individual rights would have to be subordinated for the good of the many. The smooth working of a plan could be thwarted by a multiplicity of suits by individuals seeking admission to grades not yet reached in the desegregation plan.[30]

On the other hand, the 5th Circuit Court in the Pensacola, Florida, case added a grade-a-year plan to an existing plan permitting transfer of Negro pupils into formerly all-white schools. Both the grade-a-year plan and the transfer provisions were allowed to operate at the same time.[31] And in Virginia grade-a-year plans have been added to existing transfer arrangements under the pupil placement act with approval by the federal courts.[32]

Restrictive Transfer Provision

Since grade-a-year plans involve a rezoning of school districts without

[27] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 34-36. *(Maxwell* v. *the County Board of Education of Davidson County.)*

[28] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 38-39 *(Goss* v. *Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.)*

[29] See Footnotes 27 and 28 above.

[30] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 39. *(Goss* v. *Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.)* In response to this decision, Knoxville desegregated one additional grade.

[31] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 669-674. *(Augustus* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Escambia County, Florida.)*

[32] See, for example, *Jackson* v. *School Board of the City of Lynchburg, Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 728-729.

regard to race, some white children are often included in the attendance zones of former Negro schools, and are therefore assigned to these schools. As was pointed out earlier, plans for grade-a-year desegregation usually include a provision granting the right to those children assigned to a school in which their race is in a minority to transfer to schools in which their race is in a majority.

The restrictive transfer provision in the Nashville grade-a-year plan was approved by the 6th Circuit Court in 1959,[33] and it was later approved by the same court in the Knoxville and Davidson County grade-a-year plans in these words:

> We do not think the transfer provision is in and of itself illegal or unconstitutional. It is the use and application of it that may become a violation of constitutional right. . . . We adhere to our former ruling with the admonition to the Board that it cannot use this as a means to perpetuate segregation.[34]

However, the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals took a different position on the constitutionality of restrictive transfer provisions in the Dallas County, Texas case in December 1960. It did so in the following way:

> . . . with deference to the views of the 6th Circuit it seems to us that classification according to race for purposes of transfer is hardly less unconstitutional than such classification for purposes of original assignment to a public school.[35]

In a later ruling (August 1962) the 5th Circuit Court made it possible for Negro children to transfer freely from schools in which their race is a majority if the transfer of white students leaves it an all-Negro school. The order stated:

> Negro children who attended formerly all-white schools in 1960-61 and 1961-62, and Negro children who have registered for attendance at formerly all-white schools in 1962-63 and subsequent years may not be transferred or assigned to an all-Negro school against their wishes. If the transfer of white students from schools would result in resegregation, the Negro children shall be afforded an opportunity to attend a nearby formerly all-white school without being subjected to tests for transfer under the Pupil Placement Act.[36]

Thus, this ruling removed, in effect, the restrictive aspect of the transfer provision.

A direct challenge to the constitutionality of the restrictive transfer provision came in September 1962, in a ruling by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals in a Charlottesville, Virginia case. In declaring the assignment and transfer provisions of the Charlottesville plan invalid, the Court said:

> It is of no significance that all children, regardless of race are first assigned to the schools in their residential zone and all are permitted to transfer if the assignment requires the child to attend the school where his race is in the minority, if the purpose and effect of the arrangement is

[33] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 4 (1959), pp. 584-603. *(Kelley* v. *Board of Education of the City of Nashville.)*

[34] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 7 (1962), p. 36; also p. 39), *(Maxwell* v. *Board of Education of the City of Knoxville; Goss* v. *Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.)*

[35] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 5 (1960), p. 1052. *(Boson* v. *Rippy).*

[36] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 7 (1962), p. 702. *(Bush* v. *Orleans Parish School Board.)*

to retard integration and retain the segregation of the races. That this purpose and this effect are inherent in the plan can hardly be denied. The School Board is well aware that most of the Negro pupils in Charlottesville reside in the Jefferson zone and that under the operation of the plan white children resident therein will be transferred as a matter of course to the schools in the other zones while the colored children in the Jefferson zone will be denied this privilege. The seeming equality of the language is delusive, the actual effect of the rule is unequal and discriminatory. It may well be as the evidence in this case indicates that some Negroes as well as whites prefer the schools in which their race predominates; but the wishes of both races can be given effect as far as is practicable not by restricting the right of transfer but by a system which eliminates restrictions on the right. . .[37]

It is now quite clear that restrictive transfer arrangements will have to be abandoned as a means of delaying and evading school desegregation; on June 3, 1963, the Supreme Court held unanimously that two pupil transfer plans—one in Knoxville and the other in Davidson County, the suburban area around Nashville—are unconstitutional.

Moreover, in a unanimous decision made just a week earlier in which the Court refused to allow the city of Memphis to desegregate public recreational facilities on a gradual basis, Mr. Justice Goldberg expressed the Court's growing impatience with the South's slow rate of school desegregation. He pointed out that when the Court allowed "all deliberate speed" for integrating schools, it did not mean "indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers."

Summary

It is clear from the foregoing rulings that token integration plans are under strong attack in the federal courts. Pupil placement plans, initially accepted as constitutional on their face, are being declared unconstitutional as practiced in some school systems and are being rejected as valid plans for desegregation. School closing is being challenged if other public schools in the state remain open, and tuition grants have been stopped in the one county where public schools are closed. Grade-a-year plans are being speeded up, and restrictive transfer provisions that result in resegregation are being rejected. One by one the devices for keeping integration at token levels are being blunted and eliminated by the courts.

Throughout the complex of court rulings runs a clear and consistent thread, namely that school boards must proceed in *good faith* to develop a single school system, without regard to race, and that they must do this with all deliberate speed. These rulings, therefore, strike at the heart of token integration, which as noted, seeks to maintain a dual system of schools in which the races are, in effect, segregated. Ostensibly the plans for keeping integration at token levels have been devised to try to satisfy the courts. It is quite

[37] *Race Relations Law Reporter,* Vol. 7 (1962), p. 719. *(Dillard* v. *School Board of the City of Charlottesville.)*

obvious now that they are not doing so, and that the courts are becoming less and less patient with the bad faith implicit in them.

The courts have, however, largely deferred the question of teacher and staff desegregation, in order to permit pupil desegregation to reach a fairly advanced stage of development. For example, the 5th Circuit Court held in the Pensacola case (see p. 11) that "the district court may well decide to postpone the consideration and determination of [the teacher desegregation] question until the desegregation of the pupils has either been accomplished or has made substantial progress."

Desegregation as a reality still lies in the future, for it is to be remembered that 99% of the Negro children in the eleven former Confederate states continue to be in all-Negro schools. Just how soon desegregated, non-racial school systems will develop throughout the South depends on several factors. These include the determination of Negro plaintiffs to press for equal treatment, the vigor of the federal government in demanding the elimination of discrimination, and the willingness of school boards and communities to act in good faith in compliance with the Supreme Court decision. It is with this last-mentioned factor that we shall next deal, looking first at some of the costs that resistance to equal treatment has brought and can continue to bring.

Cost of Keeping Integration at Token Levels

If school boards and communities in the eleven resistant states continue to try to maintain *de facto* racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly. The preceding section has shown that federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels.[38] Of course the closing of all schools in a state would be the ultimate in costs and one that no state has yet shown the willingness to pay. But to continue resistance to its dead end will also be costly—in money, in time, in effort, and in disruption of schools and communities. Apparently, some segregationists are willing for their states and communities to pay any price to try to keep a bi-racial school system. And some politicians and school officials believe that it is necessary to offer every possible resistance so that segregationists will be more willing to accept integration when it does come. Regardless of these feelings about resistance, however, it is well for all concerned to realize the enormous price that is exacted for such resistance.

While no precise cataloging of the costs of maintaining token integration can be made, illustrative costs can be cited. For one of these, we may look at estimates of the expenditures on litigation contesting desegregation. The Southern Educational Reporting Service has stated that a total of 293 court cases on school segregation, desegregation, and related issues had been filed in state and federal courts by November 1962.[39] If we take the estimate of Gordon M. Tiffany, first staff director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, that such cases average in cost about $15,000 each, we reach the figure of $4,395,000 as a total cost. Such litigation has virtually ceased in the compliant states and the District of Columbia, which have had 70 of the cases. The eleven resistant states have had the remaining 223 cases, with the states of Arkansas, Texas, and Virginia accounting for over one half of them. States like Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina have had comparatively few cases of litigation, but they are fast approaching the time when they will have many if they try to maintain *de facto* segregated school systems.[40]

Another cost is that involved in the drawing up and passing of legislation designed to avoid full compliance with the Supreme Court rulings. Legisla-

[38] It will be recalled that "massive resistance" in Virginia finally reached a point where to have followed it further would have resulted in the closing of schools throughout the state. (See Benjamin Muse, *Virginia's Massive Resistance* (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1961.] Most of the states have abandoned massive resistance and substituted token integration. It appears as though time is now running out on token integration.

[39] *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1962), p. 4.

[40] It is of interest to note that the Attorney General of Alabama has asked a legislative finance committee for money "to fight desegregation suits and other federal actions." (Reported in the Birmingham *Post-Herald*, January 30, 1963, p. 1.) Evidently, Alabama is anticipating heavy expense in court cases.

tures of the 16 states have passed a total of 379 new laws designed to prevent, restrict, or control school desegregation, according to a November 1962 report of the Southern Educational Reporting Service.[41] The drafting, debating, and passing of such legislation, much of which has been declared unconstitutional by federal courts, have taken an enormous amount of time, effort, talent, and money. While few of these costs can be measured directly, it can be noted, by way of illustration, that the state of Louisiana held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.[42] In order to see just what sort of legislation was passed at these sessions and what the result was, we may refer to comments on the extra sessions by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit. After observing that the Orleans School Board itself had attempted to act in good faith in complying with court orders to desegregating the schools, the Court had the following to say about the state legislature:

> The Louisiana legislature did not remain idle. The Governor of the state called five consecutive extra sessions of the legislature (unprecedented in Louisiana) for the purpose of preventing the Board from proceeding with the desegregation program. Among other actions, the legislature seized the funds of the Orleans Parish School Board, forbade banks to lend money to the Board, removed as fiscal agent for the state the Bank which had honored payroll checks issued by the School Board, ordered a school holiday on November 14, addressed out of office four of the five members of the Board, then on two occasions created a new School Board for Orleans Parish, still later addressed out of office the Superintendent of Schools in Orleans Parish, and dismissed the Board's attorney. The federal courts declared these and a large bundle of related acts unconstitutional.[43]

Another cost in the maintenance of token integration has been the awarding of tuition grants. Virginia has given more of these grants than any other state. During five years of operation, an estimated 38,000 grants have been made, totaling over seven and three quarter million dollars.[44] A newspaper survey has shown that, ironically, only a minority of students receiving grants have used them to avoid integrated schools.[45] Most of the grants have gone to children who were actually in segregated schools and who wished to attend private schools, or to children who were already in private schools.

Virginia's experience with tuition grants was repeated in Georgia, where the State School Board found that 1,457 of the 1,756 applicants for grants were already in private schools. According to Dr. Claude Purcell, Georgia Superintendent of Education, the total paid in 1962-63 for tuition grants amounted to $215,987. As a result of these disclosures, the Georgia legislature amended the tuition grant law during its 1963 session. Under terms of

[41] See Footnote 39 above.
[42] From tabulations by William C. Havard, Chairman of the Department of Government, of Louisiana State University.
[43] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 696. *(Bush* v. *Orleans Parish School Board.)*
[44] Computed from reports in *Southern School News*, November 1960, p. 7 and February 1962, p. 14; Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, September 2, 1962, p. 1.
[45] Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, September 2, 1962, p. 1.

the amendments, most recipients of tuition grants apparently will cease to receive them after this year.

Louisiana has also adopted a tuition grant law. Again, the cost to the state for such grants has been high: state officials reported in January 1963 that $850,216 was spent on grants-in aid to private school pupils during the first four months of the 1962-63 school year. School grants were expected to go to the parents of some 7,000 pupils in 42 private, nonsectarian schools after mid-year registrations.

Still other costs, less tangible but perhaps more significant, have to do with the handicapping of school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools. With so much time, energy, and money spent in keeping certain children out of certain schools, less time, effort, and money have been available for strengthening the educational program itself. Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of the Washington, D. C. public schools, has pointed out how much more effectively the approach to the education of children as children (*not* as white and Negro children in separate schools) can be made when the issue of desegregation is settled. Hansen says:

> The design for instruction in American education deserves close examination. In the District of Columbia much has been done to overcome mistaken notions about methods of instruction and the relationship of curriculum to the learner. What has been done should not be directly related to desegregation, though . . . it seems clearer now than it did five years ago that desegregation prepared the ground for a total attack upon the improvement of instruction. In the changing design of organization for instruction here, the issues are drawn, not on who should be taught where, but on philosophical principles of education, methods, techniques, and choice of content.[46]

The resources spent by the resistant states in a vain attempt to keep segregation might have been used to improve the standards of their schools. For example, a number of their high schools remain unaccredited. Table 4 gives a comparison of the accreditation status of high schools in 1959 in six of the eleven resistant states, and it reveals that these states have a long way to go to bring all of their schools up to accredited status. The table also shows the great discrepancy existing between white and Negro high schools. When it is remembered that almost all the Negro pupils in the resistant states continue to attend all-Negro schools, it is clear that Negroes in the South are receiving inferior schooling opportunities.[47] Such a low quality of schooling means that the South is paying a great price in not developing its human resources to as full a degree as it might.

Another cost of token integration is the keeping of the race issue alive,

[46] Carl F. Hansen, *Addendum: A Five-Year Report on Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1960), pp. 30-32.

[47] Other indications of unequal schooling are found in the report of the North Carolina advisory committee on civil rights that the investment per pupil in school facilities in the state showed that the average per white student was $60.36 above the all-student average, while that for the Negro student was $143.36 below the all-student average. (From the *Southern School News,* August 1960, p. 9) The Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities reported that in the school year of 1958-59, the current expenditures per pupil in the state of Georgia were $228 for a white child and $191 for a Negro child. From *Georgia's Divided Education* (Atlanta: Ga. Conference on Educational Opportunities, 1960), p. 10.

TABLE 4

Negro and White High Schools Accredited by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges in Five "Resistant" States in 1962 - 1963*

State	Per Cent of High Schools Accredited		Proportion of White to Negro High Schools Accredited
	White	Negro	
Alabama	35.9	21.0	1.7 : 1
Georgia	66.0	43.2	1.5 : 1
Louisiana	67.7	27.4	2.5 : 1
Mississippi	31.3	7.6	3.8 : 1
South Carolina	40.4	14.3	2.9 : 1

* Sources: The 1962-63 educational directories of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, and "Proceedings of the Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges."

the catering to racial prejudice, the giving of false hope to segregationists who are led to believe that *de facto* segregation can be maintained. In moving from segregation to desegregation it has been demonstrated repeatedly that when state and local officials act in resolute firmness there has not been violence or serious opposition in carrying out the mandate of the courts—as in Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis, and Lynchburg, Virginia. But when state and local officials have repeatedly warned that there will be trouble and that people will not permit the change, there has been trouble—as in Little Rock and New Orleans.[48] This latter approach results in what sociologists term "self-fulfilling prophecies," for such an approach encourages extreme segregationists to cause trouble, thus making the prediction come true. There is no attempt here to minimize the difficulty of change in the area of race relations where so many people have been conditioned to accept segregation as the proper way of life. Movement toward the elimination of segregation in public education is difficult. The point is that it is made far more difficult and disruptive when officials try to avoid compliance with court orders, either by outright resistance or by more subtle token integration.

Closely related to this last point is the cost that comes from the damage done to the concept of justice in American Democracy. It was almost nine years ago that the highest court in the land concluded that ". . . in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Yet, after this long a time segregation in public schools in the resistant states holds for 99.6% of the Negro children. And a large factor in keeping schools segregated has been the determination of white leaders, first through massive resistance and now through token integration, to thwart the ruling of the Supreme Court. Just what the

[48] The sharp contrast between the acceptance of the first Negro at Clemson College in South Carolina and the resistance accorded James Meredith at the University of Mississippi highlights the part that attitudes of state and school officials play in whether or not violence or peaceful transition takes place.

effect of this blocking of justice has on Negroes seeking to assert their constitutional rights can be easily imagined. Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has expressed the frustrations felt by many Americans. Rowan writes:

> When one considers the heart of the court's argument in outlawing segregated schools and then considers how little really has been done to eradicate the fundamental injustice, it becomes obvious that these token integration schemes are affronts to our concept of justice.
>
> Anyone who has lived in the South, as I have, or has even visited there for a reasonable time, has seen the great mass of Negro youngsters who are handicapped because their parents have been ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-educated, and ill-treated. It is obvious that without the great liberating force of education, these youngsters will be also-rans in the great American game called the Pursuit of Happiness. . . .
>
> After almost nine years it seems to me that Americans should ask themselves whether we intend to retain a judicial system of undoubted integrity, or whether we are prepared to accept change only as it comes under the pressure of sit-ins and protest demonstrations — only as it flows out of violence and near anarchy. . . .
>
> But we will get no genuine movement until the leaders of our 'token integration' communities realize the price they shall have to pay, in self-esteem and civic development, for their perpetuation of an injustice and sham.[49]

[49] Carl T. Rowan, "The Travesty of Integration: Halfhearted Compliance Frustrates the Law of the Land," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 19, 1963, pp. 6, 8.

Fears Associated with School Integration

Objections to school integration are fundamentally based on emotion, conditioned in large measure by living in racially segregated communities. Yet, these emotions are, from time to time, backed by "reasons" founded on beliefs of what will happen if schools desegregate. While one does not change an emotion by questioning the accuracy of the beliefs asserted in support of it, factual data can weaken the arguments or can, at least, make them shift to other grounds. And, it is to be noted, that the constitutional rights of Americans do not depend on what people think may happen if situations denying those rights are changed. The courts have not allowed unconstitutional practices to continue, no matter how long they have been followed or how much people fear changing them. At the same time it might be helpful to point out fallacies in the assumptions of those who fear the desegregation of schools. We shall look at fallacies in two of those assumptions.

Academic Standards

One has to do with the effect on academic standards and on the performance of white students in integrated schools. Dire consequences have been predicted for the quality of education under desegregation. However, there is no factual support for this prediction. One source of direct challenge comes from superintendents of school systems in which desegregation has taken place. These superintendents have consistently testified that academic standards have not suffered following desegregation, and some have said that they have actually improved. For example, in March 1959, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights held a conference on education in Nashville, Tennessee. Of the twelve administrators who dealt with the question of the effect of desegregation on academic standards in their school systems not one said that the standards had been lowered or the progress of students harmed.[50] Let us look at the testimony from this conference both from a superintendent whose system had had very little integration and from one where extensive integration had taken place. Mr. W. H. Oliver, Superintendent of the Nashville schools, which at that time had desegregated only its first two grades, stated, ". . . I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together."[51] Dr. John H. Fischer, Superintendent of the Baltimore, Maryland public schools in which 57% of the pupils were attending integrated schools at the time, testified:

> We are frequently asked what effect integration has had upon academic standards. The answer is that academic standards are not changed in any school merely by the presence of a second race. The requirements for an honor's diploma or for a passing grade on an examination are not altered by integration. The tests of successful performance in courses in the skilled

[50] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Conference on Education, Nashville, Tennessee, March 1959* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1959). [Summarized in *Desegregation and Academic Achievement,* Report No. L-17, March 14, 1960, Southern Regional Council.]

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

trades are the same whether the trade is being learned by a white boy or a colored boy. A child's standing on a nationally standardized reading test is determined not by his race but by his ability and background. . . . There is no doubt at all that Negro children are receiving better educational opportunities in Baltimore now than they did under segregation. The opportunities of white children have been in no way diminished. Indeed, they have been increased, not as a result of desegregation, but by our general effort to improve our offerings for all children over the past 5 years.[52]

Besides testimony of those best in a position to observe the effect of racial integration on academic study, there are statistical reports on academic achievement under desegregation. Again, we find general consensus that integration has not lowered the academic achievement of either white or Negro students. As examples, let us see the reports on a system with little integration and ones with a high amount of integration. In the Austin (Texas) Independent School District, Negroes composed fewer than 7% of the pupils in the two ninth grades compared in Table 5. It can be seen that no significant changes occurred in the median scores on reading and arithmetic achievement tests following integration.

In Louisville achievement tests were given to pupils in the second, sixth, and eighth grades for the year prior to integration (1955-56), and the results of these tests were compared with those given in the same grades the year following integration (1957-58), when 78.2% of all pupils were in integrated schools. Even with such rapid integration, it was found that academic standards were not hurt; indeed, substantial gains were shown in scholastic achieve-

TABLE 5

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS MEDIANS AT NINTH GRADE LEVEL IN TWO SCHOOLS IN AUSTIN, TEXAS, BEFORE AND AFTER INTEGRATION

Type of School and Number of Negro Pupils in Each	*Median Scores on California Reading and Arithmetic Achievement Tests*			
	Two Years Before Integration (1955-56)		*Second Year After Integration (1958-59)*	
	Reading	*Arithmetic*	*Reading*	*Arithmetic*
Generally low Socioeconomic Background of Pupils; 20 Negroes among 300 Pupils, as an Average	7.5	7.7	7.7	8.3
Widely Diversified Socioeconomic Background of Pupils; 15 Negroes among 275 Pupils, as an Average	9.5	9.5	9.6	9.7

Source: Office of the Superintendent, Austin Independent School District.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

ment, with Negroes making greater gains than whites. The following is a conclusion of the study:

> Perhaps the safest generalization that can be drawn from the study is that for the period of time considered, integration need not adversely affect the scholastic achievement of white pupils and it can favorably affect that of the Negro pupil. The study, therefore, offers re-assurance to those who fear that the immediate effect of integration must automatically lower the level of achievement.[53]

A follow-up study of achievement in the third year of integration in the Louisville schools (1959-60), when the percentage of children in integrated schools had risen to 85.6 per cent, reached the following conclusion:

> At the end of the three-year period following integration results were even more encouraging. Louisville pupils at the third, fourth and fifth grade levels were exactly on the national norms. At the 6th grade level they were 2 months ahead of the national norms. While the eighth grade pupils were still behind national norms the figures show that progress was being made."[54]

A comparison of median achievements in the Washington, D. C. schools made during the second year of integration (1955-56) with those made during the fifth year of integration (1958-59) shows that a gain was made in every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given.[55] Furthermore, academic achievement rose at the same time as the proportion of Negro students rapidly increased in the nation's capital. Not only were the median scores increased, but the test scores of the honors group and college preparatory group were increased as well. The study comments: "This clarifies two points: Integration has not retarded the advancement of high ability students, Negro or white, and educational standards in the District public schools when examined in relation to students' preparation and ability for learning, are high."[56]

It is safe, therefore, to conclude that academic achievement levels need not be lowered when schools are integrated. Testimony of school superintendents and comparisons of test scores before and after desegregation reveal that integration has not had an adverse effect on the average achievement of white or Negro pupils, nor has it had an adverse effect on the achievement of the most gifted of either race.

Social Adjustment

Another type of fear has to do with the social adjustment of pupils in integrated schools. Concern has been expressed that Negroes and whites will be unable to get along in the same school, that the strains of integrated schooling will be too great for many Negro and white children, and that moral standards will be lowered by interracial contact. Again, we find no evidence to support such fears.

[53] Frank H. Stallings, "Changes in Academic Achievement since Integration in the Louisville Public Schools," in *Second Annual Conference on Education, Gatlinburg, Tennessee,* March 1960, by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 149.
[54] *Ibid.,* p. 150.
[55] Hansen, *op. cit.,* p. 21.
[56] *Idem.*

That there have been problems of adjustment to integrated schooling by white and Negro pupils is not denied. The change in a segregated system practiced for such a long time, particularly when parental reactions are carried over into their children, cannot help but make for strain. But there is clear evidence that school children have been able to accommodate themselves to the new situation.

The conduct of extracurricular school activities within integrated schools has been reported on from time to time by school officials. These reports have revealed little basis for belief that integration necessarily disrupts these activities. While different schools have handled these activities differently, the following statement in 1959 by Dr. John H. Fischer, who was then the Superintendent of Baltimore public schools, shows how an adjustment by an interracial student body can be made in a city which has most of its children in integrated schools. Dr. Fischer has stated, in regard to school activities:

> In our senior high schools Negro students now participate in all sports. Although in the early years there was some apprehension about the advisability of interracial competition, particularly in contact sports, the problem no longer causes any concern. . . . All our traditional social activities have continued in the newly integrated schools just as they were carried on prior to 1954. The conduct of the boys and girls usually reflects the pattern of the community as a whole. Students dance with their own dates or with the members of the small parties in which they come to the dances. This means that boys and girls ordinarily associate socially with others of their own race.
>
> In school clubs and other similar activities racial differences create no problems. In voluntary activities outside the school, their is relatively little integration. Most children choose their personal friends from among members of their own race, as is true in the community generally, not many close friendships involving home visiting are formed across racial lines.[57]

In his five-year report on desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools, Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent, reveals an actual decrease in the juvenile delinquency rate for the District. He cites the District of Columbia Commissioners' 1959 report on the state of the nation's capital to the Congress of the United States which gives the following delinquency rates for children 5 to 17: "For non-white children a decline from 37.1 cases per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 cases in 1958. For white children, 15.3 cases per thousand in 1954, to 15.2 cases in 1958." The Superintendent adds, "The schools do not claim credit for this development. But one conclusion is clear: Desegregation has not resulted in an increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency."[58]

Problems of adjustment are involved when segregated schools become integrated, and one would be naive to think otherwise. However, we have illustrated that these problems can be met without undue disruption. The fears usually expressed by those opposed to integration have been found to be unwarranted.

[57] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Conference on Education, Nashville, Tennessee, March 1959*, pp. 149-150.

[58] Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Racism: The Heart of the Problem

Underlying the fears of integration and the consequent attempt to keep it at token levels are attitudes and beliefs that can be designated as "racism." Racism revolves around the conviction that a person's race is a very important, if not the most important, thing about him. A person is, first of all, a member of a race, and only after this categorization is made clear does he become a separate and unique individual. Furthermore, this categorization by race becomes the basis for differential treatment, for a part of racism is the belief in the inferiority of some races and the superiority of others.[59] Racism is the cornerstone of compulsory racial segregation—its rationale and its justification. And racial segregation, in turn, nourishes and promotes racism, for it provides the conditions for unequal treatment and educates that racial differentiation is of paramount importance.

Those who are convinced of the fundamental importance of a person's race as a determinant of his character, intelligence, and behavior may well be sincere in their belief and consequent support of the pattern of forced segregation. But sincerity is not necessarily related to accuracy, and the beliefs that make up racism are not supported by scientific investigation of race.

Scientists agree that all members of mankind belong to the same species. There is less agreement, however, on many races or divisions the species is composed of, although many recognize three major ones. Granted that biological designations of race are possible, although difficult, the question follows as to whether the genes which determine racial characteristics (color of skin, form of hair, shape of nose, etc.) determine anything else about the person or are invariably found in combination with other genes that do. In the opinion of the great majority of scientists there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that behavior, character, or the capacity to learn have anything to do with race directly. Among the statements and conclusions by scientists on race differences, we shall cite only two.[60] One group of 14 internationally known geneticists and physical anthropologists from six nations has drafted a statement saying that their studies provide no basis for assuming that intellectual, emotional, and cultural differences among men are a function of race.[61] In part, their statement reads: "Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development. . . . Vast social changes have occurred that have not been connected in any way with changes in racial type. Historical and sociological studies thus support the view that

[59] There are Negro racist groups in America, just as there are white. Of course these groups differ as to which race is considered inferior. For the white supremacists it is the Negro; for the black supremacists (e.g., the Black Muslims) it is the white.

[60] Other summaries and reference can be found in: "Intelligence of the American Negro," *Research Reports*, Vol. 3, November 1956 (published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith); R. M. Dreger and K. S. Miller, "Comparative Psychological Studies of Negroes and Whites in the United States," *Psychological Bulletin*, 57 (1960), pp. 361-402; any reliable anthropological text, e.g., Ralph Beals and Harry Hoijer, *An Introduction to Anthropology*, Second Edition, (New York: Macmillan, 1959).

[61] *Unesco, Race and Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 502-506.

genetic differences are of little significance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of men."[62]

The Council of the American Anthropological Association, composed of 192 Fellows of the Association, unanimously adopted the following resolution in November 1961:

> The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization.[63]

The statements of the scientists cited above do not imply that races are "equal" in innate ability, for such a view would mean that race, *per se,* in some way determines the "equality" The implication is that race, as such, is not relevant to innate capacities of the individual for the development of character and intelligence. Likewise, these statements do not mean that those adhering to them are "environmentalists," as is sometimes charged. Anthropologists, genetists, and others who are students of race recognize, of course, the fundamental role of heredity in behavior. The point is that there is no basis for believing that race itself determines inheritance beyond those physical characteristics that themselves are used to categorize races.

Racists admit that wide range of difference appear among members of the same race and that members of both the Negro and white races fall into the highest and lowest percentiles in achievement and ability tests But the racists claim that a member of a race must be judged by the "average" of the race to which he has been assigned, again reflecting belief in the all-important place of race. Such a claim does not make sense to the person following the views of the scientists quoted above, namely that one's race does not determine innate capacities to learn and to act. Thus, one may deal with an individual in terms of his own abilities and character and not in terms of an abstract "average" of a category of mankind. There is no soundly supported basis for prejudging individuals, lumping them into categories, and artificially curtailing their opportunity. Americans can be treated as individuals rather than as members of races, and they can be given equal opportunity as individuals to develop their abilities, without fear of any consequences known to science.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.
[63] Reprinted in *Report L-29* of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, December 4, 1961.

Toward True Democracy in Public Schools

The democratic ideal of the worth of the individual cannot be realized while racism is nourished and enforced through compulsory segregation, in outright form or through token integration. Since racism is an emotionally conditioned set of attitudes and beliefs, it is difficult to challenge through scientific findings that question its logic. A necessary condition for overcoming it to any great extent is to eliminate the pattern of compulsory segregation itself.

The Supreme Court, in support of its 1954 ruling, stated that to separate Negro children in grade and high schools from others of similar age because of race alone ". . . generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." It might be added that such separation also affects white children by making it difficult for them to accept Negro children as persons like themselves. Token integration perpetuates separation of the great majority of white and Negro children so that they have difficulty in getting to know each other as persons. Yet, experience with genuine desegregation in public schools where children are treated as children (not as Negro or white children) shows that one need not be afraid of implementing the democratic ideal. Again, we refer to Dr. Fischer's report on the outcome of desegregation in the Baltimore public schools as an indication of what can happen:

> In general, our experience in Baltimore has demonstrated conclusively that children of both races can attend school together, can learn together, and can develop positive, friendly, effective relationships.
>
> We have found that children can be taught quite well by teachers who are not members of their own race. Teaching competence is not related to race, but to the teacher's personality, his own education and cultural background, and his ability to understand young people.
>
> We have learned that, after a period of adjustment to an unaccustomed situation, children, teachers, and parents have found that having representatives of both races in the student body and in the faculty in no way diminishes the effectiveness of the school.
>
> We believe that our experience supports the generalization that school integration can be successful if the policies and procedures by which it is carried forward are simple, firm, fair, flexible, clearly stated, consistently applied.
>
> After five years, it appears that no small part of the success of the effort in Baltimore was due to the determination of the school board to move promptly and to act, as the board once said, 'without fear and without subterfuge'.[64]

Token integration operates on the bases of fear and subterfuge, fear of integration itself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive. While difficult problems can arise as communities change a bi-racial

[64] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Conference on Education, Nashville, Tennessee, March 1959*, p. 150.

school system into a non-racial one, compliant states have demonstrated that this change can be made creatively and successfully. On the other hand, to act in fear and duplicity leads to clashes with the federal courts, disruption of schools, encouragement of prejudiced reactions, and the waste of energy, talent, and money. Communities can proceed to develop a single school system in which race is not a criterion of assignment with confidence that both education and democracy will be strengthened by such a move.

APPENDIX

Status of Segregation-Desegregation in Southern and Border School Districts

Total Number of Districts	*Number of Bi-racial Districts*	*Number of Desegregated Districts*	*Negroes in Schools with Whites*	*Percentage of Bi-racial Districts Desegregated*
		ALABAMA		
114	114	0	0	00.0
		ARKANSAS		
417	228	12	247	5.3
		DELAWARE		
87	87*	87	9,498	100.0
		DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (Constitutes a single desegregated school district)		
1	1	1	87,749	100.0
		FLORIDA		
67	67	10	1,551	14.9
		GEORGIA		
198	182	1	44	.54
		KENTUCKY		
206	167	150	24,346	89.8
		LOUISIANA		
67	67	1	107	1.5
		MARYLAND		
24	23*	23	69,147	100.0
		MISSISSIPPI		
150	150	0	0	00.0
		MISSOURI		
1,633	Est. 214	Est. 203	35,000	Est. 94.9
		NORTH CAROLINA		
173	173	18	879	10.4
		OKLAHOMA		
1,180	240	196	10,557	81.7
		SOUTH CAROLINA		
108	108	0	0	00.0
		TENNESSEE		
154	143	26	1,810	18.2
		TEXAS		
1,461	919	177	7,000	19.3
		VIRGINIA		
134	132	31	1,230	23.5
		WEST VIRGINIA		
55	43	43	15,500	100.0

Source: *Statistical Summary*
Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962 and later information from *Southern School News.*

* In Delaware, only 33 school districts actually have Negroes attending classes with whites; the other 54 are desegregated in policy only. In Maryland, of 23 desegregated districts, three are desegregated in policy only.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
June 28, 1963

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

AN ANALYSIS

VOTING

a) The use of different standards, practices or procedures for white and Negro applicants seeking to register and vote in a federal election is forbidden.

b) Bars the denial of the right to vote in a federal election because of errors or omissions on records, applications, payment of poll tax or other acts requisite to voting if these are not material in determining whether such individual is qualified to vote.

c) Provides for interim relief by the use of federal voting referees to determine qualification for registration and voting during the pendency of lawsuits in any county in which fewer than 15 per cent of the eligible Negroes are registered to vote.

d) Provides for preferential treatment of voting rights suits on federal court calendars.

e) Requires a presumption of literacy on completion of the sixth grade in a public school or accredited private school where instruction is predominantly in the English language.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

A. Guarantees to all citizens the full and equal enjoyment of goods, services, and facilities of hotels, restaurants, places of amusement and retail establishments in interstate commerce.

1. An establishment must meet one of the following criteria to be affected by this provision.

a) The goods, services, facilities, or accommodations are provided to a substantial degree to interstate travelers.

b) A substantial portion of the goods held out to the public has moved in interstate commerce.

c) The activities of the establishment substantially affect interstate commerce.

d) The establishment is an integral part of an establishment covered by the above criteria.

2. Bone fide private clubs or other establishments not open to the public are not subject to this provision.

B. Persons whether acting under color of law or otherwise are prohibited from denying or interfering with anyone's rights to non-discrimination in the said establishments.

C. Any person denied access to these establishments because of race can institute a court action for preventive relief.

D. The Attorney-General can bring a suit where an individual has been denied access to the establishment because of race upon receipt of a written complaint by the aggrieved party, if the aggrieved party is unable (a) to finance a suit, (b) to obtain effective legal representation (c) or there is fear of economic or other injury.

E. Before Attorney-General may bring suit he is required to

1. Refer case for voluntary settlement to the Community Relations Service
2. Give establishment time to correct its practices.
3. Permit state and local equal access laws (if any) to operate first.

F. If plaintiff wins suit, loser required to pay attorney's fees.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

A. Requires the U. S. Commission to report within two years on the extent of schools segregation at all levels.

B. The Commissioner is authorized to give technical and financial assistance, upon request, to those school districts in the process of school desegregation.

1. Financial assistance to train personnel for the changeover.

C. Authorizes the Attorney General to initiate suits against local school borads and public institutions of higher learning whenever:

1. A complaint of existing segregation is received signed by a parent or the individual.
2. The aggrieved party is unable to undertake a suit for lack of money, effective counsel, or fear of economic or other injury.
3. The Attorney General determines that initiation of such a suit will materially further the orderly process of desegregation in public education.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A. A federal agency to work with local communities providing them with advice and assistance to work in those communities which lack a local committee and generally to help solve inter-racial disputes and to work quietly to improve relations in any community threatened or torn with strife.

1. Will be established by executive order until given statutory sanction.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

A. Extension of the Commission through 1967 and broaden its authority enabling it to serve as a clearing house on civil rights, offering information, advice and technical assistance to any public or private agency requesting it.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

A. Provides for a permanent, statutory basis for a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity with the same powers as the present Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, chaired by the Vice-President.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS

A. Declaration that under any federal program which provides federal financial assistance, directly or indirectly, the federal

government is not required to aid where racial discrimination is practiced.

B. Contract made in connection with such program or activity shall contain such conditions as the President may prescribe for the purpose of assuring that there be no discrimination in employment by any contractor or sub-contractor on grounds of race.

NEWS RELEASE

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja. 5-0595 or Ja. 2-8764

FOR RELEASE: All Papers
Sunday
March 31, 1963

The Voter Education Project released today a chronological listing of 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi since January 1961. Almost all of the incidents are directly related to efforts by Negroes to register to vote.

The last item on the list is the March 27 dispersal by Greenwood policemen and their dogs of Negro registration applicants, and the jailing of registration workers.

"We are sure this is not a complete list," said Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project. "It does demonstrate conclusively, however, the pattern of discrimination and violence which exists in Mississippi, and makes Constitutional rights virtually inoperative in that state."

The listing, he pointed out, does not include the riot at the University of Mississippi last fall, nor subsequent harassment of James Meredith. "All the world knows that story, as it does the earlier stories of Emmett Till and Mack Parker. This listing, nearly all of which has been compiled from the daily press, shows that what happened at the University should have been expected by anyone familiar with the Mississippi record."

Because of the near-fatal gun attack of February 28, 1963 against three voter registration workers, a concerted, saturation registration campaign was announced on March 1, 1963 in LeFlore County, Mississippi, of which Greenwood is the county seat.

The LeFlore campaign represents the combined efforts of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the local NAACP Youth Council.

The announced objective of the campaign is to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

This unprecedented concentration of resources in LeFlore County has led, said Branton, to unprecedented results. "For the first time in a Mississippi county, there has been a breakthrough of the fear which has held Negroes back. Since March 1, over 500 have waited determinedly at the Greenwood court house, trying to register. Because of the long drawn-out process in Mississippi, how many will be passed by the registrars is not yet known. Weekly mass meetings are thronged, and LeFlore Negroes are saying emphatically and courageously that they will not wait any longer to be treated as American citizens. And police suppression will not stop them."

Branton also noted that the U. S. Department of Agriculture had made a welcome contribution to Negro morale by successfully pressuring the county to resume, on April 1, distribution of federal surplus food, which had been cut off by the county last fall.

"This was interpreted by the local people," he said, "as an act of support and encouragement by the federal government."

"However," he continued, "the federal government has done little to protect the peace in LeFlore, or elsewhere in Mississippi. Sixty-eight years ago, in the case of In re Debs, the Supreme Court said that the 'entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care.' The peace of the United States is broken and shattered by the lawlessness in Mississippi. The federal government has an obligation, which it is not fulfilling, to restore it."

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

-END-

CHRONOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION IN MISSISSIPPI SINCE 1961

1961

January 1, Greenville, Washington County: Two young white men rode a motorbike through a residential area and, according to the local police chief, fired a volley of shots into a group of Negroes. George Mayfield, 18, was seriously wounded in both legs; Percy Lee Simmons, 19, was shot in the right leg.

March 30, Jackson, Hinds County: Club-swinging police and two police dogs chased more than 100 Negroes from a courthouse where nine Negro students were convicted for staging a sit-in demonstration. Several were struck by the clubs and at least one person was bitten by the dogs.

May 7, Jackson, Hinds County: Several white youths, riding in an open convertible, lassoed nine-year-old Negro Gloria Laverne Floyd with a wire and dragged her along the street. The girl suffered a deep gash in her head that required three stitches, cheek bruises, a laceration of her right shoulder, and burn marks on her neck. Police made arrests.

August 15, Amite County: Robert Moses, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) registration worker, and three Negroes who had tried unsuccessfully to register in Liberty, were driving toward McComb when a county officer stopped them. He asked if Moses was the man "...who's been tring to register our niggers." All were taken to court and Moses was arrested for "impeding an officer in the discharge of his duties," fined $50 and spent two days in jail.

August 22, Amite County: Robert Moses went to Liberty with three Negroes, who made an unsuccessful attempt to register. A block from the courthouse, Moses was attacked and beaten by Billy Jack Caston, the sheriff's first cousin. Eight stitches were required to close a wound in Moses' head. Caston was acquitted of assault charges by an all-white jury before a justice of the peace.

August 26, McComb, Pike County: Hollis Watkins, 20, and Elmer Hayes, 20, SNCC workers, were arrested while staging a sit-in at the F. W. Woolworth store and charged with breach of the peace. They spent 36 days in jail.

August 27 and 29, McComb, Pike County: Five Negro students from a local high school were convicted of breach of the peace following a sit-in at a variety store and bus terminal. They were sentenced to a $400 fine each and eight months in jail. One of these students, a girl of 15, was turned over to juvenile authorities, released, subsequently rearrested, and sentenced to 12 months in a state school for delinquents.

August 29, McComb, Pike County: Two Negro leaders were arrested in McComb as an aftermath of the sit-in protest march on city hall, charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. They were Curtis C. Bryant of McComb, an official of the NAACP, and Cordelle Reagan, of SNCC. Each arrest was made on an affidavit signed by Police Chief George Guy, who said he had information that the two "...were behind some of this racial trouble."

August 30, McComb, Pike County: SNCC workers Brenda Travis, 16, Robert Talbert, 19, and Isaac Lewis, 20, staged a sit-in in the McComb terminal of the Greyhound bus lines. They were arrested on charges of breach of the peace and failure to obey a policeman's order to move on. They spent 30 days in jail.

September 5, Liberty, Amite County: Travis Britt, SNCC registration worker, was attacked and beaten by whites on the courthouse lawn. Britt was accompanied at the time by Robert Moses. Britt said one man hit him more than 20 times. The attackers drove away in a truck.

September 7, Tylertown, Walthall County: John Hardy, SNCC registration worker, took two Negroes to the county courthouse to register. The registrar told them he "...wasn't registering voters" that day. When the three turned to leave, Registrar John Q. Wood took a pistol from his desk and struck Hardy over the head from behind. Hardy was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

September 13, Jackson, Hinds County: Fifteen Episcopal ministers (among them three Negroes) were arrested for asking to be served

at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal. They were charged with inviting a breach of the peace. They were found not guilty of the charge on May 21, 1962, by County Judge Russell Moore.

September 25, Liberty, Amite County: Herbert Lee, a Negro who had been active in voter registration, was shot and killed by white state representative E. H. Hurst in downtown Liberty. No prosecution was undertaken, the authorities explaining that the representative had shot in self-defense.

October 4, McComb, Pike County: The five students who were arrested as a result of the August 29 sit-in in McComb returned to school, but were refused admittance. At that, 116 students walked out and paraded downtown to the city hall in protest. Police arrested the entire crowd, but later released all but 19, all of whom were 18 years old or older. They were charged with breach of the peace and contributing to the delinquency of minors and allowed to go free on bail totalling $3,700. At the trial on October 31, Judge Brumfield, finding the students guilty, and sentencing each to a $500 fine and six months in jail, said: "Some of you are local residents, some of you are outsiders. Those of you who are local residents are like sheep being led to the slaughter. If you continue to follow the advice of outside agitators, you will be like sheep and be slaughtered."

October 5, McComb, Pike County: Charles Sherrod was arrested on the street, thrown into a police car, and charged with resisting arrest. Cordelle Reagan was also arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Both were field workers for SNCC.

October 11, McComb, Pike County: Paul Potter of Philadelphia, a vice president of the National Student Association and Tom Hayden of Atlanta, both white, were dragged from their car and beaten as they drove alongside a group of Negroes making an anti-segregation march. When the two slowed their car for a traffic light, a heavy-set white man opened the door and dragged the driver out and hit him several times. He then walked around to the other side of the car, opened the door and knocked the second man to the street. The incident occurred in the business

section of the city.

October 13, McComb, Pike County: Police Officer B. F. Elmore shot and killed a Negro motorist. Police Chief George Guy said that Elmore said he had stopped Eli Brumfield at 4 a.m. for speeding. Brumfield allegedly jumped from his car with a pocket knife in his hand and attacked Elmore. A coroner's jury ruled Elmore fired in self-defense.

October 22, Jackson, Hinds County: Dion Diamond, a SNCC worker, was arrested for "running a stop sign" after being followed all day. In court the next day, the arresting officer told the judge, "He is a Freedom Rider. Throw the book at him." Diamond was refused legal counsel and fined $168.

November 9, McComb, Pike County: Jerome Smith, 22, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) field man, and four companions, Dorothy Smith, 18, Alice Thompson, 22, Thomas Valentine, 23, and George Raymond, 18, were attacked by a mob of 30 to 40 whites when they sought service at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal in McComb. Smith, who suffered head injuries when he was slugged with brass knuckles during the attack, said FBI agents were present at the time of the attack, but did "nothing but take notes" while the mob kicked and beat his companions. The victims were rescued from the mob by a Negro truck driver and Negro cab drivers.

November 10, Jackson, Hinds County: Jessie Divens, twelve-year-old, was arrested for refusing to move to the rear of a city bus. Judge Carl Guernsey released the girl to the custody of the Rev. G. R. Horton, chaplain at Campbell College where she attended classes. Judge Guernsey continued the case until November 17, "with the understanding that the Rev. Mr. Horton and the child come back with a workable plan which would cause the child's mind to be concerned with education rather than social reformation."

November 18, McComb, Pike County: Persons unknown fired a shotgun blast into the bedroom of Dion Diamond and John Hardy at 702 Wall Street. Investigating officer Frank Williams found shotgun pellets embedded in the window frame.

December 1, McComb, Pike County: Four white men attacked three

newsmen on the street, sending one crashing into a plate glass window of a store. The newsmen were Tom Uhrborck and Don Underwood, Life Magazine, and Simmons Fentress, Time Magazine.

December 2, McComb, Pike County: Police broke up an attempt by white attackers to drag three Freedom Riders from an automobile at the Greyhound bus terminal. Four men kicked at the locked car and beat upon the windows in an attempt to reach the young Negroes and their driver, Thomas Gaither, field secretary of CORE. The police, who were standing by when the riders arrived aboard a bus from Jackson, pulled the men away from the car, but made no arrests.

December 26, Jackson, Hinds County: Rafford Johnson, Negro, was severely beaten by two law officers after being involved in a minor collision with a car driven by a white woman. Johnson underwent surgery for skull injuries.

1962

February 6, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Miss Bessie Turner, 19, a Negro, was walking with a young man down a Clarksdale street when Clarksdale police officers stopped them and accused Miss Turner of having been involved in a theft. Miss Turner said the officers took her to the jail, forced her to unclothe and to lie on her back. She said one of the policemen then beat her between the legs with his belt. A few minutes later, Miss Turner said, the other officer beat her across her naked breasts. Miss Turner filed federal charges against the officers.

March 15, 1962, Shelby, Bolivar County: Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace Court on charges of making perverse advances on a white teen-age hitchhiker. Henry stated that the charges were a complete fabrication, and presented an alibi supported by sworn witnesses. The conviction has been appealed. When he later stated in a press conference that the prosecutor and the police chief, who figured in the trial, had conspired to frame him, Henry was sued by the two for defamation. A Mississippi white jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief, $15,000.

April 12, 1962, Taylorsville, Smith County: Corporal Roman Ducksworth, Jr., U. S. Army, a Negro, was shot and killed by policeman Bill Kelly when, according to an NAACP news release, Duckworth "insisted on his right to sit where he chose on an interstate bus." Policeman Kelly claimed that Ducksworth was drunk and started

fighting. No charges were brought against Kelly. Ducksworth was enroute from Camp Ritchie, Maryland, to see his wife who was ill in a Laurel, Mississippi, hospital.

April, 1962, Lucedale, George County: Mrs. Ernestine Denham Talbert, who lives in George County but teaches in Green County, was notified by the Green County School Board that her teaching contract would not be renewed. Mrs. Talbert had tried in January to register to vote but had been refused.

May 17, 1962, Rankin County: The Negro editor of the Mississippi Free Press said he and a companion were beaten by Rankin County officers and a highway patrolman. Lawrence Hudson, Jr., of Jackson, said the beating occurred after he was stopped enroute from Jackson to Forest to check on a rumor that a Negro man had been killed by a white man. He was jailed, refused permission to phone a lawyer, tried the next day on several charges and fined $151.

June 21, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: A white lawyer from Jackson and four college students were jailed in Clarksdale for 20 hours without outside communication. One of the students was a Negro. William Higgs, the lawyer, and the students were jailed on a Sunday night by county officers and were released the following day, without charges being filed against them.

July 5, 1962, Jackson, Hinds County: Jesse Harris, 20, and Luvaghn Brown, 17, SNCC workers, charged that they were beaten and threatened with death while serving a 30-day sentence in the county jail for contempt of court. The young Negroes had refused to move from

a court bench customarily occupied by whites while they were attending the trial of Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel. The young men said that, in the courthouse elevator, a deputy sheriff called Harris "a damned nigger" and beat him about the head with his fist. At the county farm, they were singled out as Freedom Riders and wore striped uniforms. Both were beaten by guards. Harris was beaten by a guard named "Keith" while other prisoners held him. "Keith" beat him across the back with a length of hose threatening, "Nigger, I'll kill you!"

August 16, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block, 23, SNCC field secretary, said three white men accosted him in a parking lot and "started beating me with their fists." He said they threatened him and then beat him for about five minutes. "There is no use reporting it to local authorities," he said.

August 17, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: SNCC workers Samuel Block, Luvaghn Brown, and Lawrence Guyot were forced to flee from the second story window of their voter registration office. They said armed white men invaded the premises intent upon doing them harm.

August 17, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Mayor Charles Durrough asked Mr. Lenard Davis, a Negro employed by the city, what he knew about the registration school being conducted at a Negro church. Mr. Davis replied that he didn't know anything at all about the school, and did not attend any of the classes. The mayor then told him that he, the mayor, knew what kind of school they were having.

The mayor said he knew it [presumably civil rights for the Negro] was coming, but he wasn't going to allow it to be forced on them. The mayor said that anyone attending the school would be given a one-way ticket out of town, and if that wouldn't do it, they would use whatever they had available. (See entry below for September 3, 1962.)

August, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Welton McSwine, Jr., 14-year-old Negro, was arrested by police after a white woman's house had been broken into. When police got the youth to the station, an officer said: "All right, nigger, you know why you are here, and we want to know who broke into that white woman's house." McSwine told them he knew nothing of the incident, saying that he spent all his time in the cotton field, and suggesting that his mother could corroborate this. McSwine said officers then took him to a cell and beat him, first hitting him in the head with a blackjack; then one of the policemen beat him in the face with his fist while another hit him in the stomach with his club; then the officers made him lie naked on the floor on his side while they beat him with a whip. McSwine was released after intercession of his father's white employer.

August 21, 1962, Liberty, Amite County: Sam Wells and Tommy Weathersby went to the courthouse to register. While they were waiting to get into the registrar's office, they stood on the front porch of the courthouse. Deputy Sheriff Daniel Jones told them, "Get your - - - - off the front porch, and don't come back on." Weathersby and Wells got off the porch. A few moments later, rain began,

and the two wanted to take shelter in the courthouse, but Deputy Sheriff Jones would not permit it.

.. August 21, Liberty, Amite County: Dewey Greene, Jr., Mississippi Free Press reporter, was taking pictures of Negroes waiting to register at the courthouse. An unidentified young man working in the office down the hall from the registrar's office snatched Greene's camera away, and refused to return it. Greene was told to leave town by three white men, one of whom was flourishing a length of lead pipe. He left.

August 29, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Seven Negroes were arrested after attending a voter registration meeting. David Dennis, CORE field secretary, was charged with "failure to yield right-of-way" after a police officer had forced him to submit to a long harangue of threats and abuse. Samuel Block, John Hodges, J. L. Harris, Richard T. Gray, and Albert Garrer, SNCC field workers, and Dewey Greene, Jr., reporter for the Mississippi Free Press, were forced by Clarksdale police to alight from their car, and were charged with loitering in violation of the city curfew.

August 30, 1962, Indianola, Sunflower County: SNCC workers C. R. McLauren, Albert Garner, J. O. Hodges, Samuel Block, and Robert Moses were arrested by Indianola police on a charge of distributing literature without a permit. The registration workers had been taking leaflets announcing a registration mass meeting door-to-door in the Negro community. Lafayette Surney, 17, another SNCC worker, was arrested and then released to Rev. James Bevel, of the Southern

Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

August 31, Indianola, Sunflower County: During the trial of Samuel Block on charges of distributing literature without a permit, the Municipal Judge informed Block that he could cross-examine the arresting officer. Block asked the officer, "Did you actually see me hand out a leaflet?" The judge turned to the officer and said, "He can ask you anything he wants to, but you don't have to answer." The judge told Lafayette Surney if he was caught in Indianola "agitating" again, he would be sent to the penal farm.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Because of registration activity, two Negro-owned dry cleaning establishments were closed (allegedly for violating city ordinances).

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Lenard Davis, 49, sanitation department worker, was told by Mayor Charles M. Durrough, "We're going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school." (He referred to a registration school conducted by SNCC workers in Ruleville.)

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Fred Hicks, 40, who drove field workers to the plantations, was told he could no longer use a bus without a commercial license. Hicks said the bus owner told him that, because Hicks' mother had registered to vote: "We gonna see how tight we can make it - gonna make it just as tight as we can. Gonna be rougher and rougher than you think it is."

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Moses and Amzie Moore, a local Negro leader, were walking down the street. A white man in a pickup truck drew up alongside and asked if they were the

"folks getting the people to register." Moses and Moore answered, yes, they were. The man asked if they could come out to his plantation to register people. The two answered, yes, they could come. The man said then, "I've got a shotgun waiting for you, double barrel."

September 3, Ruleville, Sunflower County: A letter from Mayor Durrough notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that tax exemption and free water were being cut off because the property was being used for "purposes other than worship services." The church was a meeting place for voter registration workers.

September 10, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Marylene Burkes, 20, and Vivian Hillet, 19, were severely wounded when an unidentified assailant fired through the window of Miss Hillet's grandparents' home. The grandparents had been active in voter registration work.

October 3, Biloxi, Harrison County: A Negro frame residence and a gasoline station were targets for two "Molotov cocktails" which caused more than $4,000 damage. One of the bombs struck the home of Dr. Gilbert Mason, a Negro physician, who is active in integration efforts. The other crashed through the window of a service station operated by Emmett Clark, a Negro.

October 5, Harmony, Leake County: Night riders fired shotguns into eight Negro homes and a Negro store. An elderly Negro said he was struck in the knee by a squirrel shot while he and his 9-year-old grandson were sleeping. He said he was not seriously hurt. Harmony Negroes had recently petitioned authorities for school desegregation.

October 10, Columbus, Lowndes County: A "Molotov cocktail" was tossed from a speeding car into the home of Dr. James L. Allen of Columbus, vice chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee

to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

October 29, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Charles McLaurin, SNCC registration worker, was stopped by police as he was taking a group home from the courthouse. The group had tried to register to vote. The officer asked to see McLaurin's driver's license. McLaurin showed it. The officer asked McLaurin what he was doing there. McLaurin told him he worked in voter registration. Then, accompanied by obscene remarks, the officer said, "Nigger, do you know the way out of town? McLaurin replied, "Yes." The officer said, with more obscenity, "Nigger! Can't you say 'yes, sir?'" The officer's partner asked the officer what charge should be put on the tickets. The officer said, "Charge the - - - - $26 on both charges." "Nigger, you got $52?" McLaurin replied, "No." The officer said, "Then you're going to jail." At the jail, McLaurin learned that the officer was Clarksdale Police Chief Ben Collins. McLaurin was in jail a few minutes when his companions posted bond for him in the amount of $103. They decided to forfeit bond rather than run the risk of a higher fine or incur the legal expense of an appeal.

October 31, Jackson, Hinds County: Thomas E. Johnson, a white minister, and a member of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, saw a group of neighbors dumping garbage on his lawn. Johnson had just returned from taking his car to a safe place because of threats by neighbors to damage it. Johnson sought a peace bond against the man whom he had observed leading the garbage-dumping

operations of his neighbors. The man presented eleven witnesses who swore that he had been in their presence at all times on the evening in question. The Justice of the Peace accepted their testimony and refused the bond. Then the Hinds County Grand Jury indicted Johnson and his wife on perjury charges, because of their testimony at the peace bond hearing.

November 6, 1962, Greenville, Washington County: Two WAF's and two airmen (all white) from the Greenville Air Force Base were fined $55 and given 30-day suspended sentences on charges of creating a disturbance by entering a restaurant and seeking service with two Negro voter registration workers.

December 26, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, students from Detroit, brought a truckload of food, clothing and medicines for distribution to the Delta's needy families who had been cut off from federal surplus commodities. (The medicines had been donated by a physician in Louisville, and were consigned to Aaron Henry, a licensed pharmacist.) They were arrested by Clarksdale police and held for "investigation." After police searched the truck on December 27, and found what they described as "a drug used to ease the pain of middle-aged women," Donaldson and Taylor were charged with possession of narcotics and bond was set at $15,000. Bond was later reduced to $1,500.

1963

January 17, Canton, Madison County: The castrated and mutilated body of Sylvester Maxwell, 24-year-old Negro, was found by his brother-in-law less than 500 yards from the home of a white family. Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medger Evers termed the slaying a "probable lynching."

February 2, Greenwood, Leflore County: Willie Peacock, SNCC registration worker, complained to the Justice Department that officials had refused to register him on two occasions, and had rejected his poll tax payment for this year.

February 20, Greenwood, Leflore County: Four Negro businesses on the same street as the SNCC voter registration office were burned to the ground. Mrs. Nancy Brand, a worker in the SNCC office, reported an anonymous telephone call in which a man's voice asked her if she ever came to the office. When she said yes, the voice said, "You won't be going down there anymore, that's been taken care of." The burned businesses were Jackson's Garage, George's Cafe, Porter's Pressing Shop, and the Esquire Club. The pressing shop is next door to the SNCC office, and SNCC workers believed the businesses were burned by mistake. Sam Block, SNCC Field Secretary, was arrested two days later for suggesting there was some connection between the burnings and the registration efforts of SNCC. He was charged with circulating statements calculated to create a breach of the peace.

February 28, Greenwood, Leflore County: Three registration workers were attacked with gunfire on U.S. Highway 82 just outside Greenwood. The shots were fired from a 1962 white Buick. The car in which the workers were riding was punctured by eleven bullets. One worker, James Travis of SNCC, was wounded in the neck and shoulder.

March 4, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: The show windows in the Fourth Street Drug Store were smashed, as they have been several times in the past. The proprietor of the store, Aaron Henry, found the damage when he returned from speaking at a mass meeting in Leflore County in connection with the voter registration drive there.

March 6, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block and three others were fired on from a station wagon which pulled up beside their car as they were parked in front of the SNCC voter registration office. Both front windows were shattered. Police later found the wadding from a shotgun shell buried in the head-liner of Block's car, and several pellets in the wall of the building in front of which the car had been parked.

March 12, Greenwood, Leflore County: A twelve-year-old Negro girl was attacked by an egg-throwing truckload of white teenaged boys. The girl suffered facial bruises.

March 20, 1963, Jackson, Hinds County: Three shots were fired through the windshield of a car belonging to Mrs. Mattie Dennis

while it was parked in front of the home of Mrs. Dennis' cousin, whom she was visiting. Mrs. Dennis is the wife of David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary for Mississippi. Both have been active in voter registration.

March 24, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: Fire destroyed partially the interior of the voter registration office at 115 E. McLaurin St., making the office unusable and necessitating a search for new headquarters. Witnesses said they saw two white men fleeing the scene shortly before the fire was discovered.

March 26, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: A shotgun blast ripped into the home of Dewey Greene, Sr., father of the latest Negro applicant to the University of Mississippi. Another of Mr. Greene's sons and a daughter have been active in the Leflore County registration project. Greenwood police said they were investigating.

March 27, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: James Forman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, Bob Moses, and about ten other registration workers were arrested and taken from a group en route to the courthouse to register after the police dispersed a group of more than 100 Negroes with the use of police dogs.

(30)

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY

By ROBERT COLES, M.D.

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY

By

ROBERT COLES, M.D.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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July 1963

Dr. Robert Coles is a child psychiatrist who in the past two years has been engaged in the research dealt with in this pamphlet.

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Foreword

Had I not first read the manuscript before writing this Foreword, I might have said something like this:

"The Supreme Court in 1954 declared that every child had a constitutional right to racially non-segregated schooling. Because neither the southern state legislatures nor Congress acted to enforce this constitutional right, however, the burden of doing so fell upon certain Negro school children of the South. Here is a study of these children, these enforcers of the Constitution, and what it has cost them and what it has profited them in the way of happiness and intellectual growth to be the defenders of a great cause."

But having read Dr. Robert Coles's vibrant, humane report, one can't speak either so grandly or so abstractly. I can only say that here is a piece about how some children lived and learned these past two years. They are children who were in a very special situation, and they were, in a sense, servants of a cause. But I think the special merit of this report is to take our minds off the public role and the function of these children, and lead us to think about them and their individualities. Perhaps, after all, that is their true civil right.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

In the Light of History

*To catch and pin down in words — that is, to describe directly the life not only of humanity, but even of a single people.**

—LEO TOLSTOY

Since 1954 the schools of the South, their teachers and children, have lived under conflicting pressures and special conditions of uncertainty and public notice. The Supreme Court did more than simply insist upon an end to separate educational systems for white and Negro children; in effect, the schools were placed in the midst of complicated social and political issues which are far from settled and are a source of considerable controversy. Although the schools, as part of the life of the community, always must endure and reflect its troubles, perhaps never before have they been so directly involved and so directly challenged.

Customs of long duration are being assaulted by law and by direct action. Demands for desegregation of the schools and colleges are echoed in other claims upon stores, restaurants, voting booths, or parks. Each state and each city will come to terms with these issues in its own fashion, but, certainly they are issues, and certainly they seem to urge attention.

A historian recording the events of recent years would have to describe the slow but definite spread of certain changes in the way whites and Negroes get along with one another in the South. He would note among these changes the anxious and symbolic entry of small numbers of Negro children into once all white schools. He would show how this happened in town after town, and how it moved across state lines. He would tell about the different forms this desegregation of schools has taken, varying from the total and instant actions of border communities like Baltimore to the more cautious plans put into effect in Tennessee or North Carolina. He would, in some detail, concern himself with the particular plans: with how many Negro children were chosen, in what manner, and of what age and grade; with how the school officials as well as the local parents, police, papers, and politicians handled the difficult transitional problems which attach themselves to any plan, any entry.

Human affairs can be approached from many directions. Events can be listed and catalogued. Legal issues can be debated and decided. Customs can be classified. But all human affairs involve human beings, and any moment of historical importance is not only a political struggle or a social phenomenon, but a series of experiences for individual men, women, and children.

There are many and often opposing views about the Negro's role in southern life; yet, there can be little doubt that his role is changing, and one evidence for this fact is the lives of white and Negro children in many southern

* *War and Peace*, Epilogue.

schools today. Such lives deserve our attention, in the hope that if we document the feelings and ideas, the adjustments of particular persons under these stresses, we will know more about ourselves, about man's mind and emotions, and will be better able to provide for our future crises and perils. After all, there must be a time in any controversy to begin analysis and study, to take stock of what is actually happening to the participants and learn from them what may help others of us in similar circumstances.

Nature of This Study

To see and hear what is actually occurring, we have brought to bear a prolonged investigation from the point of view and training of child psychiatry in the hope that such an attempt will give us more information for reflection and future decisions. This research project has been a two-year one. It has primarily involved the cities of New Orleans and Atlanta, with children of six and seven in the former city and adolescents of 16 and 17 in the latter.

The mechanics or daily routine of the study have been as follows: the nine Negro children selected by the Atlanta Board of Education for initial desegregation in 1961 were seen three to six weeks before school opened and followed on a weekly basis in psychiatric interviews. Their feelings and experiences were noted and recorded on tape. Their parents were also seen. Interviews were conducted at the homes of the children, and during the entire school year. They were continued for a second school year, thereby affording a view in depth and prolonged duration of how colored children respond to participation in desegregation. At the same time, twelve white children in the four high schools of Atlanta chosen for desegregation have been intensively followed, with weekly interviews and separate talks with their parents. Six of these children were favorable to their new Negro classmates and six were opposed to their arrival. All were in daily classes with the Negro students. They were similarly followed a second year, giving us some idea how white children of widely different convictions on racial matters, strongly integrationist and strongly segregationist, adjust under desegregation in a deeply southern city. During these months, several school teachers and principals were seen in separate interviews and group discussions, in order to learn from those who teach under these new conditions how children get along with one another, how they study and learn, and how the teachers manage under unusual and often trying situations. In the second year of school desegregation, 40 more Negro children attended the same and six additional high schools. They were seen in groups during the year, to follow their reactions and evaluate the further progress of desegregation. Added numbers of their white classmates were also seen in groups.

For one week out of every month young children in New Orleans were visited in a pattern very much like that in Atlanta. The four Negro girls who, in 1960, were the first of their race to enter the first grades of two white schools in the city, amidst considerable unrest, have been seen in their homes, as were their parents. The seven Negro children who entered the first grade in 1961 were likewise followed, as were eight white children who were in school with these young colored children of six and seven. Some of the white parents favored and some opposed desegregation. Considerable emphasis has been placed upon drawing and painting with these children, a standard practice in child psychiatry, as well as discussion with their parents.

Finally, brief trips have been made to other cities for comparative evaluations of children and parents of both races as well as school teachers and officials. Cities visited have included Charlotte, Asheville, and Burnsville in North Carolina; Clinton and Oak Ridge in Tennessee; and Little Rock, Arkansas.

This report is, in a sense, a hybrid product. It is not intended to be a psychiatric paper,* nor is it intended to be a report which "translates" medical observations into neatly summarized layman's language. *Moreover, in the scientific spirit of observation and evaluation, it speaks of what actually happened rather than what should happen, or will in the future.* It is hoped that it will offer psychiatric and medical information, as well as discussion, to the concerned citizens of the South: teachers, school officials, people who are public spirited members of communities facing serious decisions, or going through them. Such people, in any worthwhile society, while shouldering the responsibility of both holding and transmitting what is known and valued, must be aware, all the time, that history leaves precious little untouched or unchanged. At this time in the South, and, perhaps in the North, too, the problems of desegregation warrant, for all responsible individuals, any available information or assistance.

* A full psychiatric report was made at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association on May 6, 1963, in St. Louis, Missouri.

Negro Children

And indeed, in the jungle of human existence, there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of ego identity. Deprivation of identity, not frustration, leads . . . to the desperate intensity of many a symptom.

ERIK ERIKSON*

It is fairly obvious that these children are doing things which are new and not always approved. Tension and fear often surround them from the weeks before they enter school through the months of their stay. Their families are under considerable anxiety about them, and about their own lives and jobs. When they are in school they may experience rejection, isolation, or insult. They live under what physicians would consider to be highly stressful circumstances, and their adjustment to these strains is of considerable medical interest.

Those Negro children who initiate court ordered desegregation in the South are likely to be different from their peers on several accounts. Their very selection often recommends them as more intelligent or without emotional disorders which are grossly visible. While some cities allow open transfers on the basis of geographical location, many cities, particularly in the first years, consider and assign children on the basis of evaluation by tests and interviews, and thus initial selection occurs at this point. But, a closer look at these children and their families reveals that they are highly motivated, determined or willing to endure possible or probable pain for goals which are important to them. Furthermore, there are secondary gains for them as well as fears and troubles, because they may be honored and respected in their own community, and given considerable attention and support. Finally, they will often emphasize to a white person that ostracism and epithets are not new to them: they have been endured for a long time, and, therefore, can be sustained as each of them has managed, in his own way over many years, to sustain many similar situations.

It certainly is true that the pressures which these children must meet are different only in degree rather than kind, and that this makes them, on the whole, less vulnerable, in the sense that they have learned from their earliest years techniques and methods of dealing with their position in society and its consequences for them in their daily lives. For them to enter a desegregated school may be hard, but it offers them certain hopes and opportunities for work, for assertion of self, which contrast with other moments that may have seemed to them not only hard but also futile and less fulfilling.

* *In Childhood and Society*, W. W. Norton, New York, 1950. This book is an important work in psychoanalysis and child development, and has an excellent section on unconscious feelings about the Negro held by both Negroes and whites.

Each of them has his or her own life and own personality, and each of them will engage with the problems of desegregation in different ways. Doctors know that just as there are categories of diseases, there are also individual expressions and anomalies to all of them. Desegregation will vary in itself from city to city, and within any city from neighborhood to neighborhood. In the same school, each Negro child may be not only an individual, and different in that sense from others, but may elicit from white children varying reactions and responses. The irony of human existence is often revealed in striking examples, which upset all the expectations of experience and knowledge.

For instance, in Atlanta the Negro girl who was most liked by her classmates and teachers, who, of all the transfer students in Atlanta, had the highest grades, who was in the school located in the most genteel and "liberal" section of the city where acceptance of desegregation was considered most likely and its implementation least hazardous, had to return to her old Negro high school after three months. She was suffering from insomnia, depression, and cumulative fatigue; her collapse may have been precipitated by the stresses of desegregation, and slowly cleared after her departure from them, but cannot be separated from personal and family problems which simply did not allow her to remain in good mental and physical health in such a crisis. As in war, and as in disaster, a crisis will reveal hidden weaknesses as well as show unexpected strengths, and these both are often hard to predict in advance.

One child may score high in intelligence tests, may be polite and neatly dressed, but also may come from a home with many tensions below the surface, and may, under stress, respond with nervous overactivity, withdrawal from friends, or severe bodily evidence of anxiety, such as gastric disorders or migraine. Another child may be somewhat dull and of dubious sociability, but may draw in tough times upon a sense of humor or a relaxed disposition which may not be attractive or ingratiating to others, but may be quite resilient and enduring.

During a school year one can see among these children all of the medical and psychiatric responses to fear and anxiety. One child may lose his appetite, another may become sarcastic and have nightmares. Lethargy may develop, or excessive studying may mark the apprehension common to both. At the same time one sees responses of earnest and effective work, new gifts of industry and patience, and evidence of stubborn determination which surprises parents and, in retrospect, even the child. Each child's case history would describe a balance of defenses against emotional pain, and some exhaustion under it, as well as behavior which shows an attempt to challenge and surmount it.

The majority do indeed survive. Certainly in Atlanta and New Orleans only one child has really succumbed to emotional illness. These children illustrate once again the paradox of what health is. During the war it was noted in England that given a fairly stable home environment and reasonably good mental and physical health, children can sustain bombing, military disaster, and all

the trials of such times with remarkable ability.* On the other hand, every psychiatrist knows that mental illness can strike the most fortunate few who will never worry about desegregation or war. The roots of most mental illness probably lie in the early life of the child, his relationships with his parents, and his inheritance, and less likely in specific incidents in a school or playground unless these draw upon existing disorders or difficulties. Of course, sustained terror and threats can cause any mind to disintegrate, but this is not what these children in Atlanta or New Orleans have experienced.

What is important to stress here is the observation that their admission to white schools in the South and their attendance in them is stressful but not incapacitating. Their inner thoughts and feelings are of interest to social scientists, as well as to anyone concerned with how human beings get along and live with themselves and one another. But it is also important and relevant to point out that these children manifestly have been promoted and graduated, and this reveals something both of them and the nature of the stress. They draw upon reserves of home and friends and hobbies. They receive hurtful looks and words, and some of them have walked through angry crowds outside and silent reproach or noisy jeers inside. However, they also spend long hours at work in school, and they may receive friendship there, too. Indeed, so long as the school continues to function, most of their time will be spent in learning and studying.

If they are young, as in New Orleans, they will play with white children naturally and with no hindrance from them. At the height of tension in that city the few white children and the Negro children went through streets of abuse, but had no trouble with one another in the school itself. In Atlanta there may be less ease and spontaneity for these older, high school children, part from fear or hatred and part from a natural consequence of awkward, silent adolescence; but in high schools children are in class most of the time, and this restricts opportunities for embarrassment or worse. One Negro boy in Atlanta summarized the feelings of most when he said, "It was rough at times, but I learned a lot and met some nice people, and I think they got to know us a little and we got to know them, too." A little girl in New Orleans can draw similar thoughts about her own identity as a Negro, and how she plays at school with white children even though, at six, she carefully knows her color, her special problems associated with it, and her special condition of attendance in a desegregated school.

* Anna Freud's work in this regard is historic. All interested in how much children can sustain, and under what conditions they are liable to develop emotional disorders, might well read her small but deeply moving and profound *War and Children* (International University Press, New York, 1944). Of additional interest are some studies of children under the stresses of such disasters as tornadoes (in Vickburg, Miss., 1953) or floods (Rio Grande). These are available as publications of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C., under the listing of their *Disaster Study Series.*

White Children

But these children, white and black, are not mere pawns on a chessboard, and whatever the sins or submissions of their great-grandfathers may have been, they merit consideration in their own right. In the South, this consideration steadily is being extended.

—JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK*

When southern schools desegregate, the cameras and news reports concentrate most of their attention upon the Negro children, unless, as in New Orleans in 1960, there is a boycott attempted by whites, in which case some white families may be more harassed than the Negroes. But in every school where Negro children enter, white children are there, and they have ears and eyes, memories and ideas, beliefs and feelings. Knowledge about the adjustment of white children to this new moment in their lives and history is no less important, and, in many future situations may be decidedly helpful.

It is, again, a commonplace, but one to be remembered, that each white child will be different, coming from parents with differing backgrounds and traditions, jobs and experiences, and themselves differing in intelligence and in emotional qualities like sympathy, empathy, readiness to obey, or quickness to rebel. Whatever his personal nature and family story, he lives in a society which is changing before his very eyes, and with him as a participant. Young children of even the earliest years notice colors as they notice forms and shapes and all those things, people, and events which make up a world which they are increasingly able to comprehend. By the time a child enters school he may have many ideas about racial identity, and can begin to draw them more readily than talk about them. It is a mistake to think that young children are unaware of racial differences, or many other differences and phenomena around them. They hear, and they store memories of instructions, prohibitions, affections, and rewards. They also, in the first few grades, are at an age when they live more in the moment, more in the present of action and deeds, things to do and wishes to live out and play out. Later, as they get older, they will plan more, think more, hesitate, and control themselves in increasing nearness to and preparation for the adult world. Not that they will necessarily as adolescents accept the world of their parents, because the nature of youth is to question and disagree, sift and sort, accept and discard in the sure recognition that each generation has its own truth, its own hopes, fears, and promises. And so we see high school children naturally going through all the struggles of growing up, the doubts, silences, and outbursts which express

* *The Southern Case for School Segregation,* Crowell-Collier Press, New York, 1962. This book has a valuable bibliography. Another good source for reading is a publication of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry: report No. 37, *Psychiatric Aspects of Desegregation,* New York, 1957. This is a theoretical discussion of many of the problems involved in desegregation, with an excellent bibliography attached.

what it is to feel one's body stretch and, hopefully, one's mind challenged.

Thus, it is in this context of human development that we may look at what happens to white children under desegregation. We must distinguish between an attitude, or custom, and a passionate involvement. We must differentiate between an annoyance and a phobia which masks fear, with intense avoidance of things or hatred of animals or people. People like and dislike, choose and reject all the time. We get to the psychopathological when we see the consuming and possessive quality of an irrational love or hate which defies common sense or reality. Every day, doctors must separate the wide spectrum of behavior which is called "normal" from those distortions and panics of human beings which seem so strange and which signify so much unhappiness and fear.

Among the young white children in New Orleans, our remembrances about the nature of childhood and personality development will help clarify our observations. Even under the worst situations outside, the children in the schools managed well together. Those white children who remained in the desegregated Frantz school in New Orleans thoroughly enjoyed the increased attention of their teachers, the excitement around them. They often urged their more timid or justifiably frightened parents to keep them in school. In 1961 one of the white children who returned to the almost totally boycotted Frantz school told a little colored girl that she would not play with her because her mother had forbidden this, and then, a few minutes later, did just that.

One hears this over and over from children who obey *both* their parents and their own natural inclinations of age and whim, by saying words which are ideas to them, and known, and to be remembered, and yet by also doing the deeds which the moments in the playground or classroom suggest. Of course, a child of five, or 15 for that matter, may develop a true phobia about Negroes, just as he may about dogs or heights or certain foods. The child has been taught to associate extreme danger and hurt or harm with dark skin. The fear may reflect other problems in the life of the child, or may simply represent the transmission of charged and intense feelings from parent to child. In order for these parental feelings to affect the behavior of children in elementary school, however, they must derive from more than ordinary habit, or casual inclination. White parents may often be opposed to desegregation, but they consistently note that their children in the desegregated elementary schools get along easily in those schools, and the very few who don't come from homes which make such a stand a matter of virtual life and death for the child. Such children, burdened with fright, will usually avoid the Negro child rather than bother him. They are a very small minority even in a white community whose sentiments may very much be segregationist.

As the children grow and enter high schools like the four desegregated ones in Atlanta, another picture emerges. Early ideas about racial identity, carefully drawn but quickly forgotten amid play and fun, now return, with their associations and lessons, to a child who grapples with new ideas and feelings,

many of them conflicting and contradictory. Some begin to adopt their parents' ideas and some begin to reject them. As we talk with these children over the school year, we see that they fall under three large groups in their behavior and thinking about their new Negro classmates. A small number are immediately friendly and disposed to welcome them. By far the largest number are quizzical, annoyed, or would say that they don't want them or don't really care. A third group, small but articulate, are very much opposed to them and angrily willing to express their feelings in word or act which separate themselves from the quietly disapproving or careless majority.

We are struck by the continuing discrepancy between fretful dislike and passionate hatred, by the separate consequences of these two for action and thought. Annoyances shift from time to time, from object to object, but hatreds and fears stick tight and long. What happens to the white child will depend on such matters as this, on what feelings he brings to the school before the Negro child comes there about race and its meaning, and on the origin of these feelings. It is important here to emphasize again the development of their behavior and feelings as seen over a year's time with respect to the school and class situation. We know that every mind has its own style of ideas and actions and we know that skin color has a wide variety of real and symbolic meanings to people. But, how does all this affect the white child once desegregation is a reality for him? How does he come to grips with his life, his traditions, and these changes?

None of the white children seen have suffered any medical or psychiatric damage during the past year. Regardless of their views they have all continued in school and graduated or been promoted. Apart from the usual colds and an occasional laceration from football there were no medical problems; and no breakdown in ability to work and study and get along with friends and teachers could be noted. Their parents described their general physical and mental status as "normal" or "O.K." at the end of the year just as they had at the beginning of the year. The Negro children had not caused illness of body or mind observable to either themselves, their friends, their family, or a physician and psychiatrist.

Doctors have learned that even their sickest patients, some near coma or death, will notice and respond to their environment, will react to changes, visits, and messages. In psychiatry this holds, as in the rest of medicine. The most distant and disturbed or even disoriented patient will notice events around him, notice people and hear what they say, watch what they do. These people and their actions will, of course, have to sustain the filtration of a mind not well, a mind which can distort the world and cause it to splinter in prismatic fragmentation. In some way, however, in some fashion, at some level, regardless of how inaccurately and mistakenly, actions and words by people are felt and absorbed by their neighbors, by other people at hand.

What, therefore, the white child senses and feels in a desegregated classroom will depend on the Negro child in that room, the particular white child, and how he sees the particular Negro child, and, most important, what

actually happens, in the room, between the Negro child and his white classmates and teachers. What one sees after some months is the slow development of discretion and selection in the white child, the breakdown of quick and total vision and the beginning of particular vision based on daily experience. In weekly meetings one can hear even the most segregationist-minded child describe the different personalities or mannerisms of the several Negro children. One can hear them described by their faces, actions, clothes, traits. This is a kind of learning common to everyone, and represents the ability of any mind to see some of the various shapes of things and kinds of behavior around it. One can also notice after a while that none of these children, in one way or another, is insensitive to what happens at his side. If a Negro child is hurt, his white friend will be upset, his white neighbor who would vote to keep him out of the school notices, and his white enemy observes and reacts to it, too.

Illustrations abound. Tapes can be brought to life and the impact and private ripples of response to any specific event can be heard from the different children. Someone throws something at a Negro child in a class. The Negro child may laugh it off, cry about it, get angry, get a headache or stomach ache, as a consequence fight with his brother at home in delayed reaction to his inability to fight with the person in the classroom, get depressed, study intensely to make up in hard and driven work and achievement for the ignominy of the incident. A white child may see the same occurrence and sympathize with the Negro child, feel sorry for him, get angry at the person who did the deed, laugh nervously, laugh with pleasure, feel like doing the same thing, get angry at the Negro child for being in the room, say that the child deserves whatever happens because he has no right to be there, argue about the Negro child and what should be done following such events.

Over a year's time these individual responses take on the configuration of attitudes. As they congeal, they reflect changes and resistances to change, and it is often hard to predict which person will feel which way at the end of the year. A classroom is in many ways a temporary family. Children learn in it, but they also have to get along with their brothers and sisters in it, as well as their parent-teacher. When a child is isolated or feels bad, many others notice this. They notice this apart from their political or social views, and sometimes even in spite of them. For these views are abstract and often not tied to people as concrete as classmates. *How* one notices will vary. You can notice by fellowship and pity and tender identification. You can notice by guilt and anger, by wishing to get rid of the source of pain or shame or embarrassment. You can notice by hate and rage, by angry denunciation which often may reflect inner, unknown anxiety, fear, or even guilt.

White and Negro Children Together

Each generation gives new form to the aspirations that shape education in its time.

—JEROME S. BRUNNER*

There are definite patterns to the way Negro and white children get along in the schools of the South which desegregate. These will depend upon the age of the child, the nature of the school and its neighborhood, the specific climate both within the school and in the city, and, of course, the children involved. Cities differ, and districts within them also. Police may perform differently, papers vary in their messages, and community leaders are not all the same. In talking about how individual children manage we cannot ignore the world in which they live.

Together at six is not like being together at 16, regardless of all the other factors. Young children of the two races play together and work together even though they have heard many remarks at home which might discourage this. A game means more to a child than an idea at this age. When they get into junior high and high school, this will change, as, indeed, will many other kinds of behavior, apart from the racial problem; then one sees both friendliness and antagonisms expressed in the ideas and activities which characterize teenagers. One sees changes in these ideas and activities, too. You can hear old ideas of suspicion and distrust, contempt and disdain, give way to personal knowledge. This happened with two of our openly segregationist children in Atlanta, and has been reported by others to their white friends.

In the school in Atlanta where social and economic conditions were poorest, with people worried about jobs, income, security of home, and place in society, the two Negro girls went through a year of continued silence, isolation, occasional insult of word and even deed. When one of them was ready to graduate she felt that she had no friends at all, and could really talk to no one, though all year she had reported that many would talk to her furtively in cloak rooms or empty corridors. White children had, at the same time, reported her difficult times, and their own fears of talking with her, despite their impulses of sympathy, curiosity, or friendliness. Adolescents worry deeply about what others think because they are so unsure of what they themselves think, or who they are. Each fears the ostracism of the other, because each trembles at himself and with himself in those uncertain years. On the last day of school the Negro girl was approached by over 15 classmates who asked her whether they might autograph her yearbook. She was afraid, as the first child asked, because she felt that it might be a means of attack and insult rather than an expression of good will. Any Negro child has her own angers and distrust, and must come to terms with them, too.

* *The Process of Education*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1962.

Many cannot accept friendliness out of long years of their fate. But Martha offered her book, and some of the comments speak for themselves:

> Martha, I don't know how you've felt this year, but I'm sure there have been times of loneliness and frustration. Surely you realize that ways you have been tested at times are not personal but merely instances of a gigantic, universal, social problem. I have known you to be a quiet girl with courageous dignity. Best Wishes . . .
>
> *Another said:*
>
> Martha, I have admired your great courage in your great decision. I'm sure you've been subjected to much unpleasantness, but you've met it in a most gracious way.
>
> *Again:*
>
> Dear Martha . . . as you said in English class one day some of us can't express how we really feel toward you, but I would like to take this opportunity . . .
>
> *A girl wrote:*
>
> Dear Martha, . . . I know that since I, too, am a new senior I have had my troubles. I only hope that you will forgive those of us who have been mean and ugly . . .
>
> *A boy wrote:*
>
> Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination. After you had finished that little talk in English, in my eyes you were 'nine feet tall.'
>
> *Finally:*
>
> Dear Martha . . . I'm sorry not to have been able to get to know you better, but that is just the way it turned out . . . I guess that you can understand why I haven't become better acquainted with you. But I personally think that I have missed a great opportunity.

It seems that one cannot predict until the last minute has departed how these children will get along.

There are no easy rules in human behavior, and there seems to be no easy way of evaluating the different schools and different cities. It is obvious that a city where the Negro and white communities get along well and with equality will offer the best hope for a quiet transition. The rural, Appalachian towns in North Carolina seemed to bear this out. Certainly in Burnsville the high schools showed the fullest harmony and spontaneity among the colored and white children, which the principals felt to be a reflection of communal ease in racial relations.

In Atlanta, the best situation from the point of view of both Negro and white students, that is that situation which both groups felt to be least tense and most nearly normal, prevailed in neither the two schools located in what are often called "marginal areas," changing neighborhoods racially, and of relatively low income, nor in the school belonging to the wealthy area. It occurred in a school in a middle class region which drew upon a more diverse religious and ethnic population, and which had high standards of teaching corresponding to the high ambitions of the parents for their children. In this

school real friendships developed between the two Negroes and their white classmates, and the Negroes became less guarded and cautiously aloof. It is dangerous to generalize, but there certainly can be an unnatural strain in transferring one or two very poor Negro children to a wealthy suburban school where, at first, class differences are as confusing as those of skin to both parties.

During the year Negro children get their satisfactions from simple survival, from survival with good performance, and from signs of welcome and friendship which may come their way. During the year the white child may slowly begin to recognize the Negro child and speak with him, or steadfastly avoid him. All of the white children whom we saw who favored desegregation were nevertheless inhibited in their words and deeds during the school year. They repeatedly said that they were afraid to talk with Negro children at certain times or in certain public places such as the cafeteria or crowded corridors. Such was the case particularly in the first months in all the schools, and, in two of the schools, all year. The Negro students felt that many of their classmates were sympathetic or curious about the Negroes, but afraid to reveal any relationship with them because of fear of ridicule or rejection. All attributed the sources of such potential animosity to vague elements—"a few who are noisy," or "a lot of the kids," or "enough people to make it uncomfortable." Many increasingly saw themselves victimized more by their own anxiety than by what others did or might do. At this point they usually initiated the kinds of friendly exchanges which they had denied themselves earlier out of apprehension.

Among the segregationist children several changed their minds over the year, all attributing this change to what had happened at school, to noticing and getting to know a particular Negro child, to thinking about the problem because they were part of a desegregated school, to responding to their friends and their ideas and examples and influences. These children still had considerable trouble in talking with the Negro children, even after their feelings had changed, describing themselves as being shy, feeling awkward or uneasy, or, in one case, guilty. The following excerpt from a taped interview describes very clearly what happened to one boy, a senior in one of the four schools in Atlanta. It was made in April 1962, the first year of desegregation then nearing its end.

> I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. They speak well, and are more intelligent than a lot of my friends. You have to understand how we've grown up. They were slaves to us, I mean even after the Civil War . . . I was taught to expect them to do anything I wanted at home . . . they belonged in the kitchen, or fixing your socks . . . that's the way you grow up and that's what most of us expect . . . and then we're told that they're supposed to go to school with us . . . my daddy nearly died . . . Mom told him he'd get a stroke if he didn't stop it . . . I sneered a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind

of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes . . . next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names . . . I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before . . . I can't really describe any time or episode . . . no, it was just a kind of gradual feeling . . . I argue with my parents . . . my mother is pretty good on the subject, she can change her mind, but my father is impossible to talk with . . .my brother and I agree that he's probably going to be in a desegregated school in a few years . . . it'll be easier for him . . . I still argue with my friends, they laugh at me, call me a damn 'nigger lover' . . . they sit and have a time planning what they'll do to make things rough for them, but never do them . . . never do much but mutter something under their breath in the corrider . . . teachers won't let them get away with anything 'wise' . . . they'll insult one of them, then call them up in the evening and joke with them about going out on a date . . . I can't figure this out.

This is a record of obvious emotional change, based on new kinds of human contact. It can and does happen. It also can fail to happen. Three children have clearly and consistently indicated their strong dislike of Negroes, of their presence in the white schools, of their presence in any situation not traditionally accepted as for them. Their attitudes were essentially the same at the end of a year of desegregation, in one case expressed even more strongly and angrily. At some other moment their stories, their feelings and fears must be told. We can only mention here the chief themes which come again and again: that Negroes will lower standards; that they are dirty and diseased; that they are like animals; that they are not like white people, inferior, less intelligent, born and made to serve. Themes of betrayal, of being cheated and hurt come to their minds and words. Two of these children experience physical revulsion when near a Negro, "like dirt being rubbed on you" one told me, and they try to avoid them with great care and obvious show. One is less afraid of them than provoked, and is more concerned with expressing his anger, showing them that he can taunt and tease them. It may be of psychiatric interest that they show a kind of sensitivity and concern for the Negro children, and some guilt and anxiety about their own behavior and thoughts, and that this can be ascertained by listening over long periods of time to them, to their words and associations, to their account of their feelings, to their dreams and stories and jokes and deeds.

Nor do some Negro children lack strong feelings about whites, feelings of hatred, feelings often remarkably similar to those encountered by them from hostile whites. A Negro boy told us: "I hate them, all of them, and when I can help it, I try to stay clear of them. They cause trouble whenever they can, and they're the ones who are dirty. . . . I'm here to claim this school, because it's as much ours as theirs . . . they're going to have to learn to live with us, and they'd better learn it, because they need us. I mean, they need our help to civilize them . . . they're like savages, that's what whites are like, savages."

Psychiatrists know that sometimes people express affection with anger, their interests or curiosity with sarcasm and distance, their shame and guilt with rage and hatred. But such knowledge must be very carefully translated into the practical problems of the school, the classroom, and the teachers. Let us turn to them now.

Teachers and Classrooms

It is obvious that the relation of teacher to pupil is an emotional one and most complex . . .

—JACQUES BARZUN*

In the South teachers will not be immune from natural curiosity and surprise when a custom of long duration changes. As human beings they will have many and different views, perhaps conflicting views and feelings. The rhyme or reason to what one sees in the several towns and cities can only be seen in just this: that what happens is highly individual, and will depend on the local situations, the local school within a school system, the particular problem at hand, the nature of the white and colored children, who they are, how they generally get along, what has happened to them in the past and, finally, upon their teachers, and principals, what they do or do not do, and their view of their role in this new situation.

In a sense, issues and developments like this put to test the very nature of education, the very profession of teaching, the very role of the school in the life of the city or town. All professions struggle with the balance, and occasional tension in that balance, between the private man with his own personality and emotions, hopes and doubts, and the more public man of the profession, or job, with all its special needs and requirements which seem to have a life of their own, apart from that of the individual. In moments like those facing the South today, there will inevitably be challenges to this balance in public officials, in lawyers and judges, and in school officials and teachers. New accommodations seem to be needed, and there will be strains as these are made. We cannot expect that an issue like that of school desegregation, so charged with meaning and symbolism to so many, could leave teachers unaffected or uninterested.

It is a fact of the past few years that schools plagued by crowds, boycotts, and even violence have, with occasional forced interruptions, continued to function. In New Orleans the two schools there persisted even though one of them had only the three Negro children in attendance, and, in effect, was more abandoned than desegregated. Teachers there were subjected to heavy pressures to boycott these schools, and their problems were often the same as those of the white parents. Many of them were opposed to desegregation, some very strongly, others with less fervor. But they were also teachers, and loyal to their job, their principal, the decisions of their school board. What happened was that the schools remained open, if under-populated, and the teachers taught.

Several of them have described the development of a kind of school spirit which emerged from a position of beleaguered isolation and experience of

* *Teacher in America,* Doubleday, New York, 1954.

attack. Songs like "Frantz School Will Survive" were sung, and a kind of small family feeling developed. "Divided loyalties" would describe much of the situation, and a kind of adherence in the end to professional responsibilities and obligations. What was described by one teacher was, "I didn't like it, but I also couldn't walk out on my job. That would be unthinkable." This view has been described by many teachers in several cities. In Atlanta one could feel the teachers themselves coming to terms with the problem as citizens, some favorable, some opposed, many in doubt, conflict and ambivalence. But one could also sense in them a deep sense of professional integrity, of identity as teachers which transcended their private feelings about race. The children felt this, too. We heard few criticisms from white or Negro children about their teachers, few complaints of hurtful action or expression. This was one of the subjects which seemed to unite all the children, black and white, integrationist and segregationist. (In some cases, teachers not emotionally able to cope with a desegregated classroom have been permitted to take other assignments.)

Those who have taught under these new conditions describe interesting things about themselves and their classes. They will talk about their own nervousness, their own early uncertainties and fears, and their own curiosity about these Negro children, and how they will get along. Many of them went through, during the year, the kinds of re-evaluations and re-assessments which can come only from actual human contact and experience. For many it is as much a year of finding out and observing as of teaching. Like the white children, they are meeting Negroes in a new context, and many new perceptions may come to them, and must be assimilated in their minds. Teachers will describe their own estimates of the Negro children, their own likes and dislikes of them as individuals and as a group distinct from white people. They will describe the early silence and tension, the developing patterns of behavior, the onset of problems and dilemmas, the ways that the year ended, and their estimates of how the year's experience went for them as well as the children.

Needless to say, reports like these will vary from teacher to teacher, from situation to situation, as will their classroom behavior and their feelings and beliefs. Many teachers have been very sympathetic and kindly to the Negro children, and have attempted to convey this to them, and to white children also in some hope that they will be influenced. Others have felt more distant, and unwilling or unable to do more than teach in fine impartiality or neutrality. A few have had to deal with serious disciplinary problems, when teenagers in Atlanta have thrown objects or marked school property with unfriendly words of chalk and pencil. Then there develop questions of school clubs and activities, athletics and newspapers, all the various groupings and actions which revolve around the school, even if not part of formal teaching and studying. A high school in America is much more than a place where children learn. Even an elementary school is more than that. In New Orleans there were problems about whether the Negro mothers would come to the

parent-teacher meetings, the school parties at Easter or Christmas, or help, as parents do, in school plays or celebrations. In Atlanta similar problems about the Negro parents had to be faced, and, also, the more complex ones about whether a Negro boy or girl could belong to a school club, or go to a game, could work on the paper, or go to a dance.

By the time one is in the second year of close scrutiny of these matters, and has traveled from city to city for comparative purposes, one begins to see how many of the solutions to these problems come about. Like the very nature of our American school system, they are not decided uniformly or by wide ranging administrative fiats.

Indeed, all the paradoxes of man's nature can be seen in the landscape of these southern schools. So much seems to come from whim, fancy, sudden impulse, as well as from careful planning and calculation. Hard times in New Orleans streets stood side by side with easy times in the school (the crowds outside the school were largely *not* the mothers of the school children, anyway). In Atlanta no Negro parents appeared at a parent-teacher meeting which expected them, while in another district they attended with no trouble. Their own initiative decided the issue. In the two schools where the Negro children had the easier time, they avoided dances, advised in this course by principals aware of possible difficulties. Yet, in another school, where there had been much less friendliness among the children, the Negroes, perhaps propelled by their own dissatisfactions and loneliness, decided to go to a dance. Their principal allowed this to happen, and the event turned out quite well. One city, where there has been no trouble, hesitates about club membership, while another, more harassed, simply assumed that certain extracurricular activities go with attendance itself, even in the midst of desegregation. The patterns are almost as numerous as the numbers of schools.

The philosophy and desires of the teacher cannot be under-estimated. It is fairly obvious that a teacher can set many standards and establish many kinds of climates. Some teachers have felt that their work should be pursued with no concern for what happens to the children emotionally, with little active involvement in the way the children of both races get along. "They're in the school, I'll teach them . . . if there's disorder in the class, I'll stop that . . . but that's as far as I'll go." Other teachers are very much concerned with how their students get along with one another, and are aware of how much they can facilitate this with a word here, a deed there. The references made by Martha's white classmates to the English class, as quoted earlier, illustrate very graphically what one teacher did, and how much this affected so many children.

There had been much silence, and a few were heckling her while the majority sat by nervously and anxiously. The teacher, sensing this, simply asked Martha, suddenly, and with no advance notice, to tell the class how she felt about her several months' "stay" at the school. Martha did, in her quiet, plain and simple manner, and she was heard. What we had been hearing from some of the white children during some of the episodes of teasing, of throw-

ing paper and pennies, was their own anxiety and disapproval of this and their sense of helplessness in the face of what they felt to be intimidation. Two events helped change this. One was the teacher's action in allowing Martha to talk, which helped Martha, and helped mobilize the sentiments of these white children. The other was when Martha and her friend Rosalyn, the other Negro girl, reached the point where they started resisting by reporting incidents, and, also, speaking out their determination to defend themselves from attack if necessary. Many white children had reached the point of intervening themselves, so upset were they. They were relieved by this firmness on the part of the Negro children, and the combination of resistance by the Negroes, rather than quiet and daily passive acceptance of insults, with action from the teachers and principal, stopped the grosser episodes of molesting behavior.

There can be no doubt that teachers can allow things to go on, and often prevent them from occurring. Teachers recognize that their continuing task is to encourage those parts of the person which want to learn, study, cooperate in class, contribute to the school community; and to discourage those inevitable parts of any person which tend to discourage education, cooperative effort, and individual acquisition of information and skills. The noisy, uncooperative child, the emotionally disturbed child, the defiant child, the extremely shy child who cannot communicate or will not share, the arrogant genius, and the shy retarded child, all these are but variations in the school population, daily variations, daily challenges, requiring daily decisions affecting the welfare of both these special cases and the rest of their mates. The entire school's children will be influenced by the way these particular children behave, and by the way they are handled by their teachers, and allowed to be treated by others.

It would seem that once the Negro child enters the schools, he would also require the kinds of thought and preparation which traditionally are accorded such unusual or special cases. A desegregated classroom in many southern cities in this period is a specially challenging one to the educational profession. The level of educational achievement may well vary with the skills of the teachers in handling some of the problems of human encounter before them.

Desegregation and Human Development

*Without quite acknowledging it, many Southerners during these years had been waging a kind of war with themselves. Increasingly their ideal of a stable social order came into conflict with the social and political realities with which they were confronted.**

WILLIAM R. TAYLOR

Lives are unique. Given this, however, can we come to useful or meaningful *conclusions* or *generalizations* about human beings involved in social changes? I should think so.

When schools have been desegregated in southern cities, uncertainty, with its sequelae of anxiety and fear, is evident. School officials cannot control all the variables which insure the quiet and orderly entry of Negro students into formerly all white schools; and they will, as professionals, require help from many quarters. Yet, a city's educational leaders have certain opportunities of their very own in a crisis like this: a chance to act wisely and carefully, in the best interests of the school children and the continuing effective function of the schools. An entire city, of course, prospers when its schools manage such a hurdle successfully. The following discussion, drawing upon what is now the medically studied past, would hope to help in any future situations as well as serve as a reminder or record of what has been.

One problem always facing a city's school officials is to select the age group of Negro students first to be introduced into the formerly all white schools. Most educators and doctors would agree that from the viewpoint of teaching alone, it is obviously better to start with the first grades. Our research emphasizes what we already know about human development, that at five children are governed by needs of the moment: to play, to sing, or shout. They most certainly understand many of the meanings of skin color, because they hear the words and commands of their parents; but, except in rare cases, tensions and ideologies of the adult world will not undo what is, after all, their "childhood." In the first grades children are influenced by constant surges of energy, prompting action, curiosity, exploration of mind and body alike. Ideologies are foreign to them. Seeds of later attitudes are in them, make no mistake about that. But they will not flower until later, when the child thinks and hesitates more, is more responsive to the laws of society than the young child.

In the earlier grades, moreover, there are less fixed disparities of educational achievement than in higher grades, even though capacities will vary from the first moment of the first grade of school. We have yet to know ex-

* *Cavalier and Yankee,* The Old South and American National Character, Braziller, New York, 1961.

actly what "intelligence" is. Factors of environment, not simply social and economic, but subtle familial ones, are doubtlessly significant. Paradoxes flaunt themselves before us as we try to grasp answers. Poor, dull parents produce a singularly bright child, or wealthy, cultured ones a dullard or delinquent. There are, however, certain broad generalizations which indicate that *performances in our schools* can be grossly correlated with certain forces at work in the child's home life. The more efforts are made to deal with the negative kinds of such influences, for instance, disheartened or illiterate parents, unconvinced or skeptical of the value of learning for their children, the better the chance that the child will stay in school and learn. By high school children have learned not only new facts of reading and writing, but hope or despair, effort or sloth.

Whites and Negroes of the South, perhaps all over America, can agree that Negro schools are generally inferior, even where bright new buildings belie the assertion. Schools are more than bricks and mortar, and no child or school system can ignore the history of Negro education in America, a reflection, of course, of the Negro's experience in America. Still, against the troubled imprint of our past history, we always have the renewed chance which each fresh generation offers. If we have no conclusive answer to the problem of inheritance and "basic intelligence," if we would be fools to deny the importance in a child's life of his genes, we can at least acknowledge the known medical facts that the early years exert powerful persuasion upon human development and education alike. By 14 so very *much* has happened, and in those last few years of school there is little time or inclination, given the nature of adolescence, for easy reversals of long standing and accruing assets and liabilities.

Teen-aged youth acquire a host of challenges as their bodies stir and minds begin to leave home and prepare for a place in the world. Though we are often impressed by their capacity for sudden, careless, rebellious behavior, those who work with adolescents—teachers, athletic instructors, ministers, and doctors—know that the flamboyant protest often masks the quiet, but more significant truth: of anxious, insecure young men and women, no longer so freely impulsive and playful, struggling now with thoughts and feelings, with questions of rank and role, with decisions of the moment which will affect a life-time. No longer is a game merely a game, a lesson just a way of pleasing a teacher. A high school classroom is a microcosm of the outside world, on whose threshold the child now stands; and all the struggles "out there" are quite nearby, as well they must be with young men and women so near full citizenship.

What, then, of such matters of age and behavior as they relate to desegregation? If young children, white and Negro, will get along more easily and have less of the wear of years of differential education to complicate matters, why any question of when to start desegregation? Perhaps a student of child development can offer a reply here, too. For, after all, a five year old child is much more a part of his parents' world, much more dependent upon them, their body, soul, and mind, just as they are more surely and constantly at-

tached to him. The older child—a very definition of his aging—begins to depart, seeking in friends, in older people other than his parents, new relationships and supports. When there is desegregation in a tense town, the high school may stand more removed from fearful mothers, seized with transient panic, apt to keep their children home or succumb to aroused mobs. Furthermore, those in the community prone to agitation may be more stimulated by the sight of young children, of both races, friendly in spite of admonitions, than by the naturally aloof and hesitant behavior of most high school students.

These conjectures are threatened only by the logic of events. Whites and Negroes, many teachers, too, agree that the mobs in New Orleans comprised people predominantly having no children in the temporarily and partially boycotted schools. Further, given decisive police support, there were no mobs the next year, even with widespread extension of desegregation to other elementary schools. Memphis, Asheville, Knoxville, Dallas have started with the first grades with little or no outside interference. Finally, mobs have formed with college desegregation, given ripe conditions: Memphis and Oxford, Miss., a scant 50 miles apart, will confirm this.

It would seem, therefore, that school officials might best proceed in desegregation according to their own professional dictates, insisting that other office holders such as the police do likewise. Evidence here indicates, ironically, that even with external stress such as in New Orleans, young children of both races seem able to learn without any physical or emotional injury or collapse, given reasonable, initial good health and a functioning school system.

Another question about desegregation asked by many is the academic one of how successfully Negro children learn and whether white children continue to learn. The answer in both cases would seem to be yes. Even the strongly segregationist children we have followed for two years have continued their studies without impairment. They report the same for their friends. In no case has any of them complained of any feeling of lowered standards in their classes. One white girl remarked to me: "They never stopped me from learning. I wouldn't give them the satisfaction." Another white student with several Negroes in his class, was determined to better his grades: "I couldn't let them beat us out." (They didn't; he was a bright boy whom no one could easily "beat out.")

Distractions caused by desegregation, such as the obviously awkward first moments, are more temporary, if quite noticeable, than enduring or paralytic to the performance of children in the classroom. One teacher, a veteran of Little Rock's stormy first years of desegregation, talking of how the white students functioned, said: "Despite it all, even with the troops to keep everyone diverted, I feel our children continued to learn, and that's what we all held to as teachers, that the children were getting an *education* through it all." If the school remains open, its momentum of teaching will reach its students.

Negro children may or may not have academic troubles. Some do, some don't. By and large, if the younger ones manage well, the older ones sometimes have the burden of their former years: "We just don't work as hard in

our schools as the whites do. . . . Maybe we don't believe it pays off. . . . Isn't it tough to get a job even if you do have the best degrees and you're Negro?" Yet, even where high school students initiate desegregation, even with all the emotional strains of the first years, Negro children in southern cities have done surprisingly well. Atlanta's first group, nine boys and girls, were carefully selected with a view to their academic success, which quite generally they achieved. For the second year the city largely ignored prospective success at studies and emphasized geographical factors. A higher incidence of learning difficulties resulted, but very few which were insurmountable; this, even with 15- and 16-year-old children, from schools often far from comparable to the white ones. Finally, we have yet to hear a southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school.

Do changes occur among the attitudes of the white and Negro children as they go to school together? We have indicated so, but time renders any judgment dangerous indeed, for we are dealing with problems of perception, of symbolic thinking. (Think for a minute of the complex imagery of "black and white" in our literary and linguistic traditions. "Black" describes a Negro, but long before slavery it was associated in European minds with the "devil," or mourning, or a host of other negative connotations. This is a subject for study in and of itself; we may just note here that no mind is entirely free of its unconscious associations). We are also faced with problems of customs and habits, acquired as we grow, which are able to shape our sights in later years, able to influence what we hear and what we ignore. If what Henry James so often called our "sensibilities" (a capacity to respond sensitively to life and its dilemmas) are thus conditioned, they also have their own force and moment. The important distinctions in psychiatry are between those who have a conscience and those who don't, between those who are mainly rational and those who are commonly impulsive. Most humanity suffers, becomes enraged upon occasion, is joyous or is sad; but, whatever the mood, sees and listens under the protection of both conscience and what we in medicine call a "sense of reality." These two aspects of our emotional development are critically important in our lives, lest we be irresponsible or incoherent: our sense of right and wrong and our ability to separate in our minds the real from the imaginary (no matter how attractive the imaginary may be).

Consequently, we see changes in both Negro and white children as days become weeks and months. A firmly segregationist boy cannot but notice the difference between two Negro classmates, their separate manner, minds, attire. A Negro girl no longer sees, as she put it, "just white," but many separate individuals. It takes a high order of mental disability for such basic observations to be prevented.

Teachers will meet many new situations, not only the obvious and immediate ones described here, but those requiring careful thought and not a little introspection. Problems of the "crisis" of desegregation will yield to those of attitude, or fairness in discipline and teaching—not that these matters do

not concern conscientious teachers all their professional lives. The usual pitfalls in teaching will be just a shade more noticeable in any specially tense situation: nervous rigidity which stifles easing of barriers, or a leniency which allows fast increasing disorder. In desegregated schools teachers will be dealing with not only the problems of their children, but those of their own lives, their habits, and expectations. These teachers should not spare themselves careful self-examination.

"How can I be fair to them all, the Negroes and whites both?" We have heard teacher after teacher in the South ask this question. Glib answers are fast spoken, but useless. There are no rules except those already known: that classrooms are for learning; that each child is an individual, but, at school, is mainly a pupil (or, hopefully, a student); and that what is important is that this role, this opportunity, be guarded in order to flourish. Here is a brief moment in Atlanta: "I think I bend over backwards to be fair with the nigra students, and sometimes I think they're getting away with too much." We told this sensitive, earnest lady that what Negro students wanted and deserved was a fair chance, not a new form of protected separation. She realized that perhaps she felt guilty about their past, or may even still feel anxious to keep them "separate" in her mind and behavior. A year later she remarked: "When I forgot about skin, or mostly did, and treated them as children who either knew their grammar or didn't it became better. I remember the first time I raised my voice at the nigra girl . . . I knew then that I'd solved a lot of my problems in teaching with nigras in my class." Ironies, complexities of emotions and behavior, will touch all of us, the best intentioned perhaps most of all.

Those children and teachers whose feelings are exceptionally strong about desegregation are, really, a special, and rather small group. We know in watching children grow, and we know from our work in clinics and hospitals, that even the most rigid ideas do not exist in isolation, that sentiments conflict with one another as well as support one another. Our studies show that many people oppose desegregation, but also oppose the closing of the schools, mob behavior, or insulting or assaulting a fellow student, regardless of skin color. Comments quoted earlier in this report suggest that the particularly enraged person, be he teacher or student, is relatively rare among millions of Southerners. Too long have those who are committed to many customs and traditions besides racial ones allowed this one problem to dominate all others.

Finally, we should like to emphasize a little of what we in medicine and psychiatry know, and also don't know, about people, and especially children. Psychiatrists are beginners. We know so little about *whether* people *will* do certain things, though, once done, we are better at figuring out why. The mysteries of the physiology of the brain, our 'bio-electric circuits" of thinking, still elude us, though we daily press closer upon them. Nor have we yet determined how much of our behavior and intelligence is controlled by genetic factors and how much by social or cultural ones.

Yet, we have spent decades studying and treating people, and are con-

tinually struck by how far any man can move with a given inheritance, a given endowment at birth. To deny mankind, and particularly its children, a large measure of supple potentiality would contradict observations which go back to the dawn of history itself. As I write these words I have before me books and reports which, in their sum, are eloquent testimony to our stubborn ability as humans to survive nature's accidents and disasters as well as the folly of man's making. War, concentration camps, pestilence—and still life gathers itself together, often makes needed changes and goes on. Any observer of child behavior knows how flexible children can be, how much they can grow and learn, given even far from optimal conditions. If we in America, in the South, deny our own plasticity and sensitivity, our own responsive capacities, we remove ourselves from our very nature as human beings. This, in truth, is a form of segregation. It is not merely undesirable, but, in a country such as ours, deadly.

We would recommend, therefore, the closest study of the desegregated school by all of those interested in the welfare of American children. This is a national problem, and there are no easy and, perhaps, few general answers. The more specific the information we accumulate about specific situations and conditions, the better informed we will be, and the better prepared to apply this knowledge to new and often unique as well as similar crises or events. It would seem wise for all Americans to look carefully at the actualities amidst us. It can be very dangerous to shun them.

HOTEL AND RESTA

	Hotel and Motel
Richmond	4 leading hotels - the John Marshall, Jefferso Richmond, and Byrd - open. At least 5 motels 2 Howard Johnsons, 2 Holiday Inns, and the Executive - open.
Norfolk	Our information is that all, or virtually all, hotels and motels now open. Most of these changed policies in July 1963 or later; a few (e.g., the Golden Triangle) opened much earlier.
Greensboro	5 motels -- two Holiday Inns, Howard Johnson, Town House, Kent Court - open. Hotels still segregated, except for dining for some mixed meetings.
Charlotte	5 leading hotels -- Manger, Queen Charlotte, Sheraton-Barringer, Heart of Charlotte, Downtowner -- and 3 leading motels -- Coliseum, James Lee, Alamo Plaza -- open; maybe others.
Knoxville	2 leading hotels -- Andrew Johnson and Farragut - open; 4 others -- the Park, Atkin, Arnold, and St. James -- still segregated. 2 motels -- a Holiday Inn and the White City -- open; others apparently not.

October 22, 1963

TAURANT SERVICE

	Restaurant
on -	Most leading restaurants are open. About 25 were so before demonstrations summer 1963; approximately 90 have opened since.
	A few only open; these include some of best. All department store dining rooms open (until September 1963 there had been one hold-out).
	37 eating places open; this includes dining room of desegregated motels, department stores; and 6 first-class restaurants, as well as national and regional chains.
	As of July 1963, 110 of the 286 restaurants regarded before then as all-white were opened.
	More than 50 open, spread all over city. Practically speaking, all restaurants are open.

Hotel and Restaur

	Hotel and Motel
Nashville	12 open; the Albert Pick, Hermitage, Andres Jackson, two Holiday Inns, Noel, Downtowner, Allen House, Anchor House, Howard Johnson, and Alamo Plaza. The latter 6 of these opened Octo 1963; the former in May 1963.
Chattanooga	2 leading hotels -- Patton and Reed House -- an one motel -- Holiday Inn -- are open.
Memphis	All leading hotel and motels open since May 1963.
New Orleans	All apparently segregated, except the airport Hilton Inn. 3 downtown hotels -- the Sheraton-Charles, Jung, and Royal Orleans -- agreed September 1963 to accept conventions with limited numbers of Negro delegates
Dallas	All leading hotels and motels now completely open. A few small motels still segregated.
Houston	All leading hotels, except the 250 room Ben Milam, now open. About 6 motels are open; others did not go along with hotel agreement of February 1963.

rant Service - 2.

	Restaurant
ober	Nearly all restaurants in city are open. The only notable exceptions are the Krystals, two hamburger shops, and one good restaurant.
nd	Most of the better restaurants are open, since July 1963
	Confused picture. Apparently, only 1 first-class restaurant, hotel dining rooms, and department store dining rooms are open.
n-	All apparently segregated (except airport Hilton Inn.)
	An estimated 75 - 85% open.
	Of 105 in restaurant association, all but 5 went along with desegregation agreement Spring 1963; some evidence that about 15 have since re-segregated.

October 22, 1963

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT

These are merely fragmentary notes, derived from a search of our files. They do not represent a full picture of any of the cities mentioned. We have simply noted instances of non-traditional employment which we had record of in our files. (All of this group of cities employ Negro policemen.)

Charlotte	-	billing clerk (employed July 1963, apparently first white-collar Negro in municipal employment).
Greensboro	-	cashier in tax assessor's office
Houston	-	4 process servers 6 clerical workers in county clerk's office* (hired 1963) 3 probation officers in juvenile court assistant pumper, 2 foremen in Water Department (hired 1963) 3 beauty shop inspectors in Health Department (hired 1963)
Knoxville	-	clerk in Registrar of Deeds office (hired October 1962)
Memphis	-	Assistant Public Defender 3 sheriff's deputies clerk at City Hall
Nashville	-	firemen supervisor in Welfare Department deputy tax assessor clerical personnel at Housing Commission
New Orleans	-	police sergeant
Richmond	-	6 of 28 fire companies are integrated; in July 1963 the all-Negro company was disbanded and re-assigned.

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*one of these at meet-the-customer counter

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES:

IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH

by

Vivian W. Henderson

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM

NO. 3

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South

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I

Introduction: The State of Optimism

By most measurements, Negroes in the United States appeared to be moving from perennial poverty to relative prosperity at the beginning of the postwar era. Forces at work promised to liberate them from the imbalance that had historically characterized their position in the economy. National economic expansion, technology, and southern economic reorganization had generated new opportunities and higher incomes. There was, in fact, cause for high expectations of basic and accelerated change.

Likewise, the South* had cause to be optimistic. Historically, it had lagged behind the rest of the nation and was generally looked upon as the "nation's number one economic problem," dependent for development upon slow-growth industries and agriculture. The region, since 1940, had been shedding itself of its relative homogeneity of economic structure; it had been moving away from economic backwardness and, as a result of national expansion and reallocation of resources, had been moving toward parity with the rest of the nation.

These developments—southern economic reorganization and improvement in the economic status of Negroes—are two of the principal results of national economic expansion since World War II.

Yet, despite the gains made, both the South and the Negro remain the most depressed segments of the economy and the population. There is some cause for continued optimism about southern economic growth and progress in general. *But there is, in reality, little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future.* Unless unforseeable, "revolutionary," changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the "forgotten man" in America's affluent society.

The situation of southern Negroes is less favorable than that of Negroes in the rest of the nation because the South has failed to extend the benefits of economic progress to them at a rate comparable to those extended to Negroes in other sections of the country. Personal per capita income in the South has quadrupled since 1940, but it is still less than three-fourths that of the rest of the nation. The income of Negro families and individuals nationally has grown over five times since 1940, but it is still little more than one-half that of white families and individuals; and in the South Negro families have an income of less than one-half (46%) that of white families and only one-half the income of their non-southern counterparts.

Gains have been made in employment, but unemployment is twice as extensive among Negro members of the labor force as among whites. Negroes are still concentrated in jobs of the lowest categories, with limited mobility and a high vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations and adverse consequences of technological changes.

Racial discrimination in employment is still as widespread as segregation and discrimination in education. This latter practice, particularly in vocational and technical training, helps to perpetuate a relatively poor job distribution of Negroes.

Thus, while it cannot be denied that important change has occurred in the economic status of Negroes during the past 20 years, critical questions must be considered regarding the rapidity of this change. Basically, the question facing the nation, the South, and Negroes today is whether Negroes are narrowing the gaps in their economic status. The issue is not whether Negroes have been making progress, but whether it has been rapid enough to enable them to adjust to an economy whose rate of change is cumulative and intense. The issue is whether the momentum of change is great enough, and deep enough, to generate an economic base among Negroes which will guarantee their continued movement up the economic ladder.

Traditional patterns of race relations have never worked in the best interest of the economy of the South or of the nation. Indeed, poor race relations have helped to depress growth.* Thus, the manner and extent to which Negroes are absorbed into the economy will strongly determine the pace with which the South reaches parity of income and economic well-being with the nation. Economic progress of the region is increasingly influenced by its urban and racial climate. And, we may add, pressure for change in southern race relations is increasingly generated by forces imbedded in the region's industrial-urban development.

Even this brief examination of southern economic change and the economic status of Negroes will, there-

*Unless otherwise indicated, throughout this report the "South" means the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Since Negroes make up about 97% of the nonwhites in the country, census and other data on nonwhites will be considered as applicable to Negroes.

*See William Nicholls, *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress*. Chapel Hill, 1960.

fore, show also why Negroes have stepped up their efforts to speed school desegregation, which, in large part, derives from efforts to secure a better break economically in the nation and in the region. Hopefully, this study may also bring into focus certain aspects of the challenge to the South, if it is to continue its progress.

TABLE 1. NONWHITE POPULATION FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	Year 1960	Year 1950	Nonwhite as a Percent of Total Population 1960	Nonwhite as a Percent of Total Population 1950	Increase or Decrease Nonwhite 1950-1960	Percent of Increase or Decrease Over 1950 1950-1960
Alabama	983,123	980,950	30.1	32.1	2,173	0.2
Arkansas	390,079	427,555	21.8	22.4	—37,476	—8.8
Florida	887,679	605,254	17.9	21.8	282,425	46.7
Georgia	1,124,898	1,064,890	28.5	31.0	60,018	5.6
Kentucky	217,999	202,560	7.1	6.9	15,439	7.6
Louisiana	1,045,068	885,065	32.1	33.1	160,003	18.1
Mississippi	920,734	991,795	42.3	45.6	—71,061	—7.2
North Carolina	1,156,707	1,078,945	25.4	26.2	77,762	7.2
South Carolina	834,962	824,870	34.9	39.0	7,092	0.9
Tennessee	589,136	531,461	16.4	16.2	57,675	10.9
Virginia	822,426	736,665	20.8	22.2	85,761	11.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Population Estimates, Series P-25, No. 247, April 2, 1962.

II

Structural Reorganization of the South

Economic progress is best evidenced by upward changes in the real per capita income of individuals (and, to a lesser extent, in the income of families). Income determines the spending and saving power of people, while at the same time it provides a measure of the earning capacity of the whole economy and an indicator of individual contributions to the production of goods and services.

On the other hand, structural changes and economic reorganization are best shown by change in industry sources of employment and income, shifts in occupational distribution of employed persons, growth in "value-added" by manufacturing, and characteristics of population change.

The South Loses Its People

Beyond the size of the population (see Table 1) two aspects of population change are of interest here: the patterns of migration between the South and the non-South; and the patterns of migration between rural-farm areas and the city, both within and outside the South.

In the 1950's, the South's population grew 14%. But Table 2 shows that

—most of this gain, however, resulted from "natural increase," *i.e.*, an excess of births over deaths.

—only in Florida and Virginia was there a migration gain.

—all other southern states had more people moving out than moving in.

—Arkansas and Mississippi exported so many people that the former actually declined in population in the 1950's and the latter was stationary.

—Negroes were leaving the area in larger numbers than whites.

Another depressing fact: the South's export of people included a high proportion of its youth and its well-educated.

For Negroes this is shown by such facts as

—in 1950, 55% of Negroes with four or more years of college were in the South; in 1960, only 48%.

—in 1950, 67% of Negro professional and technical workers were in the South; in 1960, only 48%.

During the decade 1940-50, more than 1.5 million Negroes left the South, and another 1.5 million left during the decade 1950-60. These movements involved 16% and 14% of the Negroes in the region in each of the two periods respectively. In 1940, 77% of all Negroes in the United States resided in the South compared with 51% today.

The leading exporters of people were Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Patterns of migration by Negroes among southern states have varied. Florida, for example, is the only state which had an excess of inmigration by Negroes over outmigration in both decades since 1940: a 3% net inmigration between 1940 and 1950 and 17% bebetween 1950 and 1960 (see Table 2). Georgia and Louisiana are the only states in which outmigration by Negroes slowed itself after 1950 and began to show a downward trend. In each of the other states, included in Table 2, the upward trend in Negro outmigration continued throughout the 1940-1960 period. Mississippi lost the largest number of Negroes, 326,000, or 30%, between 1940 and 1950, and 323,000, or 32%, between 1950 and 1960.

The movement of Negroes out of the South is both helpful and harmful. By moving out of the South in pursuit of jobs created by national economic expansion, Negroes, as well as whites, find new job opportunities. Simultaneously, the South is being relieved of a sizeable portion of the population which over the years has depended on low-income agriculture for a livelihood.

On the other hand, losses in population drain away much of the best developed and trained manpower, and these losses are from the most productive age group, which has received the benefit of substantial investment by the South in education and training. The loss of these persons from the region is a drain on the economy's human capital.

TABLE 2. POPULATION CHANGE AND TOTAL NET MIGRATION 1950-1960 AND NET MIGRATION OF NONWHITES 1940-1960 FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES (PERCENT)

State	Total Net Change 1950-1960	Total Net Migration 1950-1960	Net Migration of Nonwhites 1950-1960	Net Migration of Nonwhites 1940-1950
Alabama	+ 6.7	−12.0	−22.8	−20.5
Arkansas	− 6.5	−22.7	−35.0	−32.4
Florida	+78.5	+58.3	+16.6	+ 2.7
Georgia	+14.5	− 6.2	−19.2	−22.2
Kentucky	+ 3.2	−13.2	− 7.6	− 7.9
Louisiana	+21.4	− 1.9	−10.4	−17.0
Mississippi	(a)	−19.9	−32.2	−30.2
North Carolina	+12.2	− 8.1	−19.2	−16.2
South Carolina	+12.5	−10.5	−26.5	−25.3
Tennessee	+ 8.4	− 8.3	−10.7	− 9.2
Virginia	+19.5	+ 0.4	− 9.5	− 3.9

(a) Less than 1 percent.
SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 247, April 2, 1962.

Negroes Move to the Central Cities

Another population shift is the movement of people to cities and urban areas, both within and outside the South.

By 1960, three-fourths of the Negroes of Florida were urban dwellers (see Table 3). The proportion in Kentucky and Tennessee was about as high, and in Louisiana three out of five Negroes were urban. By 1960, in only four states—Arkansas, Mississippi, North and South Carolina—did the majority of Negroes live where once they overwhelmingly had: on the land, or close to it.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL FOR ELEVEN STATES BY COLOR, 1950-1960

States	White						Nonwhite					
	1960		1950		Percent Increase or Decrease 1950-60		1960		1950		Percent Increase or Decrease 1950-60	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Alabama	54.2	45.8	42.6	57.4	39.9	−12.2	56.8	43.2	46.2	53.8	+23.1	−19.4
Arkansas	42.4	57.6	32.6	67.4	22.7	−19.2	44.6	55.4	34.2	65.8	+18.6	−23.0
Florida	73.4	26.6	65.5	34.5	111.6	+44.8	76.5	23.5	65.6	34.4	+71.3	+ 1.2
Georgia	54.4	45.6	44.9	55.2	44.1	− 1.9	57.5	42.5	46.8	53.8	+31.4	−16.5
Kentucky	42.5	57.5	34.8	65.2	26.2	− 9.1	70.6	29.4	62.9	37.1	+20.8	−18.6
Louisiana	64.0	36.0	70.3	29.7	12.4	+ 3.1	61.7	38.3	23.5	76.6	+210.7	− 8.6
Mississippi	41.8	58.2	31.5	68.5	40.9	−10.0	32.1	67.9	23.4	76.6	+27.6	−17.7
North Carolina	39.6	60.4	33.6	66.4	34.4	+ 4.1	39.5	60.5	33.5	66.5	+26.4	− 2.5
South Carolina	45.2	54.8	42.0	58.1	29.5	+13.6	33.9	66.1	28.5	71.5	+19.7	− 6.5
Tennessee	48.4	51.6	40.3	59.7	29.7	− 6.8	71.8	28.2	64.1	35.9	+24.1	−12.8
Virginia	56.4	43.6	47.4	52.6	44.9	+ 0.7	53.4	46.8	45.8	58.3	+29.8	− 3.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of the Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics and *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

The movement of people to the cities and metropolitan areas of the South symbolizes a basic change in the economic structure of the region, sealing an end to the region's traditional economy.

Negroes have also concentrated in the central cities rather than the suburbs. Charles Silberman has suggested that this ranks as one of the great population movements in modern history.* In the last decade, the twelve largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas —New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco-Oakland, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland, and Baltimore — lost over two million white residents and gained nearly two million Negro residents, while the central cities of all Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the nation had an increase of 3.5 million in the Negro population.

However, the influx of Negroes to the large cities of the North and West should not obscure the fact that Negroes have been moving into southern cities as well.

Between 1950 and 1960, the number of whites in the central cities of the South increased only 26%; the number of Negroes in the central city increased 37%. Whereas just a few years ago the large majority of Negroes lived on farms, today about 72% live in urban areas and about one-half live in the central cities of those urban areas. Table 4 shows population data for selected southern cities.

These patterns underscore the fact that Negroes are becoming more urbanized than whites, in the South as well as in the North. The trends are not as great in the South as in the North, but it is clear that Negroes and whites have been moving in opposite directions, *i.e.*, Negroes toward the central city and whites toward the suburbs.

Population redistribution within the South and between regions reflects the momentum of economic change and opportunity. The greatest single factor underlying population migration is economic, or employment, opportunity. The denial of opportunity to Negroes within the South and the attraction of such opportunity elsewhere has been the major motivation.

Employment and Sources of Income

The principal factor determining the distribution of population over broad regions is economic opportunity and the principal dimension of economic opportunity is employment opportunity.

While farming continues to occupy a big place in southern economic life, its relative role over the past 20 years has decreased. Farm employment declined by about 45% in the South between 1940 and 1960. During the same period manufacturing employment increased 23%, and as a source of income by 27%.

These changes have not only meant more factory jobs in the South. They have also involved diversification in employment. For example, the textile industry, once the backbone of manufacturing in the South and responsible for 25% of all manufacturing employment, is now the source of only 18%. Chemicals, transportation equipment, electrical machinery, and fabricated metals have grown as sources of factory employment, and other non-agriculture industries are increasingly

*See his article, "The City and the Negro," in *Fortune*, March, 1962.

TABLE 4. POPULATION OF SELECTED URBANIZED AREAS BY COLOR, 1950-1960

Urbanized Areas	White 1960	White 1950	White Increase 1950-1960	White Percent Increase 1950-1960	Nonwhite 1960	Nonwhite Percent Nonwhite of Total	Nonwhite 1950	Nonwhite Increase Nonwhite of Total	Nonwhite Increase 1950-1960	Nonwhite Percent Increase 1950-1960
Atlanta	560,124	210,055	350,069	166.7	207,821	27.1	130,055	36.6	86,666	71.5
Birmingham	320,302	195,690	124,612	63.7	201,028	23.2	130,055	39.9	70,973	54.6
Charleston, S. C.*	137,471	96,130	41,341	43.0	78,911	36.5	68,055	41.4	10,856	16.0
Dallas	794,411	395,145	419,266	111.76	137,938	14.8	57,825	13.4	80,113	138.5
Durham*	75,955	67,520	8,435	12.5	36,040	32.2	33,530	33.2	2,510	7.5
Houston	900,817	469,825	430,992	91.7	238,861	21.0	124,760	21.0	114,101	91.5
Jackson, Miss.*	112,093	77,890	34,203	43.1	74,952	40.1	63,830	45.0	11,122	17.4
Little Rock	142,423	78,650	63,773	81.1	42,594	23.0	23,425	23.0	19,169	81.8
Louisville	527,,420	309,940	217,480	70.2	79,239	13.1	57,435	15.6	21,804	38.0
Memphis	344,487	255,273	89,214	35.0	200,018	36.7	150,761	37.1	49,257	32.7
Miami	737,146	208,935	528,211	252.8	115,559	13.6	40,035	16.1	75,524	188.6
Nashville	273,928	200,198	73,736	36.8	72,801	21.0	58,695	22.7	14,106	24.0
New Orleans	579,640	210,055	192,080	49.6	265,597	31.4	181,120	31.9	84,477	46.6
Oklahoma City	385,777	221,195	164,582	74.4	43,411	10.1	20,890	8.6	22,521	107.8
Richmond	238,226	156,625	81,601	52.1	95,212	28.6	73,030	31.8	22,182	30.4

*Cities.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 53. *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics, by state, Table 72.

providing more and better jobs for southern workers.

Unquestionably, the South has reduced its poverty. Since 1940, the region has made progress toward achieving a balance between its share of the nation's income and its share of the nation's population. The South had one-fifth of the population in 1930 but received only one-tenth of the income; in 1961, although its proportion of the population had remained at about 20%, its share of personal income had advanced from 10 to 15% (see Table 5).

The figures in Table 6 show per capita personal income. Clearly, the progression in the South since 1940 has been greater than for the nation as a whole. Perhaps the most illuminating figures are those on the bottom line: in 1940, southern personal income was only 58% of the national average; by 1962, it had reached 72%.

TABLE 5. INCOME AND POPULATION OF THE SOUTH AS A PERCENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930-1961

Year	Population of South as a Percent of Total for U. S.	Income of South as a Percent of Total for U. S.
1961	20.5	15.0
1960	20.6	14.8
1959	20.6	14.9
1958	20.7	14.9
1940	21.4	12.2
1930	20.8	10.2

SOURCE: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Economic Characteristics of the South*, January 1959.
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Statistics on the Growing South*, November 1962.

These indices, as shown in Tables 5 and 6, indicate the economic progress of the South. A different impression is obtained, however, if dollars and cents, rather than percentages, are used.

In 1940 per capita personal income amounted to $595 in the United States as a whole, only $252 more than that of the South. By 1950 the national figure had grown to $1,494, but the South's per capita income was only $1,011, or $482 lower. By 1961, when the national figure had reached $2,263, the South had a per capita income of $1,652, or $611 lower.

In other words, the South has had large growth in personal income and has made impressive gains in the percentage relationship of its income to that of the rest of the nation. *At the same time, there has been an increase in the dollar gap, a gap that is more than twice greater than two decades ago.*

The South is, nevertheless, now experiencing substantial improvements in its well-being. The economic lag which kept the region at the rear of American industrialization is being eroded. But Earl Rauber and Harry Brandt, both of the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, placed the "new South" in its best perspective. Rauber put it this way: "for better or worse the inexorable march of economic history has abolished the South as an economic entity." Brandt said, "with the old rural-agriculture economy gone, the Mississippi Delta farmer has less in common with the Atlanta fac-

TABLE 6. PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1940-1962

States	Years				Percent Change		
	1962	1961	1950	1940	1940-1950	1950-1961	1961-1962
Alabama	$1,538	$1,492	$ 869	$ 282	208.2	71.7	3
Arkansas	1,533	1,446	807	256	215.2	79.2	6
Florida	1,997	1,965	1,287	513	150.9	52.7	2
Georgia	1,714	1,649	1,017	340	199.1	62.1	4
Kentucky	1,705	1,625	958	320	199.4	69.6	5
Louisiana	1,715	1,626	1,087	363	199.4	49.6	5
Mississippi	1,282	1,229	733	218	236.2	67.7	4
North Carolina	1,709	1,642	1,012	328	208.5	62.3	4
South Carolina	1,516	1,433	882	307	187.3	62.5	6
Tennessee	1,679	1,605	995	339	193.5	61.3	5
Virginia	2,004	1,908	1,234	466	164.8	54.6	5
UNITED STATES	2,375	2,263	1,491	595	150.6	51.8	4
(1)							
South*	1,724	1,652	1,011	343	194.8	63.4	4
						Percent Change in Ratio	
South as Percent of U.S.	72.0	73.0	67.7	57.6	1940-1950	1950-1960	1940-1961
					+17.7	+7.8	+26.3

*Eleven States included above plus West Virginia.
SOURCE: 1940-1950, U. S. Department of Commerce, *Personal Income by States, Since 1929.*
1961, *Survey of Current Business,* August, 1962.
1962, *Survey of Current Business,* April, 1963.

tory worker or sales representative than the latter has with his counterparts in the rest of the country."

The region can no longer be characterized by a relatively homogeneous set of basic economic characteristics and pursuits different from those of the rest of the United States. It may be assumed, therefore, that southern economic growth and organization will be constantly linked to patterns of change in the total economy. Therefore, whatever forces shape the economy as a whole will tend to shape the future of the South, particularly if the region will emancipate itself from traditional race relations, a formidable barrier to its economic progress.

III

Negro Gain Has Been Slight

The Negro population of this country has jumped from about 13 to 20 million since 1940, and it has become predominantly urban. The number of Negroes in better paying semi-skilled and white collar jobs has doubled.

These advances have been important because they represent a new beginning and provide the basis for optimism about the continuing economic improvement of the Negro population. Three aspects of the situation should be observed, however, at this point:

(1) Negroes in the South have not shared proportionately in these advances. Differentials in economic progress by Negroes in the South and the non-South persist. They reflect not only the southern lag in general, but also a substantial lag in employment and occupational opportunity for Negroes in the South in comparison with opportunity in other regions.

(2) Not only have the improvements failed to close substantially the historic gap between Negroes and others, but in dollars and cents the position of Negroes has deteriorated.

(3) There are signs which suggest that the momentum underlying improvements in the position of Negroes has not been sufficient to allow Negroes to overcome their marginal position in the work force, nor sufficient to generate change at rates

significant enough to guarantee continuous progress. One of the forces which generated positive change in the position of Negroes in the immediate postwar period was technology. Today it is exerting a negative impact.

Progress appears, at present, to be occurring at a decreasing rate when compared with progress of other Americans. New forces must be vigorously brought into play if the relative gains of the past 20 years are not to be eliminated or wiped out during the immediate years ahead. These forces will have to include intensified training and development of Negro manpower. But, above all, there is a need for vigorous application of public policy in eliminating racial discrimination in education, training, and manpower utilization or employment.

Income: Negroes Running Fast to Stand Still

Income analysis suggests that Negroes are on a treadmill and time is in reality "running out" on them, as a group, in their pursuit of parity with whites. The group has to run exceptionally fast in order to stand still. And Negroes in the South have more difficulty in sustaining their relative and absolute positions than those in other sections of the country.

Undoubtedly the position of Negroes as income recipients and consumers has improved. Three times more Negroes were employed in 1960 than in 1940 in income producing, non-agriculture jobs; thus there are more Negroes with money. Change has occurred in the distribution of income among Negroes, and the huge migration of the Negro population from rural to urban areas and to the central cities has resulted in a large concentration of Negro purchasing power in these areas.

For example, Table 7 sets forth estimates of participation in retail sales by Negroes in ten cities, ranging from $26 million, or 21% of the total, in Durham to $512 million, or 15%, in Houston. In none of these cities did Negroes represent this much sales volume 20 years ago. This is not only suggestive of the impact of aggregate and concentrated purchasing power in the Negro market, but it is also indicative of the kind of economic potential to which southern race relations must adjust.

Not only are there more Negroes with income, but also, in comparison with 20 years ago, fewer of them are in the lowest income brackets and more of them are in the middle and upper income categories. Obviously, this suggests a higher participation by Negroes in the market place.

For example, Table 8 shows a tripling in the proportion of Negro families with incomes between $4,000 and $6,000 between 1945 and 1961, while the number

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED PURCHASING POWER OF NEGROES IN TEN SELECTED STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1961

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Total Retail Sale Estimate	Estimated Negro Participation*	Percent Negro
Atlanta	$1,800,000,000	$306,000,000	17.0
Birmingham	897,000,000	206,000,000	23.0
Durham	125,000,000	26,250,000	21.0
Charleston, S. C.	220,000,000	50,600,000	23.0
Houston	2,050,000,000	512,500,000	15.0
Miami	1,700,000,000	153,000,000	9.0
New Orleans	1,200,000,000	252,000,000	21.0
Nashville	610,000,000	91,500,000	15.0
Memphis	850,000,000	204,000,000	24.0
Richmond	790,000,000	142,200,000	18.0

*Estimate of retail sales made to Negroes trading in central trading areas of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area; includes Negroes from contiguous counties or total market area.

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960, *Census Tracts.* U. S. Department of Commerce, 1958 Bureau of Census.
J. Walter Thompson Company, *Population and Its Distribution, The United States Markets,* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

of families with income over $6,000 has grown from 4% to 20% of the total during the same period. These gains are impressive, but

—the rate of participation in the labor force of Negro women and younger people is much higher than among whites;

—60% of the Negro families in this country today still have incomes of less than $4,000 annually, compared with 28% of the white families;*

—white families are abandoning the lower income brackets at a much faster rate than Negroes (a decline of 63% for whites and 33% for Negroes);

—Negroes are reaching the higher income brackets at a slower rate than whites.

Moreover, about 75% of the Negro families in the United States have incomes less than the median income of $5,981 for white families (see Table 10).

Beginning in 1940, the income of Negroes grew at unprecedented rates. It was marked by a growth of approximately 700% in aggregate personal income between 1939 and 1961, an income which is now estimated to be well over $22 billion per year, 5% of the personal income of the nation. In direct contrast to the situation before 1940, when Negroes as income recipients, or consumers, commanded little or no respect in the national and regional economy, they have since 1945 attracted serious competitive attention in the market places of the nation. The power of the Negro market has meaning in the area of race relations, as a "new" force underlying efforts on the part of Negroes

*See also the more detailed Tables 21, 22, 23, and 24 in the Appendix.

TABLE 8. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES BY COLOR FOR UNITED STATES, 1945-1961

Total Money Income Level	1961		1945		Percent Increase or Decrease in Ratio Over 1945	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Per Cent	100	100	100	100		
Under $4,000	27.7	60.2	75.5	90.1	—63.3	—33.1
$4,000-$5,999	22.4	19.7	16.8	6.1	+33.3	+223.0
$6,000 and Over	49.9	20.1	7.7	3.8	+548.0	+429.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports,* Consumers Income, Series P-60, No. 2, March 2, 1948 and No. 38, August 28, 1962.

to eliminate discrimination and segregation and obtain better employment in retail trade, industry, and finance.

But, *Negroes made their greatest income gains between 1940 and 1954. Since 1954, they have not progressed in income as well.*

In 1939, for example, the median wage and salary income of Negro males was $460, the equivalent of 41% that of white males. Between then and 1955, Negro men substantially gained. Since 1955, Negro males have barely held on to those gains, losing, as Table 9 shows, 3.5 percentage points between 1955 and 1957 and gaining only one point between 1955 and 1960. As of 1960, the wage and salary income of Negro males was still only three-fifths that of white males, just about the same as in 1955 when progress toward closing the income gap between Negroes and whites began to level off.

Similar developments occurred regarding family income. As shown in Table 10, Negro families and unrelated individuals gained 19% on white families and individuals between 1940 and 1954, moving from a ratio of 37% to 56%. Since the beginning of 1955, the percentage relationship has just barely held its own, dropping 5.3 points between 1954 and 1959, reversing itself in 1960 and again reaching 56%, and dropping again in 1961 to 52%.

Two characteristics stand out. On the one hand, relative growth in wage and salary income of Negroes since 1940 has been greater than that of whites; on the other hand, the absolute, or *dollar,* difference has widened considerably.

White males have stretched the "dollar gap" between their earnings and that of Negroes over three times since 1939. White families similarly have increased the differential between their employment income and that of Negro families.

People spend and save dollars. It is this dollar difference that counts. Pronouncements regarding economic progress which are confined to acceleration concepts and percentage change obscure the real predica-

TABLE 9. MEDIAN WAGE AND SALARY INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME BY COLOR AND SEX FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1939-1960

Color and Sex	Year						Percent Change 1939-1960	
	1960	1958	1957	1955	1954	1939		
White								
Male	$5,137	$4,569	$4,396	$3,986	$3,754	$1,112	+461	
Female	2,537	2,364	2,240	2,065	2,046	676	+375	
Nonwhite								
Male	3,075	2,652	2,436	2,342	2,131	460	+668	
Female	1,276	1,055	1,019	894	914	246	+518	
Pecent Nonwhite of White							Percent Change in Ratio	
Male	59.8	58.0	55.4	58.8	56.8	41.3	+44.8	
Female	50.2	44.6	45.5	43.3	44.7	38.7	+29.7	
Dollar Differences Between White and Nonwhite							Increase 1939-1960	
Male	—$2,062	—$1,917	—$1,960	—$1,644	—$1,623	—$652	+$1,410	+216 percent
Female	—$1,261	—$1,307	—$1,221	—$1,171	—$1,132	—$430	+$1,221	+193 percent

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports,* Series P-60, No. 37, January 17, 1962; Table 37, No. 33, January 15, 1960. No. 32, September 22, 1957, No. 23, November 1956; Table 11, No. 19, October 1955; Table 11.

TABLE 10. MEDIAN WAGE OR SALARY INCOME OF PRIMARY FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME BY COLOR, 1940-1961

Families and Individuals	*1961*	*1960*	*1959*	*1958*	*1957*	*1956*	*1955*	*1954*	*1953*	*1950*	*1940*
White	$5,570	$5,424	$5,252	$4,882	$4,831	$4,685	$4,331	$4,150	$4,201	$3,390	$1,325
Nonwhite	2,908	3,058	2,672	2,437	2,536	2,429	2,418	2,333	2,357	1,671	489
Dollar Difference Between Whites and Nonwhites	−2,662	−2,336	−2,580	−2,445	−2,295	−2,256	−2,113	−1,817	−1,944	−1,519	− 836
Nonwhite Income as a Percent of White	52.2	56.3	50.9	49.9	52.5	51.8	55.8	56.2	56.1	49.3	37.0
Percent Change in Ratio	1950-1960		1940-1960		1957-1959		1953-1957		1950-1953		1940-1950
	+14.1		+52.2		−3.0		−6.4		+13.8		+33.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1962.
U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 27, No. 33, January 15, 1960, No. 37, January 17, 1962, No. 38, August 28, 1962, No. 27, Table 15 No. 39, Table 22 dated February 28, 1963.

ment—*Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites.* The "dollar gap" trend shown in Tables 9 and 10 means very simply that earnings are increasing for whites at a faster pace than for Negroes.

This is explained in two ways. First, earnings of Negroes have been low over a long period of time. Thus, a smaller gain yields a striking percentage increase. The second explanation is more serious. Notwithstanding their real gains, Negroes are not finding enough jobs in areas where wages and salaries tend to be higher and to increase faster.

Whites are acquiring the highest paying jobs in the higher occupational classifications. The benefits of general economic expansion and technology, therefore, have only "trickled down" to the Negroes, putting more of them into wage and salary jobs. These benefits automatically produced high acceleration in income change, but were restricted tightly to lower occupational classifications.

Thus, despite the unprecedented growth of income among Negroes and the percentage gains made, the fact remains that income progress of Negroes has leveled off. The percent of Negro families in lower income brackets is twice as high as whites, and the differential in earnings of whites and Negroes continues to widen, largely offsetting percentage gains. Accordingly, it is still difficult for Negroes to purchase health, education, and the amenities of life on the same level as other members of the population.

Southern Negroes at the Bottom of Economic Ladder

The individual income of Negroes in the South is only two-fifths that of comparable whites. In other regions, the income of Negro citizens is about three-fourths and that of whites (see Table 11).

The table also shows that southern Negroes have incomes of about two-fifths that of non-southern Ne-

TABLE 11. MEDIAN INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME BY REGION AND COLOR, 1950-1960

	1960				*1950*			
Region	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*Dollar Differences White and Nonwhite*	*Nonwhite Percent of White*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*Dollar Differences White and Nonwhite*	*Nonwhite Percent of White*
Northeast	$3,304	$2,441	−$ 863	73.9	$2,246	$1,622	−$584	72.2
North Central	3,090	2,263	− 827	73.2	2,143	1,652	− 491	77.1
South*	2,473	995	− 1,478	40.2	1,647	739	− 908	44.9
West	3,298	2,474	− 824	75.0	2,114	1,445	− 669	68.9

SOUTH AS A PERCENT OF OTHER REGIONS

	1960		*1950*	
Northeast	74.8	40.8	73.3	45.6
North Central	80.0	44.2	76.9	44.7
West	74.9	40.2	77.9	51.1

*Includes Maryland, Delaware, Texas, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and District of Columbia.
SOURCE: 1960, U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 103.
1950, U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 175 and Table 97.

groes (females in the South, incidentally, do slightly better). On the other hand, white persons in the South have incomes close to four-fifths that of white persons in the non-South.

The family income situation is slightly better for Negroes. But here, also, the non-southern Negro family enjoys an income at least 50% greater than that of its southern counterpart (see Table 12 and, for more detail, Table 13).

Table 14 shows that in 1960 there was $1,522 separating the median incomes of whites and non-white persons in this country; in 1950, the difference had been only $1,080. Negroes had fallen farther behind. In the South, the 1960 median income of Negroes was $1,478 below that of whites; in 1950, the difference had been only $908. Negroes had fallen farther behind.

In only one southern state, Florida, have the earnings of Negro male workers gained in relation to those of white male workers (see Table 15). In each of the other ten states, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from a 6% negative change in Virginia to a 25% negative change in Arkansas for male *workers;* and a negative change in the income of all *persons* (see Table 14) ranging from a low 7% in Georgia to 21% in Tennessee. In other words, although Negro income between 1950-60 increased sharply, the gap between white and Negro income was growing.

It seems clear that Negroes in the South have not kept pace with the income progress of the region, and that little change is occurring in their income position visa-vis non-southern Negroes.

One may conclude, therefore, that unless greater efforts are vigorously applied to absorb Negroes into the industrial-commercial life of the urban South these trends will continue. They suggest that, in the ab-

TABLE 12. MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BY REGION AND COLOR, 1960

	White	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Dollar Difference White and Nonwhite
Northeast	$6,318	$4,371	69.2	—$1,947
North Central	5,994	4,371	72.0	—$1,674
South*	5,009	2,322	46.4	—$2,687
West	6,444	4,937	76.6	—$1,507
Percent South of:				
Northeast	79.3	53.4		
North Central	83.6	53.8		
West	77.7	47.0		

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960,* U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*South includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 13. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE FAMILIES FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960		Percent Nonwhite of White	1950		Percent Nonwhite of White	Percent Change 1950-1960	
	White	Nonwhite		White	Nonwhite		Increase or Decrease	Ratio
Alabama	$4,764	$2,009	41.8	$2,056	$ 882	43.0	+127.7	—2.7
Arkansas	3,678	1,636	44.4	1,571	726	46.2	+225	—3.8
Florida	5,147	2,798	54.4	2,323	1,444	49.2	+244.5	+1.5
Georgia	5,027	2,188	43.5	2,159	909	42.1	+240.7	+3.3
Kentucky	4,193	2,570	61.3	1,856	1,110	59.8	+231.5	+2.5
Louisiana	5,288	2,238	42.0	2,434	1,023	42.0	+218.7	No Change
Mississippi	4,209	1,444	34.3	1,614	601	37.2	+240	—7.7
North Carolina	4,588	1,992	43.4	2,215	1,056	47.6	+188.6	—8.8
South Carolina	4,893	1,699	34.7	2,391	790	33.0	+215	+5.1
Tennessee	4,333	2,292	52.9	1,946	1,106	56.8	+207.2	—6.5
Virginia	5,522	2,780	50.3	2,519	1,233	48.9	+225	+2.9
United States	5,424	3,058	56.3					
South*	5,009	2,332	46.4					

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population,* U. S. Summary Detailed.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 14. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE PERSONS FOURTEEN YEARS AND OVER FOR ELEVEN STATES, SOUTH, AND UNITED STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Percent Change: Nonwhite Increase	Percent Change: Ratio of Nonwhites to Whites
Alabama	$2,371	$ 866	36.5	$1,455	$616	42.3	+48.6	−13.7
Arkansas	1,788	712	39.8	1,117	487	43.6	+46.2	− 7.8
Florida	2,628	1,352	51.5	1,737	847	48.8	+59.6	− 6.2
Georgia	2,470	927	37.5	1,515	610	40.3	+52.0	− 6.9
Kentucky	2,081	1,129	54.3	1,411	862	61.1	+31.0	−11.1
Louisiana	2,799	1,001	35.8	1,767	774	43.8	+29.3	−18.2
Mississippi	2,757	890	32.3	1,236	439	35.5	+47.1	− 9.0
North Carolina	3,035	1,286	42.4	1,872	999	53.4	+28.7	−20.5
South Carolina	2,447	742	30.3	1,684	525	31.9	+41.3	− 5.0
Tennessee	2,117	982	46.4	1,374	799	58.6	+22.9	−20.8
Virginia	2,765	1,247	45.1	1,880	919	48.9	+35.7	− 7.8
South*	2,473	995	40.2	1,647	739	44.9	+34.6	−10.6
United States	3,024	1,502	49.7	2,053	973	47.4		

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 15. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALE WORKERS FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	1960 Nonwhite as Percent of White	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	1950 Nonwhite as Percent of White	Percent Change: Nonwhite Increase	Percent Change: Change in Ratio of Nonwhites to Whites 1950-1960
Alabama	$3,367	$1,417	42.0	$1.809	$ 956	52.8	+48	−20
Arkansas	2,486	993	39.9	1,423	759	53.3	+30.8	−25.1
Florida	3,743	2,073	55.4	2,239	1,185	52.9	+74.5	+ 4.8
Georgia	3,374	1,489	44.1	1,870	919	49.1	+62.0	−10.0
Kentucky	2,928	1,764	60.3	1,701	1,199	70.4	+47.1	−14.4
Louisiana	4,001	1,565	39.1	2,228	997	44.8	+57.0	−14.4
Mississippi	2,757	890	32.3	1,462	605	41.4	+41.1	−21.9
North Carolina	3,035	1,286	42.4	1,872	999	53.4	+28.7	−20.6
South Carolina	3,195	1,135	35.5	2,043	801	39.2	+41.7	− 9.4
Tennessee	2,932	1,598	54.5	1,685	1,142	67.8	+39.9	−19.4
Virginia	3,734	1,906	51.0	2,255	1,221	54.1	+36.1	− 5.5

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

sence of better economic opportunity, loss through the migration of Negro manpower will continue.

Employment, Occupations, and Manpower Utilization

Four other factors exert a marked influence on the position of Negroes in the non-agriculture labor market. They are:

—technology;

—the degree of competition from whites;

—the quality and kind of education received as part of manpower development; and

—public policy regarding the elimination of racial discrimination in education, employment, and occupations.

The last factor is assuming a more important function as a result of court decisions to desegregate education and increases in "fair employment practices" programs at local, state, and federal levels.

Change in technology and manpower requirements and the changing patterns of industry expansion suggest that Negroes can no longer depend upon the forces of national economic expansion and technology to gen-

erate improvements in employment opportunity. Technology alone has drastically changed the kind of manpower needed by manufacturing industries. The need for unskilled workers has declined, whereas the demand for workers with skills and training has increased. This trend, coupled with a relatively slow pace of manpower development among Negroes, places them in an unfavorable position when it comes to supplying persons with skills who can compete favorably in today's labor markets.

Between 1947 and 1961, the number of employees in mining, manufacturing, contract construction, and agriculture decreased, while the number of employees absorbed by wholesaling and retailing, insurance, finance, the so-called services, and government increased. *Noteworthy is the fact that the industries with a declining rate of employment are the industries which have absorbed Negroes.* Actually, the source of improvement in the economic status of Negroes during past years has been their movement out of agriculture into mining, manufacturing, and construction where they found unskilled and semi-skilled jobs as laborers and operatives. These are the industries which since 1957 have had either declining employment or relatively little growth in employment. Excluding government, the areas of growth in employment are not the areas in which Negroes have traditionally found employment.

The second general development involves a shift in employment from plant to office in manufacturing industries. Between 1950 and 1961, the number of persons employed in manufacturing increased by more than one million while the number of production workers declined by almost one-half million. This means that increases in manufacturing employment were in nonplant and non-production jobs, a shift, in other words, to office work and white collar jobs, areas of employment which have never absorbed many Negroes.

Increased use of labor saving devices—"automation"—means that employment opportunity in semi-skilled and unskilled work will continue to decline. It will, therefore, become increasingly difficult for Negroes to attain higher or even retain previous levels of employment in those occupations and industries which they had penetrated during the 1940's and 1950's.

Unemployment among Negroes today amounts to more than 10%, twice that of whites. In heavily industrialized areas such as Chicago and Detroit, the differential is even more striking. *Furthermore, the duration of unemployment is longer for Negroes than for whites.*

In September 1958 the average duration of unemployment for Negroes was 17.8 weeks and for white workers 13.3 weeks. The average length of unemployment in September 1962 for Negroes was 18.0 weeks while that for whites had dropped to 13.0 weeks. Negroes accounted for about one-fourth of all the long term unemployed, but for only about 11% of the labor force. About 29% of the very long term unemployed in September 1962 were Negroes compared with 21% in September 1961. Long term joblessness among Negroes results from discrimination in hiring and inadequate training and inadequate manpower development.

Since 1940, white collar employment among Negro males has gone up 144% and blue collar skilled and semi-skilled employment by 101% in contrast to 31% and 14% among whites in the respective groups. In the same period, Negro females employed in white collar positions increased by 169% and in blue collar positions by 132% in comparison with a white increase of 18% in white collar jobs and a decline of 23% in the number represented in blue collar occupations.

TABLE 16. NONWHITE EMPLOYMENT AS PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, BY SEX, APRIL 1940 AND APRIL 1960

Major Occupation Group	Nonwhite Men as Percent of All Men		Increase or Decrease in Percent	Nonwhite Women as Percent of All Women		Increase or Decrease in Percent
	1940	1960	1940-1960	1940	1960	1940-1960
Total Employed	9.0	9.3		13.9	12.6	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	3.1	3.5	+0.5	4.6	5.6	+ 1.0
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors except Farm	1.5	1.9	+0.4	2.8	4.8	+ 2.0
Clerical and Kindred Workers	1.6	6.7	+5.1	0.7	3.8	+ 2.1
Sales Workers	1.4	3.0	+1.6	1.1	2.4	+ 1.3
Craftsmen, Foreman, and Kindred Workers	2.7	4.4	+1.7	2.3	8.0	+ 5.7
Operatives and Kindred Workers	6.1	11.6	+5.5	5.0	12.4	+ 7.4
Laborers, except farm and Mine	21.2	27.6	+6.4	*	*	
Service workers, except Private Household	17.4	21.1	+3.7	13.1	19.2	+ 6.1
Private Household	(1)	(1)		46.5	47.5	+ 1.0
Farmers and Farm Managers	13.1	8.6	−4.5	30.2	16.4	−13.8
Farm Laborers and Foremen	22.5	23.6	+1.1	62.9	22.6	−40.3

*Not Available.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

These percentage gains are impressive, but the fact remains that Negroes have penetrated only to a limited extent job categories above semi-skilled levels.

For example (see Table 16), Negro females make up 12.6 ~~74~~% of the total females employed, but they comprise almost one-half, 48%, of all the domestic servants in the economy and only 2% of all the sales workers; this is not substantially different from the situation in 1940. Negro males comprise slightly in excess of 9% of the employed males in the economy, but they are only 2% of the total number of men employed as nonfarm managers, proprietors, and officials, only four-tenths of a percentage point better than the situation in 1940. Yet they are 28% of the laborers.

Table 17 shows similar data for the South only. *There has not been a large penetration by Negroes into the growth sectors of employment. Those industries and occupations where Negroes have gained in employment represent the slow growth areas of the economy and labor market.*

It has already been suggested that regional differences in employment account in large measure for differences between the income of Negroes in the South and in the rest of the nation, as well as for high rates of migration by Negroes from southern states. Indeed, in none of the major industry categories shown in Table 18 ~~17~~ do Negroes in the South keep pace with Negroes in the non-South. Study the last column of Table 18. In every category except "government" Negroes had a smaller share of the jobs in 1960 than in 1950 in the South. Of course there were fewer Negroes living in the South in 1960. But this is a chicken and the egg question. Fewer jobs because of fewer people? Or did people leave because jobs were not there?

But the fact is, Negroes make up only slightly less of the southern labor force today, 19%, than they did a decade ago, when they were 21% of the labor force. In each area of industry employment, the decline in Negro employment exceeds the decline in the Negro labor force.

Table 19 shows how Negroes are represented in various job categories. These tables reveal important contrasts between the percent of the total labor force and the percent of occupations held by Negroes.

We see, for example, in Table 19 that

—in the non-South, 6% of the employed Negroes are in professional and technical positions;

—of all professional and technical positions, Negroes hold only 3%;

—in the South, the percentages are 5 and 9.

We also see that Negroes of the South have almost all the household jobs and nearly half of the laborers jobs, both on and off the farm. We see that very few of the clerical and sales jobs are held by Negroes either in or out of the South. In the non-South, however, a good percentage of employed Negroes (10%) are in clerical spots, whereas only 3% of the employed Negroes in the South are so employed.

TABLE 17. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE SOUTH* BY COLOR AND SEX AND MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, 1950-1960 (PERCENT)

	White				Nonwhite			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Occupation Group	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS	36.9	30.9	59.8	58.8	8.3	5.8	13.2	10.6
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	10.0	6.8	14.0	13.3	2.9	2.0	7.5	6.2
Managers, Proprietors, Officials, Nonfarm	12.6	11.4	4.7	5.4	1.5	1.4	1.0	1.2
Clerical and Related Workers	6.6	5.8	31.5	29.3	2.9	1.6	3.6	2.2
Sales Workers	7.7	6.9	9.6	10.8	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.0
BLUE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS	39.7	36.7	18.6	20.6	30.8	24.6	9.0	9.6
Craftsmen, Foremen (Skilled)	20.5	18.3	1.2	1.3	8.6	6.3	0.4	0.3
Operatives (Semi-skilled)	19.2	18.4	17.0	19.3	22.2	18.3	8.6	9.3
UNSKILLED LABOR AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	9.8	9.8	15.1	13.8	36.3	34.3	66.4	64.0
Laborers (Unskilled) Except Farm and Mine	5.2	5.7	0.4	0.5	22.9	23.3	0.9	1.6
Service Workers Except Household	4.0	3.5	11.3	10.4	12.6	10.1	20.8	17.7
Private Household Workers	0.6	0.6	3.4	29.3	0.8	0.9	44.7	44.7
FARM OCCUPATIONS	10.2	21.5	1.7	3.8	18.6	33.8	5.9	13.9
Farmers and Farm Managers	7.2	15.5	0.7	0.9	7.2	19.3	1.0	2.5
Farm Laborers and Foremen	3.0	6.0	1.0	2.9	11.4	14.5	4.9	11.4
OCCUPATIONS NOT REPORTED	4.0	1.3	5.2	2.9	5.9	1.3	5.6	1.7

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce.
1950 U. S. Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics 216158.
U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics—216103.

In sum, it appears that penertation of higher echelons of the occupational scale by Negroes has been relatively limited, and much more so in the South than outside the region. Negroes have entered the mainstream of industrial and civil employment in non-southern communities to a greater degree than in the South. In so doing, they have filled jobs which make possible upgrading, training opportunity, and increased earning power on the basis of personal job qualifications. In the South, Negroes have not shared equitably in the rapid industrial expansion of the past two decades.

TABLE 18. NONWHITES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED BY INDUSTRY, 1950-1960, UNITED STATES, SOUTH AND NON-SOUTH

	United States			Non-South			South*		
	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60
Agriculture	15.6	14.2	− 8.9	2.8	2.8	0.	30.8	30.1	− 2.3
Mining	4.5	3.2	−28.9	3.5	2.1	−40.0	8.4	5.1	−39.2
Construction	5.5	8.5	+54.5	5.6	5.4	− 3.6	17.7	16.9	− 4.5
Manufacturing	6.5	6.8	+ 4.6	4.7	5.4	+14.9	16.4	12.9	−21.3
Transportation	7.6	7.7	+ 1.3	5.2	5.9	+ 1.3	16.1	13.9	−13.7
Trade	6.3	7.0	+11.1	4.2	5.2	+23.8	13.2	12.8	− 3.0
Finance	4.6	4.2	− 4.3	3.8	3.7	− 2.6	9.1	6.6	−21.4
Service	17.1	16.9	− 1.2	11.6	12.1	+ 4.3	36.0	32.4	−10.4
Government	7.9	10.0	+26.5	5.8	8.4	+44.8	10.8	11.6	+ 7.4

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics Table 16. *Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics Table 103.

TABLE 19. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITES AND NONWHITES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION, SOUTH AND NON-SOUTH, 1960

	Non-South		South*	
	Percent Nonwhite of Total Employed in Occupation	Percent Nonwhite of Total Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of Total Employed in Occupation	Percent Nonwhite of Total Nonwhite
Total Employed	6.6	100.00	19.2	100.00
Professional and Technical	3.4	6.0	9.2	4.8
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors	2.0	2.5	2.9	1.3
Clerical	4.4	10.1	5.0	3.2
Sales	2.1	2.3	2.8	1.0
Craftsmen, Foremen	3.7	7.7	8.1	5.3
Operatives	7.9	22.2	17.8	16.8
Private Household Workers	30.4	9.0	79.8	18.3
Service Workers	13.3	17.2	37.4	15.9
Farm Laborers	6.0	1.5	47.4	8.8
Farmers and Farm Managers	1.5	0.8	17.9	4.7
Laborers	14.5	9.7	47.6	14.1
Not Reported	14.6	11.1	24.0	5.8

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 103 by State.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

IV

What Price Discrimination?

An attempt has been made to show the position of Negroes in the economy of the nation and the South. Emerging from the presentation are several implications, a few of which will be dealt with as a conclusion to this report.

Education

Employment determines income; the level of income is related to the kind of job one is able to obtain; and jobs are related to education and training. Thus, to a great degree, the ability of Negroes to pass from poverty and deprivation to parity with the rest of the population depends not only upon removing barriers to employment and occupational mobility. It also depends upon better education through increased school desegregation and upon rapid adjustments and improvements in the process of Negro manpower development (see Table 20).

Not all present underemployment of Negroes can be attributed to discriminatory employment practices; limited opportunities are sometimes available to Negroes for which few exhibit any interest or can qualify. Nevertheless, Negroes face a two-pronged problem: discrimination in employment on one hand and, on the other, an inadequate flow of manpower to meet such limited opportunities as there are. This inadequacy is a cumulative product of segregation in education and manpower development and utilization. This is nowhere more true than in vocational and technical training.

Generally, vocational training available to Negroes is limited mainly to those occupations in which they have traditionally found employment: in the industrial trades, some of which are becoming obsolete, and in those areas where Negroes provide services to Negroes, such as barbering. Technical courses in electronics and tool design, the apprenticeable trades such as plumbing, steamfitting, and sheet metal work, and courses in blueprint reading and welding, are usually not available to Negroes.

Contrast between programs to develop white and Negro manpower can be seen by the course offerings of three southern metropolitan school systems: Atlanta, Houston, and Nashville.

TABLE 20. ANNUAL AVERAGE INCOME OF MALES 25 YEARS AND OVER BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, 1939-1958

Year of School Completed	Annual Average Income			
	1939	1946	1949	1958
Elementary:	$1,036	$2,041	$2,394	$3,096
Less Than 8 Years	*	1,738	2,062	2,551
8 Years	*	2,327	2,829	3,769
High School:				
1 to 3 Years	1,379	2,449	3,226	4,618
4 Years	1,661	2,939	3,784	5,567
College:				
1 to 3 Years	1,931	3,654	4,423	6,966
4 Years or More	2,607	4,527	8,490	9,206

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1962.*

Houston

In the only vocational and technical high school in the Houston Independent School System, an all white school, full three year courses are offered in: air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automobile mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, radio and television, and welding. None of these courses is taught in the five Negro schools.

Negroes are offered two years of training in commercial cooking and baking, cleaning and

pressing, and trade dressmaking, courses which are not taught in white schools.

Nashville

The only vocational and technical high school in Nashville is an all-white institution. Full courses are offered in commercial art, drafting, auto mechanics, electricity, general clerical, industrial chemistry, machine shop, refrigeration, secretarial training, and office machines; adult evening courses are taught in such areas as sheet metal layout, pipe-fitting, machine shop, welding, aircraft blueprint reading, electronics for office machines, and advanced projection.

Courses offered to Negroes (in only one of the four high schools) throughout the county are auto mechanics, commerce, cosmetology, tailoring, trowel trades, and woodworking. Evening courses are taught in sewing, millinery, auto mechanics, cosmetology, tailoring, trowel trades, and electronics.

Atlanta

The white vocational and technical school in Atlanta is the Smith-Hughes School.* Courses are offered in electronics, tool and die design, instrumentation, machine shop, refrigeration and air conditioning, electricity, iron-working, steamfitting, plumbing, sheet metal, tool and die making, blueprint reading and drafting, gas fitting, and welding.

Negroes are offered at Carver Vocational School radio and television, industrial sewing, commercial cooking, short order cooking, shoe repairing, auto mechanics, tailoring, bricklaying, drycleaning, practical nursing, and catering.

The contrasts are obvious. Ninety percent of the Negro youth and 80% of the white youth do not go to college. Vocational and technical training at pre-college levels is a real concern. Neglecting the education of the majority of youth who do not go to college will reflect itself most seriously among Negroes, the group most vulnerable to unemployment and automation, because of the imbalance in job development and preparation. We do not need poor quality vocational and technical training programs which serve as dumping grounds for problem students, nor programs that prepare Negro youth for "traditional Negro jobs." We need vocational programs that give sound background in mathematics, science, and other academic subjects, as well as developing marketable skills.

Jobs for laborers and unskilled workers will undoubtedly be considerably reduced by 1970. On the other hand, the economy may well demand, according to some estimates,

—80% more managers
—25% more clerical personnel
—25% more sales personnel
—25% more banking, finance, and insurance personnel
—more blueprint readers, computer operators, metallurgical technicians, machine tool operators, industrial chemists, key punch and machine operators, and other highly skilled people.

But

—no increase is expected in the demand for laborers, and the demand for semi-skilled workers is not expected to rise above 15%.

Restricted vocational and technical training for Negroes is justified by southern school boards on the grounds that jobs in the crafts and technical areas as well as in sales, clerical, and other white collar positions are not generally open to Negroes; therefore, training would be costly and useless. This argument is invalid on its face. School systems have the moral and legal obligation to give all persons the best training and education possible. Moreover, changes in employment opportunity for Negroes in industry, commerce, and government further invalidate the position. President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 forbidding racial discrimination in federal employment as well as in industries having government contracts has opened new areas of employment opportunity for Negroes. Negroes themselves are using economic and political pressures to achieve improvement in job opportunity. Rapid adjustments in the education of Negroes to meet the demands of new employment opportunity are both urgent and necessary.

Costs of Discrimination

The President's Council of Economic Advisers asserted in 1962 that losses to the economy through racial discrimination result from two factors: (1) inefficiencies in the use of the labor force resulting from failure to utilize fully the existing skills of our population; and (2) failure to develop potential skills fully. The Council estimated that the nation's economy is losing between $13 billion and $17 billion per year in national income and product as result of these two factors.

Fifty percent of the nation's Negroes are concentrated in the South, and the South receives approximately 20% of the nation's total income. A conservative estimate is that the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination.

The South can no longer afford the luxury of wast-

*This school was desegregated on January 28, 1963, but only a token number of Negroes has been accepted for training.

ing a valuable human resource. It cannot continue to deny itself better markets for goods and services by failing to provide a climate of equal economic opportunity for all its citizens. It is equally clear that the nation can ill afford to lose $17 billion per year in income and product. To achieve full equality with other regions of the nation, the South must achieve full utilization of its manpower. For the nation as a whole, the continuing struggle of the cold war makes the full use of America's human resources imperative.

Race Relations and Economic Growth

Despite the relatively low income per person of Negroes, there are twice as many with income as there were a decade or so ago. Negroes have moved ahead educationally. More of them are concentrated in the cities. They are acquiring greater political strength in the urban areas, and they are more sensitive to their role in the politics and market place of the city and the state.

Political strength and purchasing power among urban Negroes can scarcely be ignored by government officials, city planners, business, and industry. With a new industrial-urban orientation, Negroes will increasingly apply political and economic pressures to bring about changes in southern race relations, to step up the momentum of school desegregation, to obtain better employment opportunity, and to obtain access to public facilities.

Rapid racial adjustments by the "new South" are vitally important to the economic health of the region. Tensions generated by poor race relations are not conducive to economic growth. *Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines, all are simply and tragically inimical to the economic life of the region.* Positive steps toward good race relations, the full absorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region —these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South.

Public Policy

Clearly involved in the whole question of improving the economic position of Negroes is the influence of public policy on school desegregation, employment opportunity, and the elimination of segregation in housing and public places.

Low income Negroes and whites in large numbers are relocating themselves in the urban centers of the South just as they are in the North. Without extraordinary economic expansion and rapid improvement in the distribution of income, without swift changes in southern race relations, it is apparent that in the next decade the bulk of southern poverty will complete its shift from the country to the city.

Negro poverty will take its place in the urban slums of the South as a substitute for the traditional rural poverty—which, at least, was relatively self-sufficient. This concentration of low-income people in urban areas raises critical questions for southern city planners and officials.

The national expansion of the economy and technology, which began 20 years ago to alter the position of Negroes cannot be relied upon exclusively to bring about the level of improvement necessary in the future. Public policy will have to play an increased role. This means the expansion and strengthening of programs at local, state,* and federal levels to promote "fair employment practices"; the expansion of minimum wage coverage; more extensive area redevelopment programs; more extensive and inclusive programs of adult education and adult training and retraining programs. All these policies and programs must be advanced along with school desegregation. They will serve to reinforce change generated by normal economic forces.

That Negroes need improved economic opportunity is clear. That poverty among Negroes is being transferred from the rural South to the urban South is equally clear. Welfare dependency in urban areas will not solve the problem. Basically, the solution rests with full opportunity for the development of manpower potential and for employment and occupational mobility.

Employers, government officials, southern educators, southern school boards, and local communities must recognize what continued failure to meet the demands of Negro manpower development will mean. Not only will uneducated and inexperienced Negro manpower continue to contribute to labor surpluses, the very heart of the South's problem, but also the drain on urban economies in supporting undeveloped manpower will continue to impede the progress of both southern and national economic growth.

*On March 17, 1963 Kentucky Governor Bert Combs signed a code of fair practices, making Kentucky the first southern state to adopt such a measure. The code prohibits discrimination in employment and job opportunity, financial assistance, icensing, training programs, parks, and hospitals.

APPENDIX

TABLE 21. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES, UNITED STATES AND SOUTH* BY COLOR, 1954-1961

	1961				1954			
	United States		South		United States		South	
Family Income Level	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under $4,000	27.7	60.2	38.7	80.0	44.1	78.2	53.9	87.0
$4,000-$5,999	22.4	19.7	23.3	13.0	28.7	14.5	24.8	8.7
$6,000 and Over	49.7	20.1	37.9	7.0	27.2	7.4	31.3	4.3
Percent of Change in Distribution Ratio 1954-1961								
Under $4,000	−37.1	−23.0	−28.2	− 8.0				
$4,000-$5,999	−18.4	+35.8	− 6.0	+51.1				
$6,000 and Over	+82.7	171.6	+21.0	+62.8				

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Consumers Income* Series P-60, No. 20, December 1955 Table 2 and No. 37, January 17, 1962 Table 16 P-60, No. 39, February 28, 1963 Table 18.

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 22. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES, UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES BY COLOR, 1960

	U.S.	*Ala.*	*Ark.*	*Fla.*	*Ga.*	*Ky.*	*La.*	*Miss.*	*N. C.*	*S. C.*	*Tenn.*	*Va.*
Under $2,000												
Nonwhite	32.4	49.9	61.1	32.1	45.9	39.8	45.1	66.2	50.2	57.7	44.3	35.5
White	11.0	18.9	26.4	13.6	15.3	25.1	14.6	22.0	17.3	14.0	22.4	7.8
$2,000-$2,999												
Nonwhite	15.5	17.9	18.4	22.3	21.8	17.9	20.7	16.7	19.9	19.3	19.5	18.6
White	7.6	10.7	14.6	10.5	10.4	11.6	9.6	12.4	11.5	10.5	11.8	5.9
$3,000-$3,999												
Nonwhite	13.5	12.4	9.5	18.7	13.0	15.1	13.3	8.0	12.8	10.4	14.3	15.6
White	9.1	11.4	13.4	12.0	11.8	11.1	10.8	13.0	13.6	13.7	12.0	8.1
$4,000-$4,999												
Nonwhite	11.4	8.4	4.8	11.6	7.7	11.6	8.5	4.2	7.3	5.5	9.3	11.5
White	10.9	11.7	11.5	12.1	12.2	11.3	11.6	12.2	13.0	13.2	11.4	10.2
$5,000 and Over												
Nonwhite	27.2	11.4	6.1	15.1	11.6	15.6	12.2	5.0	9.6	7.0	12.6	18.8
White	61.4	47.2	34.3	51.9	50.2	40.8	53.5	40.3	44.7	48.6	42.5	68.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 65.

TABLE 23. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY FAMILIES FOR FIFTEEN SELECTED CITIES BY COLOR, 1960

City	Under $2,000		$2,000-$3,999		$4,000-$4,999		$5,000 and Over	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Atlanta	8.8	22.5	16.4	40.8	10.0	11.5	64.8	22.1
Birmingham	8.0	22.6	16.0	34.1	11.7	12.4	64.2	20.9
Charleston, S. C.	11.1	42.9	20.5	33.2	11.5	10.2	56.9	13.7
Dallas	7.0	26.7	13.7	40.3	9.9	13.7	69.4	19.3
Durham	8.0	30.2	18.3	42.3	13.1	11.6	60.6	15.9
Houston	7.2	24.9	12.9	36.0	9.9	14.4	70.0	24.7
Jackson, Miss.	5.7	34.2	13.3	44.5	10.9	9.7	70.0	11.6
Little Rock	8.8	31.7	18.7	42.1	11.3	9.8	61.2	16.4
Louisville	9.9	29.5	17.0	31.1	13.5	16.2	59.6	23.2
Memphis	7.5	22.5	24.0	43.0	12.3	15.2	48.4	19.3
Nashville	15.6	32.8	27.0	39.2	13.8	10.9	43.6	17.1
New Orleans	8.8	32.0	18.0	37.0	12.0	12.2	61.1	20.6
Oklahoma City	9.4	28.0	16.7	30.4	11.9	14.7	62.0	26.9
Richmond	6.9	25.4	14.7	35.2	11.2	13.5	67.1	26.0
Norfolk	16.4	30.3	15.4	34.9	10.0	13.6	58.2	21.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960.*

TABLE 24. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME FOR UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES BY COLOR, 1950-1960

	Under $2.000				$2,000-$2,999			
	White		Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite	
	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
United States	38.0	48.8	58.2	77.4	11.7	21.2	14.8	15.8
Alabama	44.3	62.3	78.5	88.5	13.6	18.3	11.0	9.3
Arkansas	53.3	71.2	83.8	93.4	14.4	14.3	9.5	5.0
Florida	40.7	55.7	65.3	88.8	13.9	18.9	19.0	9.4
Georgia	42.1	62.0	76.0	93.5	15.1	18.9	13.6	5.2
Kentucky	48.7	64.1	69.2	84.2	12.9	18.2	13.2	12.4
Louisiana	40.2	54.8	73.8	89.3	12.0	18.2	12.8	8.2
Mississippi	49.6	69.2	86.5	96.1	14.7	14.4	8.2	3.1
North Carolina	44.1	61.9	74.8	90.1	17.3	21.2	12.9	7.9
South Carolina	41.9	59.0	80.7	94.8	17.3	22.9	11.8	4.2
Tennessee	48.0	65.0	72.2	87.7	14.5	16.8	13.7	9.9
Virginia	39.7	52.7	65.8	84.4	13.1	20.6	15.0	12.6

	$3,000-$3,999				$4,000-$4,999			
	White		Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite	
United States	11.4	15.5	10.9	5.1	10.6	6.6	7.9	0.9
Alabama	11.8	10.4	6.8	1.4	9.2	4.1	3.9	0.3
Arkansas	10.9	7.5	3.8	1.0	7.1	3.1	1.8	0.3
Florida	12.2	12.3	9.3	1.2	9.6	5.2	3.7	0.3
Georgia	13.3	9.8	5.8	0.8	9.5	3.8	2.7	0.3
Kentucky	11.0	9.6	8.4	2.6	8.8	3.8	5.3	0.4
Louisiana	11.4	12.6	6.6	1.9	9.8	6.4	3.7	0.3
Mississippi	11.5	8.3	3.0	0.5	7.8	3.5	1.4	0.1
North Carolina	14.8	8.9	6.0	1.3	9.1	3.4	2.8	0.3
South Carolina	15.7	10.2	4.5	0.7	9.2	3.5	1.7	0.1
Tennessee	11.5	9.6	7.5	1.7	8.1	3.8	4.0	0.4
Virginia	12.2	13.4	9.5	2.2	10.4	5.3	5.9	0.4

	$5,000 and Over			
	White		Nonwhite	
United States	29.3	8.0	8.1	0.7
Alabama	21.2	5.2	2.6	0.2
Arkansas	14.3	4.1	1.3	0.3
Florida	23.6	7.8	2.6	0.3
Georgia	20.0	5.4	2.0	0.3
Kentucky	18.3	4.4	3.8	0.4
Louisiana	26.8	8.0	3.0	0.5
Mississippi	16.3	4.6	0.9	0.0
North Carolina	14.7	4.6	1.5	0.3
South Carolina	8.1	3.8	4.0	0.4
Tennessee	17.8	4.9	2.6	0.3
Virginia	24.6	7.7	3.9	0.4

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

Pamphlets in the 'Toward Regional Realism' Series

No. 1 — THE SOUTH AND THE NATION
by LeRoy Collins

No. 2 — A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

No. 3 — THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES: IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH
by Vivian W. Henderson

SPECIAL NOTE: This report corrects any errors appearing in that report released 1/28/64 and the former should be destroyed.

VEP REGISTRATION REPORT

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
1/28/64; corrected 3/10/64

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS
April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

STATE	1st Fiscal Year 4/1/62-3/31/63	1st 9 months 2nd Fiscal Year 4/1/63-12/31/63	Total As of 12/31/63	Total Voting Age Population	White Voting Age Population	Nonwhite Voting Age Population	Total Registration	W. Reg.	NW Reg.	% NW of Total Reg.	%NW Reg. of NWVAP
ALABAMA	5,598	7,889	13,487	1,834,378	1,353,058	481,320	1,015,000	925,000	90,000	8.8	18.6
ARKANSAS	4,952	3,804	8,756	1,043,269	850,643	192,626	633,665	553,665	80,000	12.6	41.5
FLORIDA	22,790	14,321	37,111	3,087,699	2,617,438	470,261	2,137,801*	1,899,433	213,128	9.9	45.3
GEORGIA**	27,156	19,191	46,347	2,409,972	1,797,062	612,910	1,405,100	1,183,181	221,919	15.7	36.2
LOUISIANA	2,765	3,134	5,899	1,803,805	1,289,216	514,589	1,193,775	1,031,691	162,084	13.5	31.4
MISSISSIPPI	1,592	1,636	3,228	1,170,522	748,266	422,256	553,000	525,000	28,000	5.0	6.6
N. CAROLINA	9,838	13,485	23,323	2,556,884	2,005,955	550,929	2,090,270	1,856,497	233,773	11.1	42.4
S. CAROLINA	7,357	13,370	20,727	1,266,251	895,147	371,104	814,628	703,000	111,628	13.7	30.0
TENNESSEE	16,269	17,974	34,243	2,092,891	1,779,018	313,873	1,500,000	1,297,026	202,974	13.5	64.6
TEXAS	20,590	100,000***	120,590	5,534,277	4,884,765	649,512	2,020,183	1,720,183	300,000	14.8	46.1
VIRGINIA	6,100	7,777	13,877	2,312,887	1,876,167	436,720	1,032,104	923,792	108,312	10.4	24.8
TOTAL	125,007	202,581	327,588	25,112,835	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,395,526	12,618,468	1,751,818	12.1	34.9

*Figure includes 25,240 registrants not identifiable by racial designation.

**Voting age is 18.

***Represents an estimate of the new voters paying poll tax for the first time under a VEP-sponsored statewide program through Voters of Texas Enlist (V.O.T.E.). Includes Latin Americans, white and colored. 60,000 are estimated to be Negroes.

NOTE: The first three columns to the right of the double vertical bar reflect 1960 census figures.

FOR DISCRIMINATION

In the Economy of Communities

In Employment

In Legal Costs

In Education

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

In Tourism and Conventions

On a National Scale

In Foreign Relations

THE PRICE WE PAY

Prepared by
Barbara Patterson and other staff members of the
Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League

June 1964

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The Price We Pay...
Introduction

This publication samples the costs—chiefly money—incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Nearly all the documentation has come from the press, largely the southern press. Some other printed sources have been used.

If all expenditures and loss could be added up, the sum would be shocking. The shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals.

Not all of the waste here documented has a price tag. Can the people of Mississippi, for example, afford the cost to the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievement? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?

There are probably those who would try to use the figures here to blame not themselves for being so easily parted from their money, but to blame those Americans who, by demanding Constitutional rights for all, have in a sense necessitated the expenditures.

Any such rationale founders on elementary arithmetic: the estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for five years—$100 million—would be only .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase—$17 billion—which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources. There were southern Congressmen who reported with indignation that the 1963 March on Washington cost the District of Columbia government an estimated $805,000 — $1,022,300. Can this cost be called a responsibility of the marchers? A fair judgment will see it as a cost forced on the national government by reactionary elements of the South and by a dilatory Congress.

And so with the other wastes of money and resources documented here—they come from discrimination, not its victims.

Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degrees of human dignity, continue in the ways documented here to waste the substance of their people?

The Price We Pay...

In the Economy of Communities

In Failure to Attract Industry and Investment

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 15, 1963

. . . In recent years, its failure to attract any significant amount of new industry and its reliance on the limping steel industry—U. S. Steel Corp.'s Tennessee Coal & Iron division is the area's biggest employer—have combined to slow Birmingham's economy. In 1957, the metropolitan area had its highest employment, 246,000. Today, the total is estimated at 228,000.

Some Birmingham citizens say that in recent years large numbers of their best educated young men and women have been deserting the city to find opportunity elsewhere. It hasn't all been due to the lack of economic opportunity, says one young citizen. "We lost ourselves a generation; they just don't want to put up with all this racial strife."

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 30, 1964

Humans, resources, technology, management and education are the five major areas necessary for development if Mississippi is to make economic progress, C. E. Kirk told the noon Lions Club [of Greenville, Miss.] at its weekly meeting Wednesday.

Kirk, who is plant manager for the Ludlow Manufacturing Co., in Indianola, spoke as a guest of the local Lions Club on the subject, "Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress."

Kirk is also a representative for the Mississippi Economic Council and brought along charts and statistics which were gathered largely through the council. . . .

"Where we are losing out," he said, "is in the new, highly skilled industries like the chemicals, electronics and pharmaceutical companies."

"The problem is many of our working age people (20-40) are leaving and those who stay don't have enough education to attract the newer breed of industries into the state," Kirk said.

As a result, Mississippi's per capita income doubled from 1939 to 1945, but it stayed the same in relation to the nation's average.†

SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS
August 1962
U. S. Department of Commerce

[†*Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of all 50 states: $1,229. The national average is $2,263.*]

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
January 27, 1963

. . . A report circulated by S. D. Wolfe, temporary chairman of the Lafayette County Rural Development Committee, says Oxford [Miss.] has lost two new industries because of the crisis.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 15, 1963

. . . However while the state's over-all business advance continued, economists in other Southeastern states remained convinced that Mississippi would suffer in later years because of the racial outbreaks.

They cited Little Rock, Ark. as evidence, noting that the industry stopped locating there for two years after the racial troubles in 1957.

A leading economist said he expected the number of new industries in Mississippi "to start declining by the middle of 1963, and to continue shrinking for a long time to come until and unless, the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union."

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
September 6, 1963

Downtown demonstrations last spring by Negroes seeking a change to integrated facilities in restaurants had an adverse effect in attracting new industry, Chamber of Commerce officials told the Greensboro Human Relations Committee yesterday.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Industrial development people admit that the turmoil is frightening away prospective new industry. Sidney M. Smyer, a prominent real estate man who has been active in business groups talking with Negroes, says: "This situation is going to have definite effects on locating further business here [Birmingham]. People aren't going to come where there is trouble —it's hard enough to get them when you have a favorable climate." W. Cooper Green, executive vice-president of Alabama Power Co., sums it up: "Violence hurts—labor violence, criminal violence, racial violence. You have to live it down."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 24, 1963

Birmingham (AP)—. . . At a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Chairman Caldwell Marks of an industry-hunting committee disclosed receipt of insulting letters from prospective industries and cancellation of plans for firms to locate here.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
Washington Correspondent
James Free
February 2, 1964

Washington—Gov. George Wallace's war against "the central government" could be far more costly to the people of Alabama if the federal government ever decides to fight back. . . .

Moreover, the Defense Department is now cutting down on the number of military and naval bases and installations over the country. And, when all other considerations are close to even, defense advisers may decide that it would be wise to close an installation in a state that persists in fighting the federal government rather than a similar installation in another state that is more cooperative.

Representative Kenneth Roberts got some figures together recently showing that in the fiscal year that ended last June 30, the Defense Department alone spent in Alabama more than $700 million in payrolls, upkeep, contracts, and the like.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES (London) September 23, 1963

. . . The severe economic damage caused by racial unrest has forced the city's business community into action. . . . Birmingham is endowed with a rich supply of raw materials and with ample resources of labor. But the flow of new industries into the area was halted by the onset of racial violence. . . . As one businessman puts it: "We have become the world's headquarters for racial violence, and nothing worse could happen to a city."

NEW YORK TIMES June 30, 1963

City Council [New York] President Paul R. Screvane proposed yesterday that the city refuse to invest any of its $3,400,000,000 pension funds in the securities of companies practicing racial discrimination. . . .

Because the amount that may be invested in any one corporation's bonds is small, the pension funds own bonds in dozens of different corporations, which are scattered all over the country.

NEW YORK TIMES December 18, 1963

The United Presbyterian Church urged its agencies yesterday to use their financial influence upon businesses with which they deal to eliminate racial discrimination. . . .

The statement [of the Church] urged the agency boards to "analyze investment opportunities and financial policies that would directly witness to the concern of the United Presbyterian Church for an integrated society."

If church funds are invested in concerns that discriminate, efforts should be made to have those practices changed, the statement suggested.

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH June 20, 1963

An investigation of the racial policies of corporations, in which the overseas mission board of the United Church of Christ has invested funds was ordered by board directors at a meeting yesterday. . . .

The board has investment holdings of about $18,000,000.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

CHATTANOOGA TIMES September 29, 1963

Huntsville, Ala. (AP)—. . . For Huntsville—and the nation—the space age began with the arrival of about 200 former German missilemen and their families, led by Wernher von Braun. . . .

With their arrival, Huntsville began turning its back on the South of magnolias and old lace.

At the end of World War II, Huntsville was known chiefly as the largest cotton market east of Memphis. It had 3,500 homes and 12 small industries including three big cotton mills.

Two of the cotton mills are now closed and Huntsville today has over 25,000 homes and about 40 industries. The median family income is $6,600—highest in Alabama. . . .

Like most of the businessmen interviewed in Huntsville, Cummings [Milton Cummings, native businessman and president of Brown Engineering Company, Inc.] is irritated over the image of Alabama as an area of

racial strife. It has hurt his effort to recruit scientists and engineers.

"We have found," he said, "a number of engineers who simply don't want to expose their children to this race thing." . . .

Mrs. Patrick W. Richardson . . . mother of two small boys and the wife of one of Huntsville's leading attorneys, says:

"I guess you could say Huntsville was a hungry town. I can remember the Huntsville Times carrying a story on page one in 1938 saying where the breadlines would form for that day—1938 was when the depression was supposed to be over." . . .

"We like Huntsville," she said. "We've always lived here, but we wanted something better. If Huntsville stagnated, we would have stagnated and I guess my husband's law practice would have been a matter of writing two or three wills a week. We wanted something more than that."

The Price We Pay...

In the Consumer Market

NORFOLK *VIRGINIAN-PILOT*
(by the Herald Tribune News Service)
September 26, 1963

. . . William Capitman, president of the Center for Research in Marketing, Inc., at Peekskill, N. Y., said Negro purchasing behavior represents both the greatest danger and the greatest potential in the American marketplace. He said Negroes, with an annual income of $20 billion, have a sales potential as great as the entire population of Canada. . . .

At the moment, Capitman said, 30 to 40 per cent of the Negro population is engaged in unorganized economic boycotts, refusing to buy from producers or sellers considered to be unfriendly to Negroes.

Eighty-nine per cent of 1,164 Negroes interviewed in the third survey told the Negro interviewers they would take part in any boycott called by their leaders. Capitman called this one of the most significant phenomena in marketing history. . . .

In Birmingham . . .

TIME
June 7, 1963

. . . In Birmingham, retailers have averaged a $750,000 weekly loss, some because Negro trade boycotted stores, some because whites did not venture downtown for fear of possible violence.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

(AP)—Federal Reserve Board figures show that retail sales in Birmingham dropped sharply in May—a time of sit-ins, mass demonstrations and occasional violence in that racially troubled city.

For the week which ended May 25, retail sales were off 11 per cent compared to the corresponding week of 1962. For the preceding three weeks the figures were also minus: 17, 19 and 14 per cent.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Long-suffering downtown merchants have watched their sales run some 20% under last year's, and lag behind those of most other Southern cities.

"People put off shopping trips," says one store owner. "It goes deeper than just downtown Birmingham. It affects every phase of business, social and civic life in this community."

Adds another merchant: "A solution must be found immediately or Birmingham will be killed as a prosperous city."

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 16, 1963

. . . A restaurant owner comments: "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation."

The restaurant owner says his business has fallen 25% since the latest outbreak of racial strife began April 3.

WASHINGTON POST
May 16, 1963

(AP)—. . . An executive of a big department store said . . . "It is difficult to appraise the business conditions. . . . But business is off drastically since last week. We don't know specifically whether to attribute this to the boycotting or to the general atmosphere of the city."

And Elsewhere . . .

THE STATE
(Columbia, S. C.)
July 21, 1963

Charleston—The basic story of this city now isn't on the street where Negroes demonstrate. . . .

It involves the dollars and cents that pump the life blood into the heart of Charleston through its long business artery, King Street.

"Since this started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent depending on whom you talk to," one prominent retail merchant confided.

"Some of them are literally worried sick," the *News and Courier* [Charleston newspaper] said at one point in an editorial July 18.

NEW YORK TIMES
March 2, 1964

Canton, Miss.—. . . The Negroes opened a boycott against 19 white merchants last January that now threatens some of them with financial ruin. The objectives are "more courteous treatment" for Negro customers, and . . . pressure by the white merchants on county officials to accept Negro voter applicants.

HOUSTON POST
November 10, 1963

Prairie View—. . . The boycott of the game [Prairie View A & M College versus Bishop College of Dallas] and other homecoming activities had been called by leaders of Students for Equality, Liberty and Freedom in support of their efforts to desegregate nearby Hempstead. . .

A businessman in the community of Prairie View waved his hand in his empty store and said:

"There was no business. You can see the effect this has had on us."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
September 2, 1960

Jacksonville—. . . Newsboys sold only half as many papers as usual in the downtown shopping area. Parking lots, ordinarily overflowing, were checkered with vacancies. Clerks and elevator operators reported that customers who normally crowd the stores in the week before school opens were staying home. . . .

Last night was the first since Saturday to be undisturbed by home-made fire bombs, shootings or beatings. . .

The Governor blamed the people and elected officials of Jacksonville for the breakdown of law and order.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
June 6, 1963

All of Georgia's larger counties showed gains in retail and other taxable sales during the first quarter of 1963 except Dougherty, where racial demonstrations and Negro boycotts have hit the county seat, Albany.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
July 7, 1963

Jackson, Miss.—. . . To what extent downtown business was hurt by the five weeks of picketing, boycotts and marches and sit-ins has been carefully concealed by spokesmen for Capitol Street, the main business section. . . .

But the chain stores, which were the targets of pickets and sit-ins, one trade association spokesman admitted, found business off as much as 40 to 60 per cent during the peak of the demonstrations.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

Jackson, Miss.—. . . The two white-owned food markets in colored neighborhoods, which refused to hire colored employees and to cease selling products of companies that also discriminate, have already gone out of business.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 14, 1963

Baltimore (AP)—An owner of Gwynn Oak Amusement Park—scene of mass racial demonstrations and arrests earlier this summer—has called the park's new policy of racial integration an economic success.

He said the park has more reservations for next season than it had in the late summer of any other year.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

Atlanta—. . . Among those restaurants, hotels, theatres and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever. . . .

Mr. Henry Rather [Dallas hotel man] says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation.

The Price We Pay...

In Police and Jail Costs

This section and a later chapter, Legal Costs, document public outlays which in part result from demonstrations and other actions instigated by Negroes. Often, Negroes are blamed for the waste involved. The true cause is the denial of rights. Any community, any state, which wants to end this waste need only take the necessary steps to provide equal protection and rights for all citizens.

In Mississippi . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 16, 1964

(UPI)—When a few minor hitches are cleared away the Mississippi Legislature will soon adopt a new law empowering the governor to send patrol forces into any community where he deems there is an emergency.

The legislation . . . will cost $4 million the first two years, add 200 men to the patrol force and provide them with a police academy.

In Savannah . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 11, 1964

Savannah has been rebuffed in its efforts to collect from the state $18,000 which it spent for quarters and food for state troopers during racial disorders.

In Albany . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
March 3, 1964

Albany—Mayor Jimmy Davis estimated Monday the 2-months stay of a group of pacifists cost Albany taxpayers about $5,000 in jail expenses.

In Memphis . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
September 18, 1963

Protests and demonstrations by Negroes against staggered hours at five Negro schools have cost the Memphis Police Department more than $9,000 in overtime pay since September 4.

In Greensboro . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
May 21, 1963

. . . Clarence Smith, purchasing agent for Guilford County, estimated taxpayers were supporting the jailed Negro demonstrators at a minimum of $1,200 a day "just for food."

In Danville . . .

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
September 9, 1963

Danville (AP)—The cost of policing civil rights demonstrations in this Southside city which has been the scene of sporadic racial unrest since May 31 has been placed at more than $60,000.

Danville Mayor Julian R. Stinson announced over the weekend that overtime pay for policemen and other deputized law enforcement officers in June, July and August came to $48,199.

He said other expenses incurred included approximately $6,515 for such items as night sticks, tear gas, office supplies and court costs.

In Cambridge . . .

BALTIMORE *SUN*
June 24, 1963

Cambridge (AP)—Thirty-seven days of militia law here has cost Maryland at least $176,000. That's only the estimate of keeping National Guard troops billetted here.

The other costs—State Police expenditures and the economic toll to the community—have not been accounted for, and may be unaccountable.

The bill for the first 25 days of militia rule, from June 14 to July 8, was nearly $100,000. According to the comptroller, pay for the Guard totaled $83,199.83, the food bill was about $14,700 and the cost for gasoline was $1,858.89.

Also in Cambridge . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
March 9, 1964

. . . for the subsequent nine months, July 1963 through March 1964

. . . Keeping the Guard in Cambridge for nearly nine months has cost the taxpayers close to $70,000 and hasn't solved anything; it has cut Guard enlistments; it has led to legislators being besieged with complaints about the financial pinch felt by families of Guardsmen who had had to be away from their jobs.

In Williamston, N. C. . . .

GREENBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 9, 1963

. . . The Martin County Commissioners in a brief meeting approved a bill of $1,095 for extra police protection during July.

Extra law enforcement officers were necessary recently to prevent violence as a result of nightly demonstrations by Negroes.

In Jackson . . .

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
October 31, 1963

He [Mayor Allen Thompson] said the city spent an extra $138,429.75 in overtime and equipment combatting the demonstrations from late May through August.

In Charleston . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
October 17, 1963

Costs of locking up racial demonstrators during July and August jabbed three Charleston County budgets out of kilter, according to a report issued this week by County Manager E. D. Martin.

The Prison Farm Barracks, County Jail and Prison Farm all had to spend more than half of their six-months allotted fund in three months' time because of the demonstrations.

In High Point . . .

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 30, 1963

High Point—. . . City Hall is showing some concern over the mounting costs of Negro demonstrations here.

A $9,000,000 budget, closely trimmed in order to keep the same tax rate of $1.20 per $100 valuation, cannot stand too much additional and unbudgeted expense, it was pointed out by city officials.

Protest activities have cost $7,132.52 in overtime pay for policemen alone. Also to be considered is the wear and tear on the Police Department.

Statewide in North Carolina . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
August 17, 1963

The State Highway Patrol has spent more than 11,000 man-hours dealing with racial demonstrations so far this year. The extra activity has cut sharply into traffic law enforcement.

Figures compiled Friday by patrol headquarters show traffic violations charged during the first six months of 1963 were down 18,558 compared with the same six-months' period last year.

Statewide in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
March 27, 1963

Jackson (UPI)—. . . Public Safety Commissioner T. B. Birdsong told United Press International Tuesday the morale of highway patrolmen, most of whom were on duty at the scene of the riot [at the University of Mississippi], was hurt by the crisis. . . .

He pointed out that the state's highway death toll "rose very sharply" after the September 30 riot which marked the entry of Negro James Meredith to the university.

Since then, there have been 327 traffic deaths in Mississippi, compared to 252 during the same period a year earlier.

And in Birmingham . . . the state paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
June 20, 1963

Montgomery—. . . State Budget Officer J. V. Jordan said a tabulation three weeks ago showed that "upwards of $90,000" had been spent up to that time in keeping hundreds of state troopers in Birmingham to keep a watch on racial disorders there.

Jordan said a later tabulation . . . would boost that figure by a substantial amount.

State Conservation Director Claude D. Kelley said it cost his department $25,000 to send about 100 conservation officers, deputized as state troopers, to Birmingham.

ABC officials reported they had been forced to spend an extra $17,350 for sending specially-deputized liquor enforcement agents to Birmingham.

State fiscal officials said the total expense could run well over $200,000.

the city paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

. . . The cost of the five weeks of demonstrations was considerable. It is estimated that overtime pay to policemen, repair of damage to police vehicles and the feeding of more than 1,500 prisoners will total about $50,000.

Whatever the cost, most Birmingham citizens hope it is the final payment.

the county paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

The county [Jefferson] may have spent as much as $10,000 more.

and the people paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 14, 1963

. . . Losses from fires during the weekend rioting were placed at $41,775 by Deputy Fire Marshal William E. Berry. And vandalism will boost the destruction toll much higher.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 26, 1963

Governor Wallace is pushing through an emergency appropriation of $250,000 to cover expenses of troopers.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 15, 1963

. . . Governor Wallace called for a doubling of the cost of drivers' licenses in Alabama to finance an Alabama Highway Patrol to cope with racial disturbances.

In Jackson, Mississippi . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
February 27, 1964

Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed especially for riot control.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

. . . Mayor Allen Thompson has asked state lawmakers for $1,000,000 with which to build a compound for "agitators and others who do not go along with the Mississippi way of life."

THE MISSISSIPPIAN
(University of Mississippi)
April 10, 1964

Jackson—The Mississippi House has unanimously passed two more bills to help local officials deal with racial problems. The bills would allow counties and cities to send prisoners to Parchman [state prison] if their jails become overcrowded. The cities or counties would bear the entire expense and furnish guards. The measures would prevent jail overcrowding resulting from mass arrests of demonstrators.

The Price We Pay...

In Other Resources Depleted

NEW YORK TIMES
March 19, 1964

Jackson—. . . Mississippi's Sovereignty Commission has been the clearing house for $260,000 in contributions to a lobby in Washington opposing the civil rights bill.

According to Erle Johnston, director of the commission, that much money has gone through his hands in the last nine months to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc. . . .

In Washington, meanwhile, John C. Satterfield, secretary of the Coordinating Committee, said the group had spent $200,000 to $250,000 since its incorporation there last July. . . .

Financing was worked out at a meeting here last summer. Allotments were established for the Southern states, and the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission was designated to channel contributions to the Washington office.

The Sovereignty Commission was created by the Legislature in 1956. It was given authority to accept contributions from private or out-of-state sources.

To help prime the pump for the Coordinating Committee in the beginning, the Sovereignty Commission contributed $10,000 from its $250,000 biennial state appropriation.

It also agreed to pay the bill for the services of Mr. Satterfield as the committee's legal adviser. . . . He charges $25 an hour, up to $2,000 a month.

MIAMI HERALD
January 29, 1964

Washington—. . . According to figures filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives the commission [Mississippi Sovereignty Commission] gave Synon's committee [John J. Synon, director of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, salaried at $519.23 a week] $20,000 in the quarter-year ending September 30, 1963 and $100,000 in the quarter ending December 31.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . Most of Mississippi's financial support for the anti-civil rights group . . . has been from "private contributions" to the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission. . . . This is what the director of the commission says. But even he admits that $20,000 of the state's grant to the Washington lobby was drawn from tax funds.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 9, 1964

Jackson—. . . While the State Sovereignty Commission has invested only $20,000 so far in CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms] it has sunk over $160,000 of state funds since June 1960 in the White Citizens Council's television and radio series.

Oddly, the Citizens Council does not submit any statement or invoice as a matter of record in order to receive its $2,000 payment from the state.

The state auditor's office said last week that all other invoices made by the state must have a statement showing what was received in return.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 3, 1964

(AP)—The Mississippi Senate gave unanimous passage Thursday to a bill appropriating $50,000 to finance further efforts to defeat the Civil Rights Bill pending before Congress.

The measure . . . was in the form of a deficit appropriation to the State Sovereignty Commission. . . .

Committee sources said the money was earmarked for the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms in Washington.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 3, 1964

A drive to enlist the support of various Alabama organizations in fighting the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate was launched here Monday by the State Sovereignty Commission.

Howell [Eli Howell, executive director of the Commission] said the nationwide campaign would be directed by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms. . . . The Sovereignty Commission had earlier appropriated $10,000 to this group.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
April 23, 1964

The State [Alabama] Sovereignty Commission has issued a $15,000 check to the Coordinating Committee for Freedom Fund.

WASHINGTON *POST*
April 19, 1964

. . . Official state commissions in Florida and Alabama also have contributed a total of $13,000 to the CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms]. The Plaquemines Parish (La.) Council, headed by political boss Leander Perez, who built a stockade in the swamps for arrested racial demonstrators, has appropriated $5,000 in taxpayers' money to the CCFAF.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
April 2, 1964

Tallahassee—. . . Prentice [George Prentice, executive director of the Florida Commission on Constitutional Government] could be in Lincoln, Neb., headquarters for a new national ultra-conservative organization of

which he was recently made executive director. He flew to Nebraska to take the job with the private organization using Florida state funds. Taxi, hotel and food expenses were also paid for with Florida state funds.

ARKANSAS GAZETTE
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . The sense of impatience that other states must feel for states such as Mississippi, which is, at once, the most abjectly mendicant of all the 50 states and the most aggressively unyielding in its segregationist sentiments. . . .

Why—it could be asked—should other states help pay [via federal tax dollars] for services that Mississippi says it is unable to afford on its own when Mississippi *can* afford to kick away $120,000 on lobbying and propaganda against a single piece of federal legislation within a single six month period?

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER
Bob Ingram column, March 1, 1964

. . . It was once reported here that the expenses incurred by the National Guard crew which flies the C-47 on the Wallace tours was paid by the federal government. No state official bothered to correct me, they apparently preferred that I remain ignorantly incorrect. Just discovered is the fact that the expenses of the Guardsmen are paid by you, the taxpayers of Alabama. An allocation was approved a couple of days back for $1,356.48 from the General Fund for the active duty pay earned by the three-member crew on the midwest tour, plus some expenses.

RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER
March 30, 1964

. . . Wallace [Alabama Governor George C. Wallace] blew into Washington during the week to meet with some Maryland supporters. He is running in the Maryland Democratic Primary.

He arrived in the Alabama plane surrounded by no less than eight aides. Among his outriders were three bodyguards, two press assistants, and assorted other advisers—all on the Alabama state payroll.

KENTUCKY LABOR NEWS
May 2, 1964

. . . The political ad [in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*] was signed by one BILL JONES as secretary of Wallace's Indiana committee. Jones, it turns out, is neither a Hoosier nor a union member. An Alabama state employee, Jones is simply the governor's press secretary! About 18 other state employees complete the pack traveling at Wallace's heels. A $250,000 state-owned plane, with a state-paid pilot and co-pilot, carries this happy crowd from soap box to whistle stop in Indiana.

MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER
March 6, 1964

The State Sovereignty Commission adopted as its first objective Thursday a massive campaign aimed at defeat of the civil rights bill pending in Congress.

As one gesture, the Commission agreed to pick up the check, not to exceed $1,000, for airplane gasoline for the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees, who have distributed thousands of copies of the civil

rights bill in Alabama and other states, also have arranged for the use of an airplane, the Commission was told, for conferences in other parts of the country to spread opposition to the bill.

from tabulation by William C. Havard, Chairman Department of Government Louisiana State University

The Louisiana Legislature held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.

THE ATLANTA *INQUIRER*
Eliza Paschall column, March 7, 1964

. . . One cost that is seldom counted is the time which trained responsible leaders must take from their professional duties to "work on desegregation." Every time the Steering Committee of the Summit Leadership Conference meets there are businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors who are not doing what businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors are supposed to be doing. The same is true of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee.

If these same people were all free to work on the problems that come with twentieth century growth, instead of working on the problem of making the color of your skin no more important than the color of your hair, we might at least catch up with, even get one step ahead of automation, expressways, art centers, and school curricula.

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.) March 4, 1964

City Council yesterday voted five to one to borrow $40,000 for the construction of a Negro community center on Hernando Street and $10,000 for remodeling of the present community center on Robertshaw.

He [Park Commissioner] said the Negro facility is needed since there is at present nowhere for Negroes to attend Park Commission activities.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 14, 1963

Emergency expenses resulting from the racial demonstrations of the last several weeks will cause a curtailment of some county services, the County Commission [Jefferson County, Alabama] said Monday.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
September 15, 1963

. . . The extra costs, including overtime pay for police and other personnel used during the demonstrations last spring totaled $45-46,000, money that might have gone into additional city equipment or services, Boutwell [Mayor Albert Boutwell of Birmingham] said.

THE REPORTER
February 27, 1964

Greenville, South Carolina, is having its problems. Faced with a suit to integrate its municipal swimming pool, the city council voted last October to convert it into a "marineland." "Integrated pools operate at a loss," Alderman W. I. Bouton . . . explained in proposing the switch. The economy-minded council apparently had no alternative but to import six sea lions from California. Since then, however, it's been just one thing after another. . . . The trouble began as soon as the sea lions were flown in by jet from Santa Barbara. They not only needed a series of vitamin and

antibiotic inoculations on arrival but fifty pounds of fish a day as well.

Yet the "animal groceries" budget had already been exceeded by $378 at that point and the $1,500 ration allowance that was provided "obviously left no margin," one alderman found, "for feeding camels and yaks." (There was no question that camels and yaks deserved treatment equal to sea lions) . . . it was discovered that the pool had sprung a leak. . . . The costs, however, turned out to be manageable, and for several days the local papers carried dolorous pictures of the woebegone seals dryly sitting it out on the shower-room benches while the pool was drained and the repairs were made. In mid-January a $1,200 concrete island with five spiral decks was lowered into the pool, and there is talk of a stainless-steel slide to come. But this gives no assurance yet that the sea lions will learn to be as happy as kids, black or white, in a swimming pool. At the end of January, one sea lion was found dead of unknown causes at the side of the pool, and another died at the veterinarian's.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 1, 1964

The Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation will continue its work for another four years. . . .

A budget of $12,000 has been set aside for the committee.

Sen. Gravolet [E. W. Gravolet of Pointe-A-La-Hache], who has served as vice chairman of the committee . . . said the committee had been in service 10 years and usually had an appropriation of about $7,000 to $12,000 annually.

It had no attorneys, he said, and members had drafted major segregation legislation through the years.

The Price We Pay. . .

In Elections

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
reprinting editorial from
Brewton (Ala.) *Standard*
January 25, 1964

. . . With the ratification of the anti-poll tax amendment by South Dakota the poll tax, as pertains to federal elections in this state, has just about two years to go before it becomes obsolete. Between now and that time, we hope that our legislators in Montgomery will eliminate the poll tax from state law. Otherwise, it will cost the state a tremendous amount of money for holding separate elections when federal and state candidates are placed on the same ballot.

The Price We Pay...
In Employment

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Jim Montgomery column
August 29, 1963

Racial discrimination in employment was singled out Wednesday as one of a complex set of forces which, together, are costing the American people more than $30 billion a year in personal income, most of it in the Southeast.

Ironically, it was not in Washington or at a civil rights forum that this estimate of economic loss was cited. . . .

An Atlanta economist presented the calculation in a rather more academic setting in Minneapolis. . . .

Dr. Joseph Airov, associate professor of economics at Emory University, was referring to the regional differences in per capita income in which the Southeast ranks hindmost among the eight major regions of the United States.

Statement of Under Secretary of Labor John F. Henning, before Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower
July 24, 1963

The unemployment rate for nonwhites as a whole is today over twice as high as for whites—in May, 10.3 per cent compared with 5.0 per cent. Among married men with family responsibilities, the difference is even wider, 8 per cent compared with 3 per cent.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 10, 1963

New Orleans—Several witnesses at a civil rights hearing here testified today that industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes.

Because of this discrimination, they said, the brighter and better-educated young Negroes migrate to the North and never return. This often leaves unfilled jobs for which they could qualify and discourages establishment of new industry for lack of skilled workers, they added.

About 750 of the brighter Negro boys of New Orleans go to school at St. Augustine's. Father Messina [Rev. Joseph Messina, counselor at the school] said 60 per cent of the school's graduates go North to complete their education and only 10 per cent of them return. These are largely in the educational field. . . .

Mr. Kerns [J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans] charged that although the Southern Bell Telephone Company had been advertising in New Orleans for months for telephone operators and other specialized workers, it had turned down all Negro applicants. . . .

Representatives of the Boeing Company and of Kaiser Aluminum, both of which have national policies of equal opportunity in employment, said they had found difficulty finding skilled Negro help here.

NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE
Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely
Rinehart & Company, Inc.
1957, p. 124, quoting Nashville *Tennessean* of April, 1957

One of the most shocking and challenging problems to the state of Tennessee is the continuing and costly loss of its young people.

In a survey conducted by a reporter for this newspaper, it was found that the state is losing an estimated 20,000 young persons a year, wasting an estimated $200 million invested in them because of inability to provide jobs for them.

NEW ORLEANS *STATES-ITEM*
April 6, 1964

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze said in New Orleans today Louisiana's refusal to accept federal manpower retraining aid may have caused 25 per cent of the jobs in the Michoud rocket plant to go to out-of-staters.

Celebrezze, in the city to address a labor convention, declared that all other states are receiving the aid.

The HEW secretary said he understood that 50 per cent of the 10,000 employees at the Saturn rocket plant were imported from other states and he guessed that half of these could have been drawn from local surplus labor if the proper training was available.

Federal officials told Louisiana last year the state was losing $1,088,000 by refusal to sign an agreement for funds under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act.

Celebrezze, at a press conference in the Royal Orleans Hotel, said Louisiana never has given a reason for its failure to participate, but he said he had a hunch it had to do with integration.

The funds, under the act, would not be available to segregated facilities.

A Study of the Economic Loss to New Orleans Caused by Migration of College-Educated Negroes, by T. Earl Sullenger, Ph.D.

. . . In brief, we conclude that the City of New Orleans is sustaining an annual economic loss of over 4-8 Million Dollars as the result of the migration of its college-educated Negroes.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Federal Government has under consideration a vocational education program for school-less Prince Edward [Virginia] County Negro children and is awaiting results of a survey to determine what other programs might be needed. . . .

The survey, being conducted by a Michigan State University research team under a $75,000 Federal grant, will provide basic information . . . to determine what other educational programs might be needed in the County.

Prince Edward closed its public schools in 1959 to avoid court-ordered desegregation. Since then white children have attended private, segregated schools. About 500 of the County's 1,600 Negro school-age children have been attending classes outside the County but the remainder have had no formal education in the past four school years.

WASHINGTON *POST*
Marquis Childs column, May 28, 1963

[Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel] . . . wanted the committee [the House Subcommittee on Education] to approve $5 million for the next fiscal year for grants to the states to carry out, under state

approval, programs in reading and writing for those who cannot read or write English or have less than an eighth grade education. . . .

Of the white population 25 years and older 6.7 per cent have completed less than five years of school. The percentage for the Negro population is 23.5. This is one measure of separate but unequal as it has prevailed in many parts of the country.

In Mississippi and Georgia nearly 40 per cent of the Negro population has had less than five years of school. For Texas, the figure is 23.6. In Missouri, it is 17.2. Illinois is 13.8 and New York 11.8.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 20, 1964
(Reprinting an article which appeared in the Milwaukee *JOURNAL*

In Georgia the median income to support each individual white person is $2,470, each Negro $927. White unemployment is 3.7 per cent, Negro 6 per cent. Weltner [Representative Charles L. Weltner, D. Ga.] estimated that if even the employed Negroes in Georgia earned at the white median rate they would add a half billion dollars a year to the state economy—instead of loading it with relief costs.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

Such an atmosphere is a serious problem for companies that need to hire executives and highly trained workers. Rust Engineering Co., for example, employs some 400 people, mostly graduate engineers, in Birmingham. George M. Rust, executive vice-president, says flatly that his company can't attract the trained engineers it needs. He pins the blame directly on the racial troubles.

"Periodically we run help-wanted ads in newspapers around the country," Rust explains. "We generally get 10 to 15 responses to each ad. About the time of the demonstrations last May we ran 10 ads from which we got just two answers." He goes on: "One highly skilled man we needed badly put us off because he wanted to see how the racial situation developed. Finally he decided not to come."

from a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination" presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, September 1962, by the Council of Economic Advisers

. . . The elimination of discrimination [in employment] would have an impact on the distribution of income among whites. Wage and salary incomes of whites in the lower paid occupations (with higher proportions of non-whites) would tend to rise while the opposite would be true in the higher income occupations. Thus the low income white population would also benefit and a more equal income distribution among whites would result.

The Price We Pay...
In Legal Costs

WASHINGTON POST
Editorial, May 6, 1964

"... no State can directly dictate or casually promote a distinction in the treatment of persons solely on the basis of their color." The principle is now so explicit a fixture of constitutional law that it must astonish laymen to see Virginia's Attorney General waste the taxpayers' money contesting the point. Judge Bryan enunciated it again in Alexandria, ordering the state to discontinue its practice of segregating the voting and property tax records by citizens' race.

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
September 21, 1963

Savannah, Ga. (UPI)—About 250 Negroes awaiting trial in connection with recent sit-in demonstrations here asked for separate jury trials Wednesday. . . .

Solicitor General Andrew J. Ryan, Jr., estimated that, if the Negroes went ahead with their plan, it would take a year and a half to complete the 250 trials. According to Georgia law, any person accused of either a misdemeanor or a felony has the right to demand a jury trial.

Section 59-120
***GEORGIA* CODE**

. . . The first grand jury impaneled at the fall term of the superior courts of the several counties shall fix the compensation of jurors and court bailiffs for the next succeeding year, such compensations not to exceed $3 per diem. . . .

390 weekdays (in 18 months) X $12 per day ($1 per juror per day minimum) = $4,680

CHARLOTTE *OBSERVER*
August 24, 1963

Greensboro (AP)—Solicitor L. Herbin, Jr., said Friday that if all 183 defendants charged with obstructing a street here without a permit June 6 pleaded not guilty he would plan a single trial for them in Superior Court Monday.

A single trial, he estimated would save Guilford County and the state more than $25,000. He based the figure on an estimated cost of $30 a minute for court operation. . . .

"If we were to try these cases individually, it would take about half a year. . . ."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 15, 1964

Perry [Ga.]—A fight between white persons and Negroes at a drinking fountain outside the Superior Courtroom in the Houston County courthouse Thursday brought about a mistrial in a case. . . .

Investigators and witnesses said the fight developed when a Negro drank from the white drinking fountain. . . .

As soon as order was restored, Judge Howell Bell declared a mistrial and released the jury.

NORFOLK *JOURNAL AND GUIDE*
November 30, 1963

Thus the long legal battle against school integration, the costs of which haven't yet been fully determined, and the continuing Prince Edward County court battle, all costly to the State, are draining off tax dollars which could and should be used for education and public works construction.

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
October 29, 1963

The Powhatan county school board has been ordered [by Federal District Judge John D. Butzner, Jr.] to pay $2,100 in fees to the two Negro attorneys who successfully opposed the county's segregated school policy.

A Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

The Little Rock School District, for example, had desegregation litigation from 1956 through 1962 resulting in at least 23 reported decisions by courts of record. During that period, legal fees paid by the district totaled $95,796.37, of which an estimated 75 percent is attributable to the legal position of the school board in opposition to desegregation.

Remarks of Senator Paul H. Douglas in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*
April 3, 1964, p. 6613

A single trial in a district court—with normal attendant motions, discovery procedures, and so forth—with one appeal to the circuit court and an application for certiorari to the Supreme Court, costs from $15,000 to $18,000. I refer to a letter from Gordon Tiffany, staff director, Commission on Civil Rights, dated January 29, 1960 and published at 106 *Congressional Record* 3663-3364.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 9, 1964

. . . During the past several years, the city of Jackson has been subjected to various court actions, in addition to pursuing a steady course of prosecuting racial demonstrators and others charged with public breach of city ordinances.

This activity has grown to such proportions that it overshadows most of the city's ordinary run of business, has caused the expenditure of a formidable [amount] of money.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 7, 1964

Washington (AP)—The Supreme Court rejected today a request by L. B. Sullivan, a city commissioner of Montgomery, Ala., for apportionment of costs in the case in which the court overturned a $500,000 libel judgment he won against the New York Times. . . .

Mr. Sullivan, in a motion filed with the Supreme Court, asked for "apportionment of printing costs and fees," that is, a division of the costs between him and the Times.

The Court routinely assesses such amounts against the loser, and a brief court order today rejected Mr. Sullivan's motion without comment.

The Office of the Supreme Court estimated the costs at about $13,000.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 23, 1964

(UPI)—A Federal judge ordered all public facilities in Gadsden, Ala., permanently desegregated today . . .

District Judge H. H. Grooms issued the ruling on an omnibus integration suit filed by Gadsden Negroes . . .

The defendants also were ordered to pay all court costs.

The Price We Pay...

In Education

In Loss of and Inability to Attract Faculty, Students, and Research

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 19, 1963

Birmingham—. . . "The racial situation has kept some people from joining our faculty, even though we offered them a greater opportunity than anyone else," says Dr. S. Richardson Hill, dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center here. "One doctor had already decided this was the best place for him. But after he talked it over with his family he decided against it." . . .

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
August 16, 1963

Oxford (AP)—The University of Mississippi—which ends its most difficult year Sunday with graduation of James H. Meredith—is losing more than 20 per cent of its faculty. . . .

An Associated Press survey shows that 54 faculty members listed in the 1962-63 university catalog will not return for the fall term which begins next month. . . .

He [university chancellor Dr. J. D. Williams] said the normal turnover among his teachers in past years has been 10 per cent. . . .

Before Meredith enrolled . . . most of the faculty turnover had been instructors and assistant professors—the two lowest grades.

But now there are 11 faculty members with rank of full professor and 17 associate professors leaving. . . .

Among those are two department chairmen, Dr. Samuel F. Clark of chemistry and Dr. William H. Willis of classics. . . .

Dr. Clark in an interview, said:

"My decision to leave Ole Miss, an institution for which I have felt and still feel a deep affection, stemmed from the serious loss of academic freedom to faculty and students of the university and to the breakdown of moral and professional responsibility on the part of the university's administrative officers."

Both Dr. Clark and Dr. Willis have been department heads since 1947. . . .

The entire three-man philosophy department is leaving. Seven of the 12 full-time chemistry teachers will not return.

The art department loses three of its five professors; classics two of four; physics three of seven; mathematics four of 10.

from testimony by Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. July 23, 1963

. . . In Little Rock, although racial unrest was sparked by school desegregation, protests over segregated public accommodations further inflamed the environment. Under these conditions, recruitment of technical people became extremely difficult. According to the provost for medical affairs of the University of Arkansas . . . "the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

***BUSINESS WEEK* February 29, 1964**

. . . Said Dr. Willis Tate, president of Southern Methodist University in Dallas: "One of the first questions asked by a talented professor who is invited to teach at a Southern University is: 'Is your university fully integrated?' This question today has become very important to an educator, more so than it has ever been. It has become part of his moral code, the fiber of his integrity."

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 9, 1963

Oxford, Miss.—Although two Negro students were registered quietly at the University of Mississippi this week, the aftermath of last fall's rioting still plagues the school.

The number of new students who applied by June 1 for the fall term totals 884, 30 per cent below last year's total of 1,264, according to the figures compiled by the registrar's office.

The biggest decrease has been in the number of out-of-state students.

NASHVILLE *TENNESSEAN* September 27, 1963

Oxford, Miss. (AP)—Four dormitories at the university of Mississippi are being closed for lack of students, university authorities announced yesterday.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* Ralph McGill column, August 27, 1963

The crisis is, Dr. Willard [Dr. Willam R. Willard, vice president of the Medical Center, University of Kentucky] finds, clearly delineated. There is a sharp decline in the number and quality of applicants to medical schools. Dr. Willard names no institutions. But the schools described in Group One, where research and experiments are conducted, are, the report says, "not handicapped by sponsorship which restricts admission of students by race, creed or color as in some Group Two schools." The marginal schools, and those most burdened, are, therefore, in the South. . . .

In 1960-61 the ten schools in Group One averaged $11.3 million [in expenditures] per school. Group Two averaged $1.7 million. Federal grants for research naturally—and properly—went largely to the Group One institutions.

***BUSINESS WEEK* February 29, 1964**

A Houston jury in a state civil court last week O.K.'d a move by the trustees of Rice University to break away from two stipulations of the institution's founder [not to charge tuition and not to admit Negroes]. . . .

In Rice's case, more than 88% of the school's $5.9 millions worth of

research contracts are government supported. . . . Whether or not Congress adopts a strong civil rights law, it is clear that federal agencies are under pressure to put their money, where possible, in integrated colleges. . . .

In the light of such statistics, Rice trustees could see no future for their university, regardless of its recognized scientific stature in Texas, unless a court would allow them to bypass the two conditions of the University's charter. . . .

Particularly, they [the trustees] said, continued exclusion of Negroes would cripple Rice's ability to attract a top-grade faculty as well as carry forward its research effort.

The Price We Pay...

In Capital Investment

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 27, 1964

Millsaps College reaffirmed its segregation policy in a statement in the current edition of the Methodist Advocate. . . .

"This is evidenced by the fact that the board has determined privately to finance the building of badly needed additional dormitory space on the campus," said the statement, "rather than by the acceptance of a one-million dollar loan from the housing and home finance agency."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 18, 1963

Annapolis (AP)—Gov. Tawes said today Cambridge must settle its racial problems if it is to have any chance as a site for a proposed Eastern Shore branch of the University of Maryland.

"With the continuance of conditions that exist in Cambridge, I would have no great desire to agree to establishment of a (university) branch there," he told a news conference. "It would be unwise." . . .

He noted that the bill authorizing $100,000 for planning a university branch or branches does not become effective until next June.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 12, 1963

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—The State Building Commission is studying a recommendation by the State College Board that $3 million in state bonds be issued to finance dormitory construction at six institutions of higher learning.

The recommendation made by the board falls under a new program designed to circumvent racial discrimination rulings imposed by federal agencies.

In the past the state has borrowed federal money to finance such construction.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 9, 1963

The university's [of Mississippi] plight has been underscored in another area. In recent years, the university has financed new dormitory building costing $8,000,000 with funds from the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

When President John Kennedy last November signed an Executive Order forbidding discrimination in Federally assisted housing, the Mississippi Legislature ordered an end to future agreements between the agency and the university.

University officials say they will now have to seek state bond issues for dormitory construction. Because the lending rates will not be as favorable as the Federal rate has been, an increase in room rent is expected.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
June 19, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Virginia Public School Authority accepted Tuesday a long interest bid of 2.9346 per cent for its initial issue of $15 million in bonds to aid local school construction. . . .

Dave Ellenwood, a Moody's Investors Service representative serving as authority adviser, said the low bid was "not quite as favorable as hoped for" but still "a very fair value."

Ellenwood said recent news of racial disturbances "from the southern part of the country had tended to upset some buyers in the market for southern bonds."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 20, 1963

. . . Several municipal bond dealers, particularly those in the secondary market, have said that they are "not going out of our way to stock bonds issued by communities that are in the headlines."

The Price We Pay...

Through School Closing and Boycotts

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
April 14, 1963

. . . New president of the statewide organization of civic and professional leadership is Jack Reed, merchant of Tupelo who during the midst of Negro James Meredith-Ole Miss desegregation crisis said Mississippi would suffer economic catastrophe if schools were closed in the face of desegregation efforts. . . .

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
February 19, 1964

The House Tuesday authorized Laurens County [Georgia] to sell its controversial Brewton School, near Dublin, which white residents refused to use because it was too close to a small Negro neighborhood.

Since its erection at a cost of $300,000 in 1957 the complex of buildings has been wrecked by vandals and despoiled by weather.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 4, 1963

. . . Tuskegee High School was closed last Friday on orders from the State Board of Education, of which Governor George Wallace is ex-officio chairman.

School authorities in Tuskegee said it was costing about $450 a month for each pupil to keep Tuskegee High School open; compared with a statewide average of less than $300 a pupil per year.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 11, 1964

Montgomery—. . . Speaking at a press conference, the governor [George C. Wallace] said his office will offer "all it can to help" enroll white Macon County students in schools of surrounding counties.

"The governor's office will spend whatever money we have to help," he said, adding that money will come from the mansion fund and other funds.

Wallace asked financial aid to the private Macon Academy at Tuskegee from the people of Alabama. The school was opened after Tuskegee High was desegregated last fall.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 23, 1964

(AP) . . . Some 432 pupils walked out of high school at Tuskegee, Notasulga and Shorter, refusing to attend class with Negroes. That will leave a big dent in the county's school budget because the state's money is allocated according to the student population.

. . . in September, the county [Macon] will receive something like $75,000 less than it did this school year. Actually, the cutback will be somewhat greater when the loss in transportation money is figured. . . .

The loss of the state funds won't necessarily mean the Macon County Board must close any schools. It could cut out some of the services countywide instead.

Or it could make up the difference from local sources of revenue. But in a small rural county like Macon, that's difficult.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 7, 1964

If Macon County chooses to take the private school route, it would probably be too much to hope that the county officialdom would call on Little Rock for some expert testimony on the miserable, costly experience that would lie ahead.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—Three barns were burned on the farm of Macon County School board member Don Mercer Davis Tuesday night, and authorities said it was a case of obvious arson. . . .

The burnings follow cross burnings at the homes of three of the school board Sunday night.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 6, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—The water filter plant at nearby Notasulga burned Wednesday night and Mayor James Rhea said it has caused an acute water shortage. He asked that all schools in the town be closed.

Among the schools to be closed is the high school where federal court has ordered six Negro students admitted.

No cause of the fire was determined, but Rhea said, "it looks suspicious."

ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
April 19, 1964

Notasulga, Ala. (AP)—Fire destroyed the recently desegregated Macon County High School early Saturday and investigators said there were indications that it may have been started by an arsonist. . . .

There was no immediate estimate of the damage.*

*[*According to the* Alabama Educational Directory, *1962-63, there are 10 school plants in Macon County. According to the* Annual Report, *1962, of the Alabama Department of Education, the total assessed valuation of school warrants for Macon County properties was $12,956,890. If the Macon County High School plant alone (without consideration of interior equipment such as books and laboratory supplies) were estimated at one-tenth of the total value of the county's plants, and this would seem a low estimate since four of the ten schools are elementary schools, then its assessed valuation could be well over $1,250,000*].

The Price We Pay...

Through Tuition Grants

Several southern states have attempted through various schemes to avoid or mitigate desegregation of schools by providing grants from state funds to students for tuition at private schools. To illustrate, Virginia in 1959 legislated to provide such scholarships of up to $250 (elementary school child) and $275 (high school child) per student.

Following are some of the results of this and similar state actions in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama, as well as some estimates of the costs in the four states most seriously affected.

In Virginia . . .

WASHINGTON POST
November 13, 1963

Roanoke (AP)—Roanoke School Superintendent E. W. Rushton attacked the tuition grant program last night in some of the strongest terms yet from an educator.

The cost rise is "alarming" . . . said Rushton. . . .

He said money has been laid out for the grants year after year while

spending has been cut for teachers' salaries, school plant maintenance and operation. . . .

For every child who gets a grant, the city loses more money—an average of $100 in the State support allocated on the basis of children in average daily attendance. . . .

School board Business Manager A. F. Fisher estimated today that the total cost of the program to date thus exceeds $225,000, or about the cost of a new eight-room elementary school. . . .

Virginia taxpayers spent $2,252,995 for 9489 grants in 1962-63.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
Editorial, January 22, 1964

. . . For the biennium of 1964-66, the sum of $1,200,000 is set aside for paying the state's share of grants . . .

In South Carolina . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 22, 1964

In South Carolina the legislature included a provision in this year's general appropriations bill for $250,000 that will finance private education for pupils in Charleston who are dissatisfied with integrated schools.

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
January 11, 1964

Columbia (AP)—. . . But if federal court orders on integration of schools begin ranging more widely than just in the Charleston area, $250,000 would be only a drop in the bucket.

In Louisiana . . .

the bill of . . .

PAR ANALYSIS
No. 113, October, 1963
Public Affairs Research
Council of Louisiana, Inc.

In the current school term, 10,136 children have been approved to receive grants that will total $3.6 million.

consists of . . .

The $360 grant paid by the state to a child attending a private school is considerably more than the average amount of state money spent on each child attending public elementary and secondary schools in fiscal 1962-63.

and is paid by . . .

In the second extra session of 1961, the legislature transferred $2.5 million from the public welfare fund to a new fund, the education expense grant fund, in order to carry out the grant-in-aid program. It further provided that $200,000 per month was to be paid into the new fund out of the first money collected from the state's sales tax. . . . The 1962 legislature then transferred $4 million out of the fund to assist in meeting the state's deficit. . . . The $200,000 sales tax dedication was continued; however, in the 1963 fiscal session of the legislature this sum was raised to $300,000 per month by Act 27.

In Alabama . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5,1964

The State Board of Education Tuesday authorized financial aid to parents of Tuskegee High School students to enable them to attend private segregated schools. . . .

State School Superintendent Auston Meadows said . . . it would be sometime before he could determine how much money would go to the parents for each child. The law specifies that the amount cannot exceed what was previously spent in providing a public education for the student.†

ANNUAL REPORT
1962 Alabama State Board of Education

†CURRENT EXPENSES PER PUPIL IN A.D.A. (AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE)	COUNTIES WHITE	COUNTIES NEGRO
	$198.68	$177.76

The Price We Pay...

In Duplication of Resources

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 19, 1964

(AP)—For almost 20 years, Alabama has provided out-of-state aid for college students seeking instruction not available to them in this state.

Many Negroes have taken advantage of the program to get specialized instruction when they were barred from Alabama's white colleges and universities.

Under the program started in 1945, Alabama pays the difference in tuition plus transportation and up to $110 a month for living expenses.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 3, 1963

Fort Rucker, Ala.—When school bells ring this morning, some 1,200 white and Negro children will file into a spanking new $1,038,000 school house built on the base here by Uncle Sam this summer for the sake of integration.

Meanwhile, a few hundred yards away from the camp gates, a segregated public school, also costing $1 million and financed with Federal funds, will remain two-thirds empty. Most of its white students have been transferred to the Army school, in company with a handful of Negro military dependents that previously attended a local all-colored school. At most, it's estimated only 30 Negro pupils at Fort Rucker will be enrolled in the new integrated school on post.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1963

The varied costs of maintaining segregated schools are large and growing larger; the heaviest burden rests on Negro children, but the drain on the monetary resources of the entire community is increasingly severe. . . .

Handicapped by lower income and a higher educational load than the

rest of the United States, Arkansas, in common with the rest of the South, has gained little in relation to national education standards. In 1961, Arkansas spent $57.48 per capita on its public schools, $3.29 below Mississippi, and last in the Nation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
July 9, 1963

Atlanta School Board Member Mrs. Ray Mitchell has accused the city of "spending millions of dollars unnecessarily to keep schools segregated when segregation, by law, may be past history at any time." . . .

". . . Empty seats" at predominantly white schools could help further to relieve crowded conditions in Negro schools, she continued.

Mrs. Mitchell also argued unsuccessfully against a board plan to build an entirely new school to lighten the load at crowded Howard High. She said she could "not go along" with an expenditure of about $2 million on a new building when existing space in other schools is already available.

While on the Other Hand . . .

CHARLESTON (W. VA.) *GAZETTE*
April 18, 1964

. . . West Virginia has made a good beginning in school desegregation. . . .

Segregation simply costs too much—both in taxes and in the psycological damage it does primarily to Negroes, but also to whites who are forced to grow up learning to fear or hate human beings they don't even know.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1963

The cost of interdistrict transportation of Negro children to servicing schools clearly exceeds what the cost of educating such children in desegrated resident districts would be. . . . State-wide per pupil cost averages from $149 to $225 per year. In a segregated district in western Arkansas, $4,500 is spent annually for sending 14 Negro high school students to another district, a per pupil average of $321. In one district, 15 students in both elementary and secondary schools had been sent to another district at an annual cost of $6,000, or $400 per pupil. This latter district has desegregated, and it is a source of some public pride that the savings are being put into a public school music department that the district long lacked.

WASHINGTON *POST*
November 25, 1963

. . . Applauding the School Board's decision [to close the all-Negro high school] County Board Chairman Thomas W. Richards said yesterday:

"The Board is pleased that, for the first time, all Negro senior high school children in Arlington will have an equal educational opportunity and that this will be accomplished at a great savings to the taxpayer."

LOUISVILLE *COURIER-JOURNAL*
September 22, 1963

Paris, Ky.—. . . For six months before the high school [Bourbon County] integrated in 1961, a biracial committee prepared an acceptable climate of public opinion. . . .

Not the least effective argument was the hard fact that maintaining two systems was a needless waste, costing $33,000 a year.

The Price We Pay...

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

Art . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

The Museum of Modern Art has barred its circulating exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and photographs from display before segregated groups.

One fourth of the exhibitions . . . visit the South.

This rule, which applies also to rentals from the museum's extensive library of motion pictures, was instituted recently in the hope that other museums would follow suit.

Opera and Theater . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Bruce Galphin column,
May 16, 1964

A few years ago, when soprano Leontyne Price was first creating such a sensation at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, one of the Met executives was asked when Atlantans could see and hear her.

"When she can ride in an unsegregated taxi from the airport, and stay in an unsegregated hotel and eat in an unsegregated restaurant," he replied. . . . [Miss Price sang with the Metropolitan during its 1964 season in Atlanta.]

How much Americans have cheated themselves in the past by denying themselves the Leontyne Prices. How much poorer we have been for cutting off the potential contributions of so many millions of people. How sad and curious it will seem to those who read the history of our days that we even set up elaborate barriers of custom and law to deny ourselves these gifts.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

. . . The museum is the third major cultural organization to act against segregation. Last year the Metropolitan Opera decided that it would no longer play before segregated audiences during its spring tours and this year the Actors Equity Association ruled that its members should not be required to perform in segregated theaters.

Night Clubs . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
June 11, 1963

New York (AP)—The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employees. . . .

The resolution continued:

"AGVA will advocate the non-appearance of AGVA members in any hotels, clubs or place of entertainment where such a policy of segregation exists."

Baseball . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
October 20, 1963

. . . The Boston Red Sox and the Pittsburgh Pirates have been asked by the Florida National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to reconsider plans to locate baseball farm clubs at Ocala and Palatka. The NAACP said both cities lack integrated facilities.

Football . . .

HOUSTON *POST*
August 20, 1963

Four Negro stars of the Oakland Raiders [professional football] say they won't play Friday night in Mobile, Ala. against the New York Jets if seating in the stadium is segregated.

Prizefight . . .

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 25, 1964

Both Loew's State and the Saenger theaters announced Monday that they are cancelling the telecast of the Sonny Liston-Cassius Clay heavyweight fight Tuesday night.

Earlier Monday, Liston said he would not stand for piping a telecast of his title defense, in Miami Beach, into any theater that had racially segregated seating.

Playright . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 4, 1963

Irish playwright Brendan Behan has cancelled a scheduled visit here Friday for a performance of one of his plays because of a news item he said he read in New York about police mistreatment of Negro comedian Dick Gregory in Mississippi.

Frank Wittow, director of the Academy Theater here, said . . . he [Behan] refused to come South.

"We were looking forward to seeing and working with Behan," Mr. Wittow said. "Unfortunately, we are all identified with the crude actions in Mississippi. This is a case of everybody suffering."

Literary Festival . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
April 9, 1964

Many months ago, the Southern Literary Festival, an association of 27 colleges and universities from South Carolina to Texas, made contracts with Prof. Walter Allen of Vassar College, Prof. John Gassner of Yale University, and Stephen Spender, English poet, to speak for festival ses-

sions at Mississippi State College for Women at Columbus, April 23-25.

Three weeks before the festival date, all three wrote to Dr. George T. Buckley, president of the association, cancelling their contracts, all for the same reason, that Mississippi State College for Women does not admit Negroes."

State Parks . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
April 23, 1964

Annual maintenance costs for Edisto Beach State Park, padlocked for eight years to avoid racial integration, constitute "a waste of money," the chairman of the State Forestry Commission said last night. . . .

Edisto Beach Park will be the only one of 26 state parks to remain closed next month. The other 25 are re-opening on a restricted racially integrated basis under terms of a new state parks act passed last week by the General Assembly. . . .

However, its mothball status is costing taxpayers $6,525 a year to pay a caretaker-superintendent and to paint and repair park cabins that will never be occupied. . . .

A state estimate is that it would require an outlay of $35,000 to get the park back into sufficiently good shape to reopen for visitors.

Auditorium . . .

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
September, 1962

A proposed large bond issue failed in Atlanta, and Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., said the segregation issue was one of the reasons for the failure. A bond issue for new schools was barely defeated, but bonds for a cultural center lost by a big margin. Allen said the segregation issue had been "falsely injected" into the cultural center debate.

Music . . .

REDBOOK
"Little Rock—Five Years Later"
Gerald Walker
November, 1962

. . . When Duke Ellington was to appear there [Little Rock, Ark., city auditorium] last year, seating was announced to be on a segregated basis, whereupon the band leader cancelled his booking.

TIME
March 20, 1964

. . . Conductors George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Erich Leinsdorf all announced that they would not appear before segregated audiences, and they were joined by such performers as Rise Stevens, Leon Fleisher, Jaime Laredo and Julius Katchen. Artur Rubenstein declared that such a stand is "a right and natural step."

Segregation remains the general rule for concert audiences in Mississippi and Alabama; elsewhere it is accomplished more discreetly. . . . Sol Hurok, with his huge stable of artists, has had a similar policy [refusal to appear before segregated audiences] for a decade. At week's end the new musical boycott of the Deep South was endorsed by Vladimir Horowitz.

Blackout in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 29, 1964

Jackson (UPI)—[James] Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was to have given the principal address at a banquet honoring members of the Mississippi Legislature.

But a few hours before the event, Webb sent word he did not endorse segregation, and would not appear.

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
January 23, 1964

Television's Cartwright family of the "Bonanza" series exhibited a solid front Tuesday when Lorne Green and Michael Landon joined their co-star Dan Blocker in cancelling a scheduled appearance in Jackson because they refused to appear before a segregated audience.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
January 26, 1964

Jackson (AP)—Jazz trumpeter Al Hirt and his band failed to play Saturday night after he was asked by an integration group not to appear at the segregated coliseum.

COMMONWEALTH
(Greenwood, Miss.)
February 20, 1964

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—Another performer has passed up an appearance here following a protest by a civil rights group.

Concert pianist Gary Graffman will not appear for a Community Concert series at the Jackson Auditorium on February 27 because of segregated arrangements.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 10, 1964

A campaign to desegregate concerts in the South received significant backing yesterday when a major concert management organization indicated that it would no longer offer its artists to perform in Jackson, Miss., at least until racial tensions there are eased. . . .

Kurt Weinhold, president of Columbia Artists Management, Inc., said . . . he had not suggested any replacement for Birgit Nilsson, the soprano, who last week called off a concert on the advice of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Price We Pay...

In Tourism and Conventions

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
September 8, 1962

New Orleans' loss of conventions is hurting business much more in the French Quarter than are District Attorney Jim Garrison's vice raids, a veteran Bourbon Street night club operator believes.

Hyp Guinle, owner of the Famous Door Lounge, said Friday that state laws requiring segregation in hotels are costing night spots the convention trade which is their lifeblood. . . .

"Seymour Weiss tells me he's had five cancellations from conventions this year because he couldn't take one or two colored delegates," said Guinle.

PROVIDENCE (R. I.) *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Bluefield, W. Va. (AP)—The West Virginia Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed a victory yesterday when Negro hotels turned away Negroes and forced an American Legion convention out of Bluefield. . . .

The NAACP has been "working hard to get Negroes not to cooperate with the segregated housing plans of the Legion convention," he [Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the W. Va. NAACP] said.

The controversy began last month when the West Virginian Hotel, to be convention headquarters, said it would not accept reservations from Negro legionnaires.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1963

Detroit (UPI)—The American Federation of Teachers has turned down a suggestion that its convention in 1963 be held at Bal Harbour, Fla.

Some of the delegates expressed concern over possible racial segregation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Miami Beach (AP) . . . Miami Beach has been named the site of the American Legion's September 6-12 national convention, shifted from New Orleans because of racial problems.

National Commander James Powers . . . said not enough integrated lodgings could be found in New Orleans.

An estimated 50,000 persons will attend the sessions.

Tabulations by Larry Mansfield, Manager, City of Miami Convention Bureau, June, 1963

Assuming that the Miami Beach meeting draws 35,000 delegates for a four-day stay and each one spends $30.00 per day (a national average delegate's expenditure), this will amount to . . . $4,200,000.

From testimony of Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. before the Senate Committee on Commerce, July 23, 1963

The business community generally has begun to recognize that the Negro's rising disposable income represents a large and growing portion of the nation's buying power. However, this is far less true in the area of public accommodations.

The table [based on a study published several years ago by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania] shows . . . that Negroes in both the North and South spend much less than whites of the same income class on "Automobile operations" (40 to 60 per cent). This statistic certainly suggests that Negroes are doing considerably less traveling by automobile than white people in the same income group. Since Negroes spent close to the same amount, on the average, for the purchase of automobiles as did whites on the same income level, I believe the absence of suitable facilities along our important North-South highway routes must be the discouraging factor.

***WALL STREET JOURNAL* June 26, 1963**

Tourist travel through Birmingham to points in the South and Southwest "is off at least 25%, maybe more," says Bancroft Timmons, director of the Alabama Automobile Association. "We're getting requests for routings around Birmingham every day. People coming from New York to the Southwest are driving 100 miles out of their way through Arkansas to miss Alabama."

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE* September 16, 1963

Toronto (AP)—Canadians should boycott the southern United States as a holiday area in protest of racial segregation, Alan Borovoy, executive secretary of the Ontario Labor Committee for Human Rights, said Sunday.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL* April 27, 1964

Pittsburgh—The Methodist Church's General Conference was told Sunday that the body would meet in Dallas, Tex., in 1968. Atlanta had been a major contender for the meeting until it was eliminated several weeks ago because of segregation in several restaurants and lunch counters as well as inadequate auditorium facilities. . . .

Had Atlanta been selected, the conference would have brought some 14,000 persons to the city for a two-week period.

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 14, 1964

St. Augustine—. . . The city of 15,000 persons derives 80 per cent of its income from tourists. The old Spanish fort, a national monument, is a good indicator of the tourist trade. The National Park Service said the number of visitors to the fort declined almost 45 per cent during the first 10 days of June, compared to the same period last year.

While on the Other Hand . . .

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

. . . In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

DALLAS MORNING NEWS
February 12, 1964

Hank Brown, state president of Texas AFL-CIO told the state executive board Tuesday that unions recently caused the integration of the last segregated hotel in Brownsville.

Brown said that while examining Brownsville as a possible site for the union's convention August 10-21, he discovered that a hotel near the convention center was segregated.

When civic leaders faced the prospect of losing $250,000 in convention trade, he said, "the situation was straightened out." Executive board members voted Monday to hold the convention in Brownsville.

WINSTON-SALEM (N. C.)
***JOURNAL*, Editorial**
February 24, 1964

. . . A week or so ago, the National Lutheran Council decided to meet in Charlotte after the New York *Times* reported that eight hotels and motels in that city had been desegregated. Earlier, the council members had discounted Charlotte as a meeting site. The executive director of the council said that "we would prefer (as a matter of principle) not to be in a place where the hotel space was segregated." Thus Charlotte gets a convention that will bring 70 people there for three days.

Last Friday, the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters said that it had cancelled plans to hold its June convention at a motor hotel in Wrightsville Beach because the management refused to provide accommodations for representatives of a member radio station owned by Negroes. Instead, the association will meet at a New Bern hotel.

There will surely be other such instances as more and more organizations desegregate their membership and as the consciences of Americans become increasingly aroused to the need for racial justice. And in time the realities of business may overcome the fears of those who still feel that discrimination pays off.

The Price We Pay...

On a National Scale

For Segregated Housing

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
July 1, 1963

Washington . . . He [Emerson P. Schmidt, chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce] noted that while there has been no absolute drop in the volume of federally-financed house construction since the anti-discrimination order was issued in November, there has been a drop in the proportion it represents of all new house construction.

THE MORTGAGE BANKER
February, 1964

Not only is the impulse to new home ownership an inevitable expression of the middle class Negro's aspirations and accomplishments, its realization would have a salutary effect on the economy at large.

Recently the Housing and Home Finance agency prepared a series of estimates of the extent to which new construction would be augmented if non-white families were permitted and inclined to participate in the housing market in a manner identical to that of the white families. The calculation for 17 metropolitan areas in the United States indicated that potential demand accumulated among non-white families with incomes between $7,000 and $10,000 a year amounted to 45,000 units, and that demand in all 212 metropolitan areas may be as high as 200,000 units.

This figure represents approximately one-eighth of the total annual volume of new construction and one-sixth of the annual number of new one-family units. Were the backlog to be made up during the remaining portion of the decade of the 1960's, the demand for new construction would be increased by 2 to 3 per cent a year. This could be a welcome addition during a period in which net household formation is expected to taper off.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Eugene Patterson column,
December 14, 1963

. . . If backward attitudes prevail, Atlanta can become a predominantly Negro city by 1975.

And since the existing housing squeeze will increasingly drive well-off Negroes as well as whites to homes outside the city limits, in order to make way for city slums to house the poorest Negroes and whites, then the city's tax base will erode and progress will wither.

Then city business will falter, and with it job opportunities, so that the poverty of the city's poor will begin to feed on itself and perpetuate the cycle of decay.

What the city faces, therefore, is not a racial debate but an economic

crisis. Poor whites, trapped in city slums, will be hurt along with poor Negroes. And the well-off whites, along with the well-off Negroes who withdraw into suburbs will find the source of their prosperity—a strong central city—evaporating.

The Price We Pay...

For Federal Troops in Racial Disorders

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
October 3, 1963

Washington (AP)—The call-up of the Alabama National Guard in that state's public school integration crisis last month has cost at least $422,000 so far, the Army said Wednesday.

This figure covers pay and allowances from September 10 to 30.

It does not include operations costs.

NASHVILLE *BANNER*
March 29, 1963

Washington—The Defense Department estimates it has spent at least $4,100,000 maintaining troops at Oxford, Miss., to protect James Meredith. . . .

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara supplied the figure to a House Appropriations subcommittee, for the period ending January 31, at the request of three Southern members. . . .

McNamara pointed out that Defense Department figures were in addition to the cost incurred by the Justice Department.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 5, 1963

Washington (AP)—. . . The Justice Department has told Congress its expenses to enforce court orders permitting Negro James H. Meredith to attend the University of Mississippi will run about $559,000 through June 30.

KNOXVILLE *NEWS-SENTINEL*
January 30, 1963

. . . Federal costs in the operation has exceeded $4,500,000 and it is costing an additional $4,500 a day for the 300 troops still stationed at Oxford, Miss. . . .

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
February 20, 1963

Washington (AP)—The damage that heavy military aircraft inflicted last fall on the University of Mississippi airport will be repaired by the government, two Mississippi House members said today. . . .

"The damage to the runway alone is estimated to be in excess of $200,000. Additional extensive repairs must be made to restore other airport property to its original condition."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 11, 1963

For the fourth time in recent years†, the National Guard of a Southern state was called into Federal service during a desegregation dispute yesterday . . .

. . . The 320 Alabama Guardsmen mobilized by Governor George C.

Wallace early yesterday to bar Negro children from entering school in three Alabama cities, withdrew on Department of the Army orders after President Kennedy federalized the entire 17,000-man Alabama Guard. They returned to their armories.

They [Guardsmen] will draw an average of $13.50 a day in Army pay while mustered into Federal service even though not actually on duty —at a cost to the U. S. Government of about $320,000 a day.

†[*Little Rock—1957; Ole Miss—1962; Tuscaloosa—1963; and Birmingham, Tuskegee and Huntsville—September, 1963*].

NEW YORK *TIMES*
May 13, 1964

Washington—The Controller General of the United States has turned down a University of Mississippi claim for $104,545 in damages that followed the admission of James H. Meredith. . .

The university argued that the Federal troops were its tenants. Therefore, it said, the Army should pay the fair rental value of the property it occupied and restore the premises to their original condition.

Controller General Ames Campbell, in refusing the claim altogether, noted that the troops hardly had been invited by the university.

The Price We Pay...

In Gross National Product

From a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment," presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, by the Council of Economic Advisers September, 1962

. . . If non-whites had the same labor force participation and employment rates as the whites and if they were distributed geographically and occupationally (and thus in terms of wage and salary income) as whites with the same educational attainments—if, in other words, non-whites were able to make the same contribution to production, given their present educational attainment, GNP could be increased by about 1.8 per cent. . . .

Furthermore, the 1.8 per cent estimate relates only to wage and salary income and does not attempt the difficult measurement of the change in the labor component of entrepreneurial income. Gains will occur in the labor productivity of the self-employed adding further to the 1.8 per cent increase in GNP.

The above considerations suggest that the gain in Gross National Product might well be as much as 2.5 per cent (about $13 billion at today's level of GNP). . . .

. . . The shift to full utilization of the present capabilities of the nonwhite population (and the resultant GNP increase of about 2.5 per cent) would assist significantly in meeting our economic growth objectives in the coming years. . . .

If non-whites had the same educational levels as whites, and if the

economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3.2 per cent higher (inclusive of the 2.5 per cent estimate reported above). This amounts to about $17 billion at today's levels of GNP.

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D. Minn.) in Pittsburgh March 7, 1964

. . . This [$13 to $17 billion dollars a year cited above in GNP] is more than one-fourth of the money we spend for national defense. It is three times as much as we spend on our space program.

And this loss in income, of course, does not take into account what we pay in higher crime rates, poor health, urban decay, mounting welfare costs and the countless other costs that grow out of discrimination.

When all of these are added, the cost of discrimination becomes astronomical.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* Editorial, September 22, 1963

. . . Where there are many Negroes and if Negro income levels are substantially lower than whites—and they are—then the states or the region with so large a number of Negroes suffer by not having all its people able to buy goods or services matching the national level. The more Negroes can buy, the more jobs will be created.

HOUSTON *POST* February 23, 1964

American society robs itself when it refuses equal job and educational opportunities to people because of their race, creed or religion.

That's the feeling of Hobart Taylor, Jr., of Washington, D. C., the executive vice-chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

. . . Taylor prefers to approach the issue of desegregation on economic grounds.

The Gross National Product of the United States, for example, would be increased . . . if job discrimination were ended, he said. The Gross National Product now stands at $600 billion.

"Our economic system needs to be arranged so that everyone strives to his fullest," he said "If he doesn't, the country is that much poorer."

The economic evil about discrimination, he said, is that it makes many feel they cannot rise above a certain level, so they tend to give less than their best.

Taylor said one of the most harmful fallacies in the nation is that there are only a certain number of jobs available for the work force.

The truth is, he says, that as more people are given the opportunity to produce, the more wealth and jobs there are created.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* (from New York *Times* Co. dispatch), July 1, 1963

Washington—The Chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce fears that "unresolved race relations issues" may hurt some kinds of businesses particularly, and business generally in certain sections of the country. . . .

Entire areas of the country where there is widespread public unrest might also see some temporary drop in business, Schmidt [Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt] indicated.

The Price We Pay...
In Foreign Relations

Letter from W. M. Chase, General Sales Manager, Chase Machinery Company ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column May 20, 1963

Buffalo, N. Y.—I have just returned from a selling trip through the greater and lesser Antilles where for years we have been selling machinery and equipment to these off-shore areas in the Caribbean and the Atlantic.

Both the whites and the blacks now refuse to buy anything American from us even though, personally, I have made many friends for the past many years.

Russia, Japan, Canada and England have their salesmen in these prosperous islands and invariably they talk about how the whites treat the colored people in the United States.

Last year the U. S. Department of Commerce reported exports to these same islands amounted to $180 million but the steamship companies so far this year are noticing that shipments are few.

NEW YORK *HERALD TRIBUNE* June 20, 1963

Washington—Twenty-two ambassadors from African nations got together here yesterday to tell the world what it already knew—that Africa thinks even less of Senator Allen J. Ellender than he thinks of it.

A Louisiana Democrat and ardent segregationist, Senator Ellender likes to go around telling anybody who will listen that Negroes are incapable of self-government. He said it again on television Sunday.

The statement brought the usual reaction. On Monday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking for an Administration that is up to its neck in racial problems, said the Senator did not speak for the government or for a majority of Americans.

The Africans had heard this before, and were not impressed. They gathered in the Liberian Embassy and issued a communique that said, in part:

"The language used by the Senator was needlessly offensive to our countries with which the United States government has friendly relations . . .

"It is difficult to ignore Sen. Ellender's remarks or to dismiss them as the fully privileged announcement of a private citizen in view of his position as a senior member of Congress and of the Senate Appropriations Committee . . .

"It is a grave disservice to the cause of world peace and understanding for a person occupying a prominent place in the public life of a great nation to provoke a return of the archaic debates on whether ethnic differences can be held to justly a claim of superiority by one race over another. That theory has been proved baseless and its revival is likely to be a source of incalculable mischief."

Last December, while on a taxpayer-financed junket to Africa, Senator Ellender also said Negroes were unable to rule themselves. The remarks received wide publicity all over the continent and caused the State Department considerable embarrassment.

One result was that four countries on the Senator's itinerary refused permission for him to visit.

In March, Senator Ellender held a press conference here in which he said he had no apologies for his views. He called Africans "thinskinned" and appeared still nettled that he had been refused travel rights in four of the nations. He added.

"The Negro in Africa is no different from the Negro in America. The minute you say whites are a little ahead of the Negro it's like shaking a red handkerchief before a fighting bull."

The official policy of the United States, of course, has been to support independence for new African states. It is aiding these countries to the tune of $500 million a year.

WASHINGTON *POST*
August 26, 1963

When Negro and white demonstrators for equal rights converge on Washington this week, an American dilemma will be unveiled in dramatic terms. The vast majority of white Americans (78 per cent) feel that unsolved racial problems here at home cannot be defended in the court of world opinion.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Ralph McGill column,
May 23, 1963

Air mail brought cuttings from newspapers in the new African countries showing treatment of the Birmingham riots and bombings within four days after the first brutalities. These mailings—to our State Department, to members of many delegations in the United Nations, and to individuals—have continued. They include photographs.

The result of the madness at Birmingham, and the following statements by Governor Wallace, Bull Conner, and others in political leadership in Alabama and Mississippi, have quite literally paralyzed the foreign relations of this country's representatives in Africa and seriously damaged them elsewhere. . . .

One paper mocks us asking if there is any real difference between the late Adolf Hitler's racist attitudes and those of America's extremists? Again, we are vulnerable.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 28, 1963

Washington (UPI)—Secretary of State Dean Rusk Monday called on Americans to solve racial problems which he said are causing "deep injury" to U. S. foreign policy abroad.

Rusk said that because of remaining U. S. racial barriers, U. S. diplomats must conduct American foreign policy like someone running in a foot race "with one of our legs in a cast." . . .

Rusk said the United States "is now confronted with one of the gravest issues that we have had since 1865 . . . and this issue deeply affects the conduct of our foreign relations."

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
Ralph McGill column,
June 9, 1963

A Baptist missionary in Nigeria mailed in three cuttings from papers in that country. . . . One was an editorial from "The Times" of Lagos, perhaps the most influential publication in that country.

At the bottom of this cutting the missionary had written, "As a Christian this one was to me, the most tragic article of all. Why, why, don't our people at home know what they are doing to us . . .?"

From address by then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Carl T. Rowan, before the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D. C., June 24, 1961, reprinted in *INTERRACIAL REVIEW* October, 1961

. . . Of the nearly 100 diplomatic missions now accredited to Washington, more than half have representatives of Asian or African background. So incidents of discrimination at airports and restaurants and other public places have become a matter of real concern on the part not only of Secretary of State Rusk but of normally intelligent Americans who are concerned about the kind of world in which their children are going to live.

Letter from Mrs. Betty Hakem in ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column November 1, 1963

Atlanta—It happened on Oct. 27, when my husband and I along with another Hindu couple from India went to a downtown restaurant to have our lunch. As soon as we went in we heard the most welcoming words from our American hostess, "Sorry, we cannot serve you." . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
(From North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch)
July 25, 1963

Paris—Racial tensions in the United States are beginning to produce international repercussions of an unprecedented kind, especially in Western Europe.

As seen from here, the United States for the first time since World War II faces an internal crisis sufficiently serious to deflect its energies from its international responsibilities. . . .

. . . They [Europeans] do not discount the possibilities of the domestic crisis having a sharply debilitating effect on U. S. foreign policy. The comparison increasingly made here is with the Soviet Union's running agricultural crisis and the restrictive influence it undoubtedly has exerted over the years on Russian initiative abroad.

WASHINGTON *POST*
May 25, 1963

Paris—France's new television program, "Seven Days of the World," opened tonight with a 10-minute sequence on the racial conflict in Birmingham, Alabama, which was a model of expert impartial reporting.

If the South...

. . . Per capita incomes in the South did increase from 47 to 64 percent of the non-South's during 1929-48 and have fluctuated at around 68 percent in more recent years. If there is any ground for discouragement, it lies in the fact that the South's per capita income made relatively little further gain on the rest of the nation during 1948-54 and that more recently the intensification of race conflict has raised a serious threat to still further regional economic progress. . . .

If the South could at last take such a fresh, honest, and hard-headed look at the race problem, the gains which would accrue to the region would extend far beyond matters of race. For race has so shackled the Southern mind that it has been incapable of accepting social responsibility for the general welfare or of organizing common efforts for common benefit in other important directions as well.

William H. Nicholls, *Southern Tradition & Regional Progress,* Chapel Hill, 1960

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

toward the South of the future

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

An organization of Southerners of both races working together in the interest of all the people of the South.

how it began

As the successor of the Southwide Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Regional Council goes back, in friendship and reputation, to 1919. A group of leading Southerners representing both races, many occupations, all faiths and denominations, met in 1943 to discuss the problems and promise of the region. They decided that a strong new regional organization was needed, in which Southerners themselves could join together in a cooperative effort to solve their common problems. The result was the Southern Regional Council.

how it works

• *Through a regional office* in Atlanta, which services state organizations and carries on Southwide activities under the direction of its membership and executive committee. Its officers and members are drawn from church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions.

• *Through affiliated organizations* in 12 Southern States, each of which has its own membership, governing board, officers, and staff. Within the coming months, these state organizations will provide each Southern State with a full-time human relations service, available to both public officials and private citizens, maintained and directed by local leadership. The states included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

The Southern Regional Council and affiliated state organizations are non-profit, non-political and non-denominational.

what it does

• Through careful study, collects the facts about our region's health, housing, education, law enforcement, and other public services. Makes the facts and their significance widely available through pamphlets, newspapers, radio, television, and speakers.

• Publishes a monthly bulletin—*New South*—which provides editors, students, and public-minded citizens with timely, authentic information on developments in the region.

• Assists state organizations in planning and carrying out programs suited to local need.

• Advises private and official agencies through both the regional office and state organizations.

• Through state staff, works in the community with civic clubs, church groups, labor organizations, and others to find democratic solutions to local problems.

what you can do

The Southern Regional Council is based firmly on the belief that the problems of the Southern Region may best be attacked by Southerners who are willing to admit the South's shortcomings and join together in a constructive effort to overcome them.

There is no room for narrow sectionalism in such a program. The Council welcomes support and understanding from all sincere individuals and organizations, wherever they may be found. However, general membership—which is available in the state organizations—is limited to persons living in the South.

Here is how you can play your part in this forward-looking effort:

• If you live in the South, join your state affiliate of the Southern Regional Council. This entitles you to receive NEW SOUTH and other publications of the regional office.

• If you live elsewhere, enroll as an Associate of the Southern Regional Council. This entitles you to receive all regular and special publications of the Council.

Fill out and mail the application blank on the back of this page.

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the South of the future

toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

—From "A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council"

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. **Atlanta 3, Ga.**

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what they say

About the Southern Regional Council

"A spokesman for the area's best traditions of tolerance, humanity, dignity and freedom."

—ASHEVILLE CITIZEN

"An able and worthwhile organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency."

—RALPH MCGILL

"The sanest and best-informed Southwide organization dealing with race relations."

—VIRGINUS DABNEY

"The SRC is unique in a number of heartening directions. It is bi-racial, non-denominational and non-political. It does not engage in tom-tom beating, parades, or lengthy *pronunciamentos* slanted for non-Southern consumption and approval. But it is not an isolationist effort to separate the South's problems from the nation's—or from the nation's concern."

—HODDING CARTER

"Progress can surely be made if liberals, North and South, will sit down and reason together along the lines this group suggests."

—NEW YORK TIMES

"A voice from the informed and moderate South."

—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"Southerners directly interested in the welfare of their own section."

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"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

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"One of the best sources for materials on the South today."

—CURRENT EVENTS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 2-8764

FOR RELEASE:

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1964

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH?

Of the six southern states carried by the Democratic Party in the 1964 Presidential election, four (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia) clearly would have gone Republican had it not been for the Negro vote. One other, North Carolina, might have. Only in President Johnson's home state of Texas among the eleven states of the South did the Democratic Party clearly receive the majority of white votes.

Similarly, in a number of U. S. House and Senate races, Democratic success would not have been won without Negro support.

The states which President Johnson carried have the highest Negro registration; he failed to carry those with less than 45% of eligible Negroes registered.

In Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, Senator Goldwater carried 54%, 57%, and 59% of the vote respectively; strong Negro support of the Democrats prevented even larger margins. In Mississippi and Alabama, where the Republican vote was of landslide proportions (87% and 69%), Negro voter registration is abnormally low. Both of these states are notorious for intimidation and other blocks to the con-

stitutional rights of Negroes to vote.

Registration of Negro southern voters has been the chief activity of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council during the past two years. This has been a non-partisan effort, endorsing no candidates or parties. Working cooperatively with the principal civil rights groups and many local citizen's groups, it has sought a rapid acceleration of Negro registration throughout the South. The results of this concentrated drive are revealed by a simple comparison: Between 1952 and 1962, Negro registration increased from 1,008,614 to only 1,386,654. From 1962 to Fall, 1964, it rose to 2,164,200. These increases were spread over the South. But, in three states only relatively small gains were made: Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi.

Increases in Negro registration exceeding the normal rate of increase were responsible for Democratic victories in two states: Florida and Virginia.

In addition to the effect of the Negro vote on the Presidential election, it was responsible for election of many local and state office holders throughout the South, including some Negroes. The latter included two justices of the peace, a member of the school board, and a member of the county board of revenue in Macon County, Alabama; a second Negro senator in Georgia, in a district where the majority of voters are white; a member of the state House

of Representatives and a county judge in Shelby County, Tennessee. It was responsible also for adoption of a constitutional amendment in Arkansas which sets up a permanent voter registration system for the first time, and eliminates the poll tax in all elections, not just federal elections as required by the Twenty-Fourth Amendment.

These are findings from a study of complete and nearly complete election returns from the eleven states of the South. They emphasize, among other things, the importance of the Negro vote and of the race issue in understanding what happened in the South -- an understanding of value to the nation because the Deep South was the only place outside Senator Goldwater's home state where his candidacy was successful.

Despite some attempts at it, there can be little persuasive argument that voters of the South did not understand clearly that for the first time in recent history the two candidates for the Presidency of the United States offered a clear-cut, opposed view on the race issue. This was accompanied in most southern states this year by the blunt ejection of Negroes from their traditional participation in Republican Party organizations, the "lily-white" conversion of the Party of Lincoln. Republican strategy in the South, baldly stated in some quarters, was to compensate for loss of Negro voters with great gains of white voters. There were, indeed, mass defections of previously

Democratic white voters to the Republican candidate, and -- as elsewhere in the nation -- there was almost unanimous support of the Democratic candidate by Negroes.

The other issues of the campaign undoubtedly entered into the outcome in the Deep South, but the fact that they did not have the same effect on white voters as in the entire rest of the nation leads (along with other compelling evidence) to the conclusion that race was the controlling factor in this area where it has always assumed grotesquely disproportionate importance.

The lily-white strategy was effective in all of the Deep South, as the figures in this study will show, but it was strongest in Mississippi and Alabama. In both, support of Senator Goldwater by white leaders was virtually unanimous. In Alabama, of course, voters were not able to vote for the Democratic candidate, but chose between the Republican candidate and a slate of unpledged electors controlled by Governor George Wallace. Governor Wallace was left with the Alabama Democrats in the shambles of a Republican sweep which, in the election of five freshmen Republican congressmen, destroyed nearly a century of seniority for three conservative Democratic congressmen, and put the GOP in charge of ten county courthouses. Probably only in his battles against school desegregation has Governor Wallace served better the cause he was against.

In all five states that went Republican, the Goldwater cause was helped (and the race issue emphasized) by defections of politicians noted through the decades as leaders in the southern resistance to equal citizenship for Negroes. Others of this stripe refused to work for the Democratic ticket. In Georgia, this refusal by U. S. Senator Richard Russell, and, to an almost equal extent, U. S. Senator Herman Talmadge, was considered probably crucial to defeat of their party, despite strenuous work for the ticket by Governor Carl Sanders.

The lily-white strategy failed (six states to five) over the whole of the South. It is notable that the five states which went Republican in 1964 are those which (with the exception once of Louisiana) had not since Reconstruction voted for a Republican Presidential candidate, and were not before the ascendancy of the new Republicanism considered the southern states where Republican strength on the local level was most solidly based. With the exception of Georgia, they were the states which voted Dixiecrat in 1948.

Senator Goldwater lost Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, all of which in recent years had supported Republican Presidential candidates. Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia had, in fact, voted Republican in 1952, 1956, and 1960. In Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, as well as in North Carolina and Arkansas, Republican grassroots gains

over the years had been considered solid. But in 1964, Republicans suffered setbacks in all in local and state races.

While Republicans gained five U. S. House seats in Alabama and one each in Georgia and Mississippi, they lost two in Texas, for a net gain of five. The Mississippi U. S. House victory of a conservative Republican unseated one of the Democrats' ultra-conservatives of long-standing, Representative W. Arthur Winstead, an irony repeated in several of the southern upsets.

The Republicans elected no U. S. senators and no governors in the South. In state legislatures, they netted a loss of two seats, with significant gains only in Georgia. There were no legislative races in Mississippi and Alabama, but in Louisiana and South Carolina, the Goldwater landslide did not carry over to lesser offices.

To the extent that Republicans made genuine and lasting gains in grassroots political strength in the formerly one-party South, to that extent is democracy strengthened. Time -- and the future policy perhaps of both parties -- will tell what happened in the South along these lines.

Meanwhile, these points seem clear:

1. Effective Negro registration and participation in elections is the best assurance that race will be eliminated as a politically profitable issue, as it

was this time in six southern states, and that all the southern states will be freed from the threat of demagogic appeals to racism.

2. Continued efforts to achieve the basic constitutional right of the ballot for Negroes is essential in all eleven states, and is most notably needed in those two states where the Negro electorate is most restricted. This is not for the advantage of any one political party over the other, but necessary for healthful self-government in the South and the nation. Past experience proves conclusively that the abnormality of almost unanimous Negro support of a candidate or a party (the so-called bloc vote) occurs in the South only when the race issue is raised, and there are clearly opposed stands on it.

3. While the Presidential results of 1964 certainly did not provide a head-count on the race issue, North or South, they do suggest that racism remains, region-wide, a pressing public problem in the South. Over the rest of the nation, with backlash and frontlash knocking each other out, the issue is alive and serious, but perhaps not as deeply imbedded in the fabric of society and government as many had thought.

4. In the pragmatic terms of politics, Democrats and the nation's majority owe a greater debt to the Negro electorate in the South than has so far been acknowledged.

(The Democratic Party for example would seem to owe its Negro constituency better treatment than was afforded one of its political leaders in Atlanta, Horace Ward. Mr. Ward won nomination to a state senate seat in the Democratic primary over a white opponent, only to have campaign envelopes prepared for this Democrat used by the Republican candidate, also white, in the general election race. Other Democratic spokesmen and resources did not visibly aid Mr. Ward. He nevertheless won -- with little thanks to his party.)

5. In these same pragmatic terms, and perhaps in moral ones as well, the Republican Party needs to examine carefully its future southern policy. The 1964 election returns seem to indicate the futility of trying to gather in all of the South for a base keyed to racism, and the futility of trying to appeal to the rest of the nation from the positions necessary to holding that remnant of the South in which racism overrides other issues. And the

experience of the Democrats in this century offers many unhappy examples of the difficulties involved in trying to contain within one national party the stubborn racist remnant in the South as well as the representatives of the majority of Americans, North and South, who believe in democracy.

6. The tradition of southern Negro support for Republican candidates in the past is well known. Results in Arkansas in 1964 underscore the willingness this year as ever of Negroes to vote for Republican candidates acceptable to their aspirations and dignity. The previously avid segregationist Democratic candidate for re-election as governor, Orval Faubus, actively sought the Negro vote this year in campaign activities and literature, including boasts about the amount of integration in Arkansas. Despite this, Negroes over the state supported the Republican candidate, Winthrop Rockefeller, whose support of Negro aspirations was of longer standing. Returns in the Negro precincts of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, offer a fascinating example of this selectivity in balloting: They went 97.8% for President Johnson, and 88.5% for Republican Rockefeller. For a constitutional amendment to remove the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting there was again great agreement, 85.1% in favor. But in a contest for mayor, where race

was not an issue, there was a normal spread among three candidates, 29.9%, 14.6%, and 55.5%, the latter going for the only candidate who appeared before Negro audiences seeking their vote and who won by only 101 votes.

* * * * * * * *

The estimate of Negro voting in this study is purposely conservative. It was arrived at by calculating the percentage of the total electorate which voted, and then assuming that the same percentage of the Negro electorate voted. Actually, in most areas, the Negro turnout was higher than that of the total electorate, a mark of political maturity worth noting. In all the southern states, the Negro vote may be assumed to have been more than 95% Democratic.

I. Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Virginia are the states in which President Johnson's victory was clearly attributable to the Negro vote plus a white minority.

Florida -- Johnson margin: 37,800 votes. Estimated Negro vote: 211,800.

The voter registration drives accounted for an increase in Florida Negro voter registration from 1962 to 1964 that was, conservatively, 121,000 in excess of the highest probable normal increase. Without this extra increase, Democrats would not have carried the state.

Virginia -- Johnson margin: 77,000. Estimated Negro vote: 166,600.

The voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was, conservatively, 78,700. Without this extra increase, Democrats would not have carried the state.

Tennessee -- Johnson margin: 126,000. Estimated Negro vote: 165,200.

The voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 32,900.

Arkansas -- Johnson margin: 65,400. Estimated Negro vote: 67,600.

The Arkansas voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 19,200.

II. In North Carolina, President Johnson would most probably not have won without the Negro vote.

Johnson margin: 173,900. Estimated Negro vote: 168,400.

The North Carolina voter drive increase in excess of normal Negro registration from 1962 to 1964 was 38,400.

III. In Texas, President Johnson clearly carried the majority of white voters.

Johnson margin: 684,100. Estimated Negro vote: 325,500.

Texas is the only state where registration drives supported by the Voter Education Project included a

sustained effort to register white as well as Negro voters. The increase in Negro registration was 134,600 in excess of normal increases from 1962 to 1964.

IV. The Goldwater margins in Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina were considerably less than they would have been without the heavy Negro support of President Johnson.

Georgia -- Goldwater, 578,509; Johnson, 487,581. Margin: 90,900. The estimated Negro vote: 178,700.

In Georgia, more of the Negroes eligible to vote are not registered (343,000), than are (270,000). If only 40% of those who are not registered had been registered, and if they had followed the same turnout and voting pattern, the state would have been carried by President Johnson.*

Louisiana -- Goldwater, 503,545; Johnson, 387,811. Margin: 115,700. Estimated Negro vote: 122,000.

Here, too, more eligible Negroes are not registered (350,000) than are registered (164,800). Registration of only 45% of those unregistered would have changed the results in Louisiana.

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*It should be emphasized again that our estimates of Negro turnout are simply the state averages. All evidence indicates that the Negro turnout was higher. This would mean, for example, that less than a 40% increase of Negro registration would have changed the Georgia election.

South Carolina -- Goldwater, 311,144; Johnson, 219,613. Margin: 91,500. Estimated Negro vote: 90,300.

Again, more eligible Negroes are not registered (227,000) than are registered (144,000). Registration of 65% of those unregistered would have been required to change results.

V. Alabama and Mississippi show the impact of the race issue where disenfranchisement of Negroes is still relatively great.

Alabama -- Goldwater, 454,313; Unpledged Democrats, 200,355. Margin: 254,000. Estimated Negro vote: 68,100.

Here, of eligible Negroes, only 110,000 are registered, compared with 370,000 who are not.

Mississippi -- Goldwater, 359,693; Johnson, 53,063. Margin: 306,600. Estimated Negro vote: 21,200.

In this state, not more than 28,500 Negroes are registereed. Another 394,000 are eligible, but unregistered.

VI. In Congressional races analyzed, the Negro vote was in come cases even more crucial to Democratic victories than in the Presidential race.

In Tennessee, Senator Albert Gore defeated Republican Dan Kuyhendall by a margin of 73,500 votes. The estimated Negro vote was 153,300. Democrat Ross Bass defeated Republican Howard Baker for the U. S. Senate by an even smaller margin, 52,300. The estimated Negro vote was 157,900.

Senator Ralph Yarborough in Texas defeated Republican

George Bush by 343,100. The estimated Negro vote (again conservative) was 320,500.

In Georgia, Democrats drew comfort from election of two Atlanta Democrats to the U. S. House. Representative Charles Weltner defeated Republican James O'Callaghan by 12,300 votes. The Negro vote was 32,100. Democrat James Mackay defeated Republican Roscoe Pickett by 15,760. The estimated Negro vote (conservative) was 14,600.

The Negro vote was the key to one Tennessee U. S. House race, a substantial part of victory in another. In the Ninth District, Democrat George Grider defeated Republican Robert B. James by 11,700 votes. The Negro vote was at least 70,000. In the Fifth District, Democratic Representative Richard Fulton defeated Republican Bill R. Wills by 25,100 votes. The Negro vote was at least 18,000.

In the Second District of Louisiana, Democratic Representative Hale Boggs won over Republican challenger David C. Treen by 17,900 votes. The Negro vote was at least 25,000.

As said earlier, race was the controlling factor of the Presidential election in the Deep South. Whereas these states took some helpful steps toward a two-party politics, including impressive statewide organization in Alabama and South Carolina, the principal showing was that when one party builds it appeal almost entirely on race the electorate will be polarized on that question. So intense was the rejection

of the Democrats by large blocs of white voters that even strongly conservative Democratic candidates, e.g. Representative George Huddleston, Jr., of Birmingham, were swept out of office. So intensely did Negroes reject the Republican Party that voting by them clearly accounted for the victory of some strongly conservative Democrats; among others, Representative Robert Casey of Houston owes his re-election to the Negro vote.

THE CHANGING MIND OF THE SOUTH: THE EXPOSED NERVE

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Southern Regional Council

I

I PREMISE THAT THERE has been such a thing as a southern folk, clearly if not definably more a single people than any other Americans, composed of two grades of persons, both of whom have been truly part of the same folk, and yet one of whom, the Negro Southerners, because they were ruled by the other did not sense and hallow as did the whites their folk integrity and their distinctness from the rest of the nation. And because white Southerners have consciously known that they were set apart, they have struggled to define themselves, have striven for self-identity, and with every Cash or Percy—or Faulkner—asking "Who am I?" have moved nearer the point which comes in every self-examination, where discovery means either release or reunion.

Who is there who is not tired of this search, who would not rather give it up before he has to choose between release, and rejection, or recoil into the mind of the South, who would rather not stop short in self-discovery and become what history makes of him? And indeed, there has been a re-directing of the South's self-study. The intellectual and artistic concern is changing, has changed, from a deep, self-combative hoeing and chopping of souls and history and eternity, and toward commitment to the active issues of the day. The dark, Faulknerian, problems recede.

The classic interpreters of the South began with the conviction that there was a "South" and a "Southerner," and they hunted for definitions. Because the interpreters were themselves Southerners, dredging their prey up through their memories and revealing it as a Protean substance, their definitions were never abstract, and they never tired of examining countless aspects. Nor did they, however, ever yield the belief that something constant and essential lay under the aspects. The Southerner was to be known as a being, and not an active one at that. Only the public figures of the South defined

themselves in activity, and the interpreters tended to be less interested in them than in regarding the South's election of them as another aspect of the essential being which needed to be pondered. The essential Southerner acted occasionally, savagely and without premeditation, and this proclivity of his was another aspect to be explained. But except for this, the Southerner "was"; he did not, since the Civil War, "do."

Our preoccupation today is with how Southerners do and will act. For this is a time of testing. We are re-learning an old truth, which historians have nearly always known and social scientists have frequently forgotten, that men reveal themselves more accurately through their action than through their established feelings, opinions, and beliefs.

Another change has occurred as well. Cash, writing as late as 1941, was not really much attentive to Negro Southerners, and Percy, writing also in 1941, could say that he was "usually in a condition of amazed exultation over the excellent state of race relations in the South." James Agee, almost the quintessential New Dealer, took only an occasional and not seriously interested glance at the Negro neighbors of his white Alabama sharecroppers. Of the classic writers, only Lillian Smith had the greatness to wrestle with what the others saw, but passed by, and that was the centrality of race to the southern self-consciousness[1]

In fact, not until the sit-in movement began in Greensboro in 1960 did the "mind" of Negroes become of conscious interest to white Southerners, in the sense that an active awareness began that the southern consensus had to include Negro values and desires. Even in the titanic controversies after 1954, the actors—those who were conspicuously making history—were almost always white: Senator Byrd, Governor Faubus, and the other captains of massive resistance. Negroes appeared only as a shadowy mass, from whom now and then emerged an impersonal lawyer or a poker-faced schoolchild walking through white faces lit with expression. The state of North Carolina might well put one of its historical markers at that

[1]W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South.* N. Y., 1941. W. A. Percy, *Lanterns on the Levee.* N. Y., 1941; the quotation is from p. 286 of the 1959 reprinting. James Agee, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.* N. Y., 1960; the book was written in the late 1930's. Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream.* N. Y., 1949 (revised edition 1961).

dime store in Greensboro: here is where, after more than three centuries, the white and the Negro South were finally met.

In result, they have learned to know each other better. One Negro civil rights leader remarked to me that southern racial relations in the past had been like an unfaithful marriage, which could be preserved only by the two parties not speaking the truth to each other. Negro Southerners are today speaking the truth to their white neighbors. If white Southerners can learn to live with this truth, the marriage can be continued, and may even become a fruitful one. Still today, no Southerners are more bred to the essence of the region's distinctive history, manners, and outlook than are the Negroes. If Dixie is not yet ready for its epitaph, it will be only because Negroes, freed of illegitimacy, may give it new life.

For earlier white Southerners, even for those as late as Cash, a decision about racial policies was not socially crucial. Men had different opinions and beliefs, but these were like other personal preferences, or even convictions, that were tolerable by the folk. Southern racial relations were like Hinduism, able to absorb and contain many changes and interests and ideas. The advent of industrialization, the steady immigration of non-Southerners, the growth of learning, the magnification of cities—all had come and had modified the old patterns and would surely in time overthrow them. But the endurance—what a Southerner might call the "cussedness"—of the old ways was remarkable.

But now this changes, and I know no better way to illustrate the change at its profoundest — though infrequently perceived — level than by contrasting Faulkner with that present-day southern writer who, in surface aspects, is most like him. The genius of Faulkner was such that he was able to suffuse his characters in life and individuality even though, in fact, they were little more than marionette's. They were held in the hand of God, but that hand which controlled them kept them in ceaseless confrontation with their home, i.e., with southern history, and in it they defined themselves. Miss Flannery O'Connor's characters are also marionettes and also in the grasp of God. They are Southerners too, but this is only an artist's detail. They could be anyone, they are caught directly, as simple individuals, in the human predicament, and they act diretcly to meet it, not, as Faulkner's characters always did, as Southerners, but as mere people.

Fundamentally, this is where Southerners find themselves today, forced to act directly without validating their acts against their history, much of which is sinking fast underneath them. Another southern writer, Allen Tate, in his novel *The Fathers,* depicts the deep psychological hurt felt by conservative Virginians in 1860-1861 when pressures from the cotton states and from the North were mysteriously pushing Virginia into severance from the government in Washington, of which over the years since 1787 they had come to feel as proprietors. Something similar is happening today over the South, as men see institutions which they had thought were theirs (e.g., the churches, the town school), relationships which they had thought secure (e.g., mistress and maid), begin to take on new shape and purpose.

All this has meant that, for today's white Southerner, an explicit rationalizing of his views about race has become the most urgent of his intellectual and spiritual tasks, and that he has had to achieve it on his own, or with new referents. He has had to attune himself, harmoniously or discordantly, to the authoritative words and practices of institutions from outside his region, such as the federal government, national church bodies, national media, and even-in fact-Wall Street. Perhaps still a man living in a remote Black Belt county untouched as yet by racial controversy may be as unengaged as nearly all of us were but a few years past. But I suspect that no white man living now in a Danville or an Albany or a Birmingham can support himself either by mores or by Faulknerian brooding. For the strong segregationist, the mores will appear too mild when the protest comes; for nearly all men, the brooding will seem irrelevant.

It is astonishing how often a southern white liberal can date his acceptance of racial equality at some specific episode in his life, much as did the ex-Communists in *The God That Failed*[2] tend to date their break with Communism with a decisive, illuminating event. It is even more notable that almost every liberal can (and often does) recount the history of his changing attitudes. This sort of keen self-awareness occurs only with those life problems deeply and genuinely felt. Nevertheless, in accepting racial equality, the southern liberal does not typically reject the South. In Turgenev's

[2]Edited by R. H. S. Crossman, N. Y., 1949.

Fathers and Sons, when Bazarov's tolerance of an older conservative is asked—"you must take into account his upbringing as well as the times in which he lived the best part of his life"—, Barzarov exclaims: "His upbringing: Every man should educate himself. . . . As to the times, why should I depend upon them: Much better they should depend on me. No, brother, all that is just loose thinking, there's nothing solid behind it!" To a Southerner, if to no one else, this is questionable doctrine, because inadequate tolerance; and rightly or wrongly, the key word of southern liberalism has been "tolerance."

Southern liberalism deserves more serious study than it has had. What, in this context, is worth remarking is the long sustained refusal of southern liberals to repudiate the South, and this is one side of the tolerance which they have elevated above all other social virtues. Few liberals have acted out their beliefs. They do not try to enter their children in Negro schools, do not usually refuse to eat in segregated restaurants or worship in segregated churches, do not spontaneously and widely mingle socially with their Negro peers. This is not well described as either hypocrisy or timidity. It is something a good bit more basic. The general conformity of the liberal to social practices which he opposes is a mark of his dogged refusal to alienate himself from southern society. He has counted himself a Southerner, with an obligation to respect the community and, so far as possible, to keep it whole. He often will, in fact, contend (and not only from polemical motives) that he—and not the defenders of segregation—represents the core of southern traditions, and he will sometimes appeal to other values acknowledged to be "southern," such as "courage" or "manners" or "individuality, against the less venerable practice of segregation. The tenacity with which liberals hold to southern culture, while endeavoring to reform it, is a quality which cannot be measured, but it would seem at least as intense as the somewhat comparable spirit of the Benthamites and later Labourites in England; they too insisted on behaving as Englishmen as they went about changing the country.

On the whole, this attitude of respect toward the community is not alien to a great many of the Negro leaders. And on the whole, this shared attitude presents the only real possibility, for those of us who want one, of preserving the South as a cultural organism, and not merely as a cultivated, but mummified, memory, analogous to

New England. It is not a very strong possibility, though the relative poverty of the region may help along its chances: poverty is a strong folk-tie. I may be wrong and shortly proved so, but I see the white South today, outside the Black Belt but even there in some measure, as disposed, though often reluctantly, to accept more and more racial integration, but wanting also to keep the community much as it has been. I see Negro Southerners wanting equality desperately and angrily, but disposed to keep the community much as it has been, if they are admitted to it.

The South that Cash sought to track down was the white South, and, assuming that Cash found what he sought, it was unprepared for 1954. That South is still here. But because, being what it was and is, it stayed distant from the black South, called itself and itself only "the South," it has become an inert thing, a mere environment. Within this environment and against it, the southern leaders of today —the Negroes—act. It is the antithesis of motion against matter, and unless it can be cured there is not even a meager chance that the South will persevere. The white South is become an object, and only subjects can, even in a Faulknerian sense, endure.

II

Myrdal remarked that, "The intellectual energy spent on the Negro problem in America should, if concentrated in a single direction, have moved mountains."[3] In truth, almost the profoundest thing one can say about southern race relations is that it *is* an old problem, toughened and complicated and made wondrously intricate by age, which has confused its diagnosis, rendered uncertain its treatment, and obscures its prognosis. Ancient as it is, it has had changing definitions, and these have, in the past, been determined by the interests and policies of white people. As Myrdal put it,

> It is thus the white majority group that naturally determines the Negro's 'place.' All our attempts to reach scientific explanations of why the Negroes are what they are and why they live as they do have regularly led to determinants on the white side of the race line. In the practical and political struggles of effecting changes, the views and attitudes of the white Americans are likewise strategic. The Negro's entire life, and, consequently, also his opinions on the Negro problem,

[3]Gunnar Myrdal, et al., *An American Dilemma,* N. Y., 1944. p. 27.

are, in the main, to be considered as secondary reactions to more primary pressures from the side of the dominant white majority.[4]

This analysis was undeniably correct as an interpretation of the pre-1945 period; it is no longer so. Beginning about the close of World War II, the power to determine the Negro's "place" began to shade off from white control. Today, the Negro grip on the levers of social change is secure, and much more firm than the remnants of white direction.

The race relations policy of the southern white leadership from 1619 until Reconstruction, and from about 1890 until the 1940's, was governed by the objective, *How to get the maximum satisfaction from the Negro population.* The policy was pursued in economic, political, and social relationships, frequently with unsuccess. This fairly unanimously held single policy has, in the years since the 40's, been both losing adherents and singleness of application; the growth of Negro votes combined with pressures from Washington are forcing on our public life policies markedly more progressive than those which still dominate our churches and other more or less privately determined activities. Perhaps only in Mississippi today is there near unanimity about racial policy. But it is not the old policy of maximum satisfaction. Instead, it is, *How to maintain white control of the institutions of society.* At least, Negroes are not regarded as instruments and tools, but as antagonists. That, in itself, is a higher status.

If initiative has passed from the white majority to the Negro minority, the principal cause has been the success of Negroes in achieving a new and more stable self-knowledge. The dilemma—intellectual, emotional, political—of the Negro, especially the Negro male, has always been the problem of identity.[5] A man's valuation

[4]Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. li.

[5]There has been a lot of recent writing on this subject, mostly by non-southern interpreters. See the three books of essays by James Baldwin: *Notes of a Native Son.* Boston, 1955; *Nobody Knows My Name.* N. Y., 1961; *The Fire Next Time.* N. Y., 1963. Essays in the first book are of uneven quality and interest, but some of them and all of the two later books are superb and required reading for insight into the Negro revolt. For the latter reason only, so too is Louis Lomax, *The Negro Revolt.* N. Y., 1962. See also the excellent book by Harold I. Isaacs, *The New World of Negro Americans.* N. Y., 1963. Isaacs has an especially interesting essay in *Encounter,* August, 1963: "Blackness and Whiteness." One scientific inquiry is B. P. Karon, *The Negro Personality.*

of himself is derived and sustained by his reading of other people's assessment of him, and at all times in a person's life there are some "other people" whom he regards as the most authoritative assessors. Because of history and color, Negroes for centuries got maddeningly confusing reports whenever they inquired of their society, "Who am I?"

With some notable variations, they adopted the social values and standards of the dominant white society. For generations, Negro Southerners had no sustained insight into white society beyond their own neighborhood, and they consequently shaped their self-portrait through the terms of local opinion. The past three or four decades have been a time, even for rural Negroes, of awareness of a larger universe of values and authoritative opinions, and increasingly they have tended to disregard local definitions in preference for more favorable nation-wide and world-wide judgments of their worth. But even in the old days, the answer to their question, "Who am I?", was far from clear. The Christianity they had been taught affirmed some things so surely that not even the utmost ingenuity of white pastoral apologists could altogether obscure them. The grand generalities of American democracy seeped into their consciousness. Their white neighbors behaved toward them with contradictory manners, producing what was (and, to a large extent, still is) surely one of the most weirdly implausible patterns of human relations ever observed. And always, Negroes were accompanied by a few stereotypes which sprang easily into the minds of white persons, even those a Negro might regard as friends, and displaced the actual Negro person they knew—or thought they knew.

The stereotypes were and are the damning judgments of white society on Negro identity. What is happening today is that Negroes are disowning the stereotypes, the white man's creations, are refusing any longer to acknowledge themselves to *be* what the white man said

N. Y., 1958; its findings and methods aroused some dispute. As a stranger to psychology I hesitate to cite writings in this field but from a dilletantish reading I might mention three pieces which were suggestive to me: Robert Coles, "Serpents and Doves: Non-Violent Youth in the South" (in Erik H. Erikson, ed., *Youth: Change and Challenge.* N. Y., 1963). Lewis W. Jones, "Negro Youth in the South" (in Eli Ginzberg, ed., *The Nation's Children,* Vol. 3, N. Y., 1960); D. C. Wilson and E. M. Lantz, "The Effect of Culture Change on the Negro in Virginia, as Indicated by a Study of State Hospital Admissions," *American Journal of Psychiatry,* July, 1957.

they were. White Southerners are confronted with a blunt demand from the Negro that he be accepted on his terms: *and this is the crucial problem of race relations today*. For years, whites have decreed that Negroes must think of themselves as the whites thought of them. Negroes now are insisting that the white majority revise its opinion of them in accord with their own, newly fashioned self-conception.

Negroes found that in the same European-American culture which had relegated them to inferiority, White supremacy had become a strand of that culture which "tends to wear away protective strata, to break down its own defenses, to disperse the garrisons of its entrenchment." The words are Schumpeter's,[6] and taken from a context which, though not analogous, is suggestive. Some other words of his are exactly applicable to contemporary Negro agitation: "Secular improvement that is taken for granted and coupled with individual insecurity that is acutely resented is of course the best recipe for breeding social unrest."[7] A concatenation of economic and educational factors, supported haphazardly and minimally by politics, produced the secular improvement; another array of political, emotional, and social circumstances caused and kept strong the individual insecurity. The social unrest is a direct outcome of the combination, and is given its specific form and intensity through the re-infusion of ideas and values into American culture by a constantly growing number of educated Negroes who have derived these ideas and values from the cultural property of western white peoples, the terms of whose inheritance require them to admit non-whites with whom they come into regular communication to equal shares in the property.

III

Lincoln began his Gettysburg Address by recalling that "four-score and seven years ago" there had been brought forth "a new na-

[6]A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, 3rd edition. N. Y., 1950, p. 143. Schumpeter's brilliant analysis (pp. 121-164) around the theme of capitalism's "crumbling walls" illuminates racial unrest throughout the world. As capitalism sponsored its own intellectual and emotional opposition, so European-American culture has sown the denials of its own privileges.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 145.

tion conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." If, in this centennial year of the Emancipation Proclamation, of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, we look back four score and seven years, we confront a less happy and auspicious event: 1876, the year when Hayes defeated Tilden, or Tilden defeated Hayes, whichever it was. Hayes became President through the Compromise of 1877, and for the next 70 years or so the white South was left alone by the nation in its policies and in its relationships toward Negro citizens.

The Civil War had freed the slaves and preserved the union. It had, besides, put on two Amendments to the Constitution—the 14th and 15th—which in the years after 1876 would be, as to Negroes, well nigh meaningless: four generations of Negro and white Southerners would come and go and live without acknowledging that Negroes could and should vote, or that laws should give them equal protection. The Civil War, moreover, left all these people in a ravished region, where men would get used to desperate poverty. The War and its aftermath made the South feel its spiritual and cultural separation from the rest of the nation more keenly even than before.

Then, earlier, and now, we have defined "the South" by its differences from the rest.

Southerners and non-Southerners have been, in fact, much alike. White men everywhere ruled, and Negroes were subservient, and treated as inferiors. Society belonged—and still largely does—to the white man. Protestants ruled, dominating the economic and cultural and political life of the nation. Society placed a high sentimental value on farm or small-town culture and people, and long after the bulk of our population moved into cities the rural districts kept political power. And North and South, East and West, we all believed that *any* man who worked hard could get ahead.

These common qualities of American life, native both to the South and the non-South, are dissolving. And the present crisis in the South, which became acute in 1954, does not result from traditional differences from the nation; it results instead from the dissolution of things which have in the past united us.

Six landmark dates conveniently illustrate the changes. Although they affect the whole nation they are a special challenge to the South. Somebody—Arthur Koestler, I think—once spoke of the Jews as

humanity's exposed nerve, feeling first and most sharply all the troubles and pains. Sometimes one feels that the South is America's exposed nerve, and that issues which are national in scope are most intense, or at least most apparent, here.

There was 1944, and *Smith v. Allwright,* and the ensuing erosion of the white monopoly of power to make political decisions. There was 1954, and *Brown v. Topeka,* which in its deeper import signified that the civic institutions of American society could no longer be operated as if they were the property of one race, and which, in its application since the New Rochelle case,[8] has upset the North as well as the South. There was 1960, and confirmation that non-Protestants have a share in the power to make the country's highest decisions. There was 1962, and *Baker v. Carr,* and the consequent remarkably fast crumbling of the rural fortress of political power.

There was 1940, the last year before our entry into World War II, the last year of a peace-time economy. After seven years of prodigious effort by the New Deal, unemployment in the United States was 14.6% of the working force. We went into the war and unemployment virtually ceased. We came out of the war and unemployment stayed low while the country was busily engaged in converting to peace-time needs. We had a recession in 1948, and the next year unemployment shot up to 5.9%. We went into the Korean fighting, and again unemployment declined. We had another recession in 1954, and unemployment was up again. We had yet another recession in 1958, and this time unemployment really rose—to 6.8% of the working force of this country. After each recession, recovery was slower. There has been little improvement since, and President Kennedy in March 1963, called unemployment our "number 1 economic problem," and reported that it was still about 6%; the rate for August 1963 was a seasonal 5.5%. Many economists believe that the government's way of computing unemployment seriously minimizes its extent.[9]

Neither the policies of Republican nor Democratic administra-

[8]*Taylor v. New Rochelle,* 195 F. Supp. 231, 294 F. 2d. 36 (1961).

[9]See chapter 4 of the *Manpower Report of the President and a Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training,* U. S. Department of Labor, 1963. The statistics above are from *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1962, p. 215, except for the 1963 ones, which come from news reports.

tions have, as yet, been able to lick this problem. Unemployment is high despite the boosting of the economy with huge expenditures for armaments and for space exploration; without those would we be back to the 14.6% unemployed of 1940?

Here we meet a tragic irony; as has happened in the past Negroes seem to be the victims not only of discrimination, but of impersonal history. After the first World War the country severely restricted the flow of immigrants from abroad. Up to then, American industry had grown by drawing on a boundless labor supply of European immigrants. With immigration drastically cut, industry met its need for new labor by drawing from the farms of America, including those of the South. Beyond this last large supply of white manpower, waited in economic succession the Negro. The tragic irony is that when his turn is come, the job market is declining. This is occurring in manufacturing and mining, chiefly, and these are fields which have been a gateway for new entrants into the free competition for economic advancement. No one seriously can continue to believe that America is for everyone now a land of opportunity where *any* man, unaided, can get ahead by dint of his own hard work. Some five to seven per cent or more of those people who want to work, find that there are no jobs, even though there is general prosperity in the country, and for the Negro the unemployment rate is about double that for whites.[10]

And, finally, there was 1947, when Mr. Truman appointed the President's Committee on Civil Rights, and later espoused its recommendations, even at the cost of a party split at the Democratic convention of 1948. No political act since the Compromise of 1877 has so profoundly influenced race relations; in a sense, it was the repeal of 1877. Among the consequences were (a) a shift of emphasis from Negro "uplift"—essentially a paternalistic approach—to civil rights, i.e., the achievement of more than nominal citizenship; (b) a renewal of the fateful rupture between South and non-South; and (c) the ensuing complications for economic and social reform by statute, so that, since 1948, law-making for domestic problems has fallen into desuetude.[11]

[10]See Charles E. Silberman, "The Businessman and the Negro," *Fortune*, September, 1963.

[11]The ability of southern Congressmen to act through concepts of the national interest, so long as they felt presently secure in race relations, made pos-

These six landmarks suggest, if I am not mistaken, that we shall have much more democracy in the United States. The price of that will be the ending of certain old ways and traditions. Groups who have led and controlled the country from its earliest days will have to accept a lessening of their influence. And if the South had trouble joining the old union—which, like it, was white, Protestant, and rural in its outlook and leadership—can it join this new union? The South was separated from the basically similar non-South of yesterday by a sharp enough cleavage; the new division would be a gulf.

To put it differently, the policies which Mississippi represents would not merely perpetuate North-South differences. The longer these policies are pursued, the greater becomes the alienation of Mississippi and the Black Belt generally from the American consensus. Just by standing pat, residents of these places will become strangers in their own land, because the nation as a whole is moving farther and farther from them.

IV

Over the years, Negro Southerners tried various methods of effecting change. They occasionally resorted to violence in the slave revolts of the ante-bellum period. During Reconstruction they sought the power of office. In Populist days they experimented—to their sorrow—with an electoral alliance with small farmers and mechanics. They tried the Booker T. Washington regimen of self-improvement, in the expectation that they would be accepted when their uplift was completed. They left the South, for the uncertain and often unrewarding North and West.

Finally—and with really their only success—they converted the political issue of equality into the Constitutional issue of equal rights. The "direct-action" movement has been a new force, and one of tremendous effect. It has produced results and it has unleashed and directed energies. Yet even its appeal has been to values thought to be in or implied by the Constitution, and the safety and success of the movement have been protected throughout by the procedural guarantees of the Constitution. The reform of the Negro question

sible the reforms of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. For an interesting case study, see I. A. Newby, "States' Rights and Southern Congressmen During World War I," *Phylon,* Spring 1963.

in the United States has been a striking instance of the effect of a constitution upon the life and events of a society. The constitution, created by the society, becomes a force which changes society.[12]

The Constitution becomes a revolutionary instrument, for Negroes, being political outcasts, have had to combat the government, and not merely the government of the day. Nowhere yet in the old Confederacy does a politically representative body debate and settle on policy, except in two circumstances: to shore up the legal defences of segregation; or to circumscribe as closely as possible the scope of a judicial decree when defiance is considered inexpedient. Nowhere has a deliberative body accepted the premise that social change is necessary or inevitable, and that action to guide that change is its responsibility.

None has done so, because southern political theory has been incapacitating. Although formal democracy has been in short supply in the South, the tone and practice of southern politics has been democratic almost to an extreme—among the whites. Probably no where else in the country have there been closer personal relationships between voters and representatives, at all levels of government. But a democracy which is short on formal controls and efficient methods of obtaining popular consensus, and which puts a high value on informal means of effecting accountability, is going to be a conservative society. And when not all the inhabitants are constituents, the conservatism will be, in fact, defensiveness. Thus both the democratic and the conservative spirits of the South combined to defend the folk, its monopoly of power and its cultural integrity. There is nothing to deliberate about, and to do so is betrayal. There is no relief from this paralysis except through an enlarged Negro vote, and a few municipalities of the South are already tasting this emancipation.

We may well ask again whether, when a conflict runs deep, democratic politics and its institutions can solve it. If the southern conflict is being resolved, it is because it was possible to appeal it to a constitution, whose first principle is that it itself is enforceable law. There is still some life left in the old maxim that democracy

[12]cf. the interesting analysis by Gerhard Loewenberg, "The British Constitution and the Structure of the Labour Party," *American Political Science Review,* September, 1958.

requires agreement on fundamentals, although it may more accurately be this: that democratic politics cannot be counted on to bridge deep chasms of opinions and values unless undergirded by a fundamental authority (e.g., a self-enforcing constitution) which is independent of parties and legislatures.

Impersonal causes—the boll weevil, farm technology and chemicals, faster-paced industrialization, communications media, and still others—re-arranged the roots of southern life after World War I. But human action did not, until the last decade.

Now Southerners are not only being moved by their environment, but are revising themselves and their manners of living with and getting along with each other. Events and change are pell-mell, and unpredictable. Whatever we say, we must say most tentatively. I note, therefore, that the case has often, even usually, been that white Southerners can and do change their racial mores when inescapably confronted by a community-wracking situation to which they must respond in one way or another. But I note further that this has not been invariably so; witness, e.g., Albany (Ga.). Those places, however, which have refused to yield to the Negro demands, modest as they often have been in the South, have been able to do so only through techniques of suppression which tear at precepts of the Constitution. They have maltreated the right of assembly, denigrated the supremacy of federal law, whored the police powers of the states.

The Negro demands have been within the Constitution. The Negro methods have been within the liberties and privileges of the Constitution; only occasionally have they violated the rules of the game. Southern communities have been tested, therefore, not only in their customs and morality, but in their understanding of and affection for the Constitution. Those many which have accommodated, and have stepped into the currents of change, have shown to us that the feelings men have do not necessarily determine their actions or reactions; that when confronted with practical choices, men discover themselves more accurately than they had before. I have to leave to others the scientific analysis,[13] but I believe we

[13]Which is, of course, being supplied. The point of view I have here expressed is consistent with that of Allport and his supporters. See, e.g., Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Personality and Sociocultural Factors in Intergroup Attitudes: a Cross-National Comparison," *Conflict Resolution,* March 1958; and "Regional

can see the mind of the white South changing through the action of the black South and the accommodating reaction of the white South, and that a new South is shaping itself through history-making, and not through history-consciousness.

Success breeds hard problems, and it seems to me that the Negro movement is courting two very serious ones. There is disquieting evidence that a great many Negroes, naturally imbued with the excitement and the power of having led America's first sustained experiment in government by the street, are oblivious to the fact that their guiding rule and their indispensable ally has been the Constitution. Secondly, the availability of the political process has been so long withheld from them that they may not learn soon to value it.

I see little or no prospect for rational answers to America's or the South's racial woes unless the channels of politics are opened up for their resolution, by Congress and by the states. This means a steady transference of issues from court to legislature. The Constitution has done its work, and the way is cleared to reach decisions through consensus. For the long run, *Baker v. Carr* may be the avenue through which Negroes, under the leadership and representation of new, political types, may bring racial issues finally into political settlement. In the nature of things, the South's practical alternative to government by the street may include the price of a half dozen or more Adam Clayton Powells, but that is democracy's age-old exaction.

In the meantime, we can note that any government has but three possible postures toward the question of racial equality: in favor, opposed, or neutral. The political theory of the South has for more than three centuries been grounded on the principle of white supremacy. It has been the cardinal doctrine. If, then, southern state governments were to follow the lead already given by some municipalities, and move from opposition to neutrality, this would be a truly historic change.

Differences in Anti-Negro Préjudice," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* July 1959, From the former: "The success of the movement in the South does not depend—this hypothesis would contend—on changing the deeply ingrained orientations of prejudice-prone personalities; rather, it rests on the effectiveness with which racial integration now going on in the South can restructure the mores to which so many culturally intolerant southerners conform."

In fact, the border states have already moved beyond neutrality,[14] and have begun incorporating into their public policy commitments favoring equality. And of even greater historic moment, some of the old Confederacy states have begun the withdrawal of state power from the defense of segregation and inequality.

This seems to me the *sine qua non* for the preservation of the South, as a community of persons acknowledging a common heritage. There must be an end to governmental hostility toward Negro advance, and acceptance of a political theory which sees government as neutral toward the competing aspirations of all economic and social elements. Such theory has been a commonplace in American national politics since at least Theodore Roosevelt. It will have to be established in the South and will have to be founded on the conditional truth that neutrality of the governmental power has to exist if there is to be order. Hobbes may not have said the last word in political philosophy, but he did say the first: power should be independent of the competition of private interests, and, because of its recognition of the equal potential threat of every person to public order, must acknowledge the equality of rights.

V

Let us say only that as long as a large number of people sense an identity among themselves, the South as a specific, self-conscious culture will endure. As was said at the start of this essay, who is there who is not tired of struggles for more definitive answers?[15] Perhaps I could venture that a Southerner is a person who feels, as against all other people, that he is the more moral, using that word in its broadest meaning of being spiritually fit for life as it is. But this would say no more than that the Southerner shares a widespread conceit. Perhaps it would mean more if I said that the Southerner is someone who can recognize that he has lost every argument about good and evil he has ever had—and he's had a lot

[14]Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia have all legislated some minimal standards and mediation procedures for racial relations, and the governor of Kentucky has gone further with a sweeping executive order.

[15]I have been privileged to read a draft of the forthcoming book of James McBride Dabbs, whose *The Southern Heritage* (N. Y., 1958) is the likeliest candidate of recent years to stand beside the classic interpretations of Cash and Lillian Smith. Dabbs has *not* tired of the search.

—yet he *still* feels himself somehow more moral, again in the broadest meaning.

But it is safer to come back to the simple test of identification. The deepest wisdom in human relations is to accept a man as whatever he names himself. Ten years from now, or 20, will people living between the Potomac and the Rio Grande still identify themselves with each other, still feel worthwhileness in calling themselves Southerners?

I don't know. But I think we all do know some things that bear on the answer.

We know, most importantly, that politics is the way a people conducts its affairs, and that politics not only serves a group of people pragmatically but gives it unity, helps make of it a community. When the political processes cannot handle the affairs of the people, and when to settle grievances men have to act outside those processes, the polity is always hurt, sometimes to the point of death. Both Negroes and intense segregationists, including segregationist officials, have felt that they must take their causes outside the normal processes of politics.

The South is a little place. It cannot act greatly, and its survival means hardly anything to the world. Except that, as I have tried to argue, the only way it can, in fact, survive is to do something that *would* matter to the world, and that is to become a rarity, a bi-racial community at peace with itself. It can do so, I think, only by integrating Negroes into its political processes.

Southern politics is just now, as usual, full of curious things. Mississippi is experimenting with a Soviet style government, with the Citizens Council paralleling the state machine in emulation of a successful Communist Party. Southern governors have become the *de facto* executive directors of the state chambers of commerce, and spend their time competing with each other as supplicants for new plants. We have talked of state socialism and state capitalism, but what do we call governments whose chief affair it is to entice and propitiate business? And all over the South, battle lines draw close to each other, portentous of an epic contest which may never occur in any explicit, decisive engagement, but which will, one way or another, reach to the innermost desires of the South.

For southern conservatism is blending now with that of the nation at large in spirited defense against the dissolution of the old

unities of American life. Southern liberalism has, and this is its good luck, no choice but to accept the Negro's cause as its own. The pains of the warfare between those who are rebelling against ~~300~~ 30 years of history and those who want to move more rapidly into the future, will probably be most acutely felt in the South; it is the South's ancient calling to deflect pain and guilt from the rest of the nation.

Negroes have hymned the American dream, but only its battle-cries. There are other parts of it and, if we read our history honestly, the Birchites and lesser breeds within the law are responsive to them. A "nice" home; people like ourselves; Jesus, and "our" church; the righteousness of property. America is on its way, not to a confrontation with its dream, but to a study of it, a mining of its content. The cutting edge of one drill is the radical right, and the other is the Negroes. It is in the South that each will probably cut most deeply. We are likely to learn a lot about ourselves, these next few years, as the drills cut away.

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1964
APRIL 1965

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

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OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF
1964

PRESIDENT
John Hervey Wheeler*

VICE PRESIDENTS
Albert W. Dent*
Marion A. Wright*
Josephine Wilkins*
Rufus E. Clement*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman

Paul R. Christopher
James M. Dabbs
Charles G. Gomillion
John P. Nelson, Jr.
H. Franklin Williams
Stephen J. Wright
Thomas W. Young

Legal Counsel:
Joseph F. Haas*

Personnel Committee:
Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman

Finance Committee:
L. D. Milton, Chairman

Nominating Committee:
Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Chairman

Development Committee:
Josephine Wilkins, Chairman

STAFF

Executive Director - Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Director of Field Activities - Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Leadership Project - Benjamin Muse (resigned, May 1964)
Editor, New South - Margaret Long
Director, Voter Education Project - Wiley A. Branton
Director of Research - Staige D. Blackford (resigned, May 1964)
Assistant to the Director - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director of Information - Pat Watters
Staff Economist - Lloyd J. Elliott (began appointment September 1)

*ex-officio members of Executive Committee

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1964

This account of the Southern Regional Council's work in 1964 was written later than is my custom. The early months of 1965 have been crowded ones for all who are engaged in the historic change of direction of this region. Already in 1965, a nation which had thought that it had made final decisions was led to see that yet deeper decisions had to be reached. Whether or not there may be other Selmas, this nation is only still beginning the necessary work of making ours a republic of equal citizenship.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Begun April 1, 1962, the Voter Education Project completed substantially all of its field work by October 1964. Under the projects it sponsored, a total of 698,000 new Negro voters, by official count or conservative estimate, were added to the registration lists of eleven southern states; in Texas and Virginia, VEP programs were responsible for 50 - 60,000 new white registrants. Registration of Negroes in the eleven states was probably not higher than 1,350,000 when VEP began; at its close, the size of the Negro vote had advanced to 2,174,000, with the increase principally due to the VEP-connected programs.

Because of the atypical character of the 1964 Presidential election, the Negro vote in the South,

including the new voters, was almost solidly Democratic; regionally, the majority of the white voters clearly supported Republicanism. How a state cast its electoral votes depended, therefore, on how large was the white Republican majority and on the total size of the Negro vote. In Mississippi, where at least 90% of the white vote went Republican and the Negro vote was insignificant, the result was a Republican landslide of almost totalitarian unanimity. In Alabama,* South Carolina, Louisiana, and Georgia -- in that order -- the Negro vote ascended upward and white bloc voting declined. At the top of the scale, the Georgia vote was 54% Republican; we estimate that 64% of Georgia's white voters cast a Republican ballot. Every state of the South in which fewer than 45% of the eligible Negroes were registered went for the Republican candidate.

Every state in which more than 45% of the Negro eligibles were registered voted to re-elect President Johnson, who nevertheless lost the white majority in four of those states (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia) and probably also in a fifth (North Carolina). Only in Texas did a clear majority of whites vote for him, though the majority would have been much thinner did not the Census classify Latins as "white." The

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*The Johnson-Humphrey ticket was not on the ballot in Alabama. Those opposed to Mr. Goldwater could do no more than vote for "unpledged electors."

margin of Democratic victory in Florida and Virginia was provided by the new voters registered under the VEP programs.

All of this occurred while the rest of the nation, with rare consensus, was decisively voting Democratic, not only in the Presidential election but also in Congressional races that, in the South, sent seven new Republican Representatives to the House.* The election of 1964 was a further and vivid demonstration that Negro Southerners are part of a national consensus, and a voting majority of white Southerners are not.

The importance of the Negro vote was felt not only in the Presidential election but in many Congressional and state and local races. In the gubernatorial contest in Arkansas, Negro voters showed -- and it was almost the only opportunity they had in the South to make this clear -- that they were not captives of one party; there they voted Republican, though by a normal majority and not as a bloc. These and other developments were described in an SRC release, What Happened in the South?, put out shortly after the election.

The increase of Negro voting by nearly 700,000 during 1962-64 was of vast importance, one of those quantitative social changes which can accurately be said

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*The net gain, however, was only five: two Republican incumbents in Texas were defeated.

to produce qualitative change. Of equal importance is the fact that Negro voting is moving again. In the ten years of vexatious southern history preceding VEP, the Negro vote had grown slowly: in 1952 it was an estimated 1,009,000, and by early 1962 had increased only about 350,000. Momentum has been restored.

Not, however, in the resistant areas. At the time when I write this report, the President's new voting bill is before Congress. We at SRC have been among those who had said for years that determined resistance to voting could not be defeated through reliance on judicial remedies. Successive administrations of both parties have thought (or, at least, acted) differently. Now there is the promise of a federal statute which will at last enable the Negroes of Mississippi, of most of Alabama and Louisiana, and of southwest Georgia to register.

There is another quality of VEP which deserves mention, indeed emphasis. VEP provided money, planning, and skills for the organization and coordination of the energies of many agencies, local groups, and thousands of workers. The money ($887,737 was the total VEP income) was perhaps "white". Everything else -- the planning, the decision-making, the skills, the devoted and hard work -- was Negro. Once VEP was established, my own role was largely confined to selecting Wiley A. Branton to be its Director (and thereby I made

an enormous contribution to the civil rights movement and to American democracy) and to keeping informed. We hear lately much talk of the need for Negro leadership of the civil rights and integration surge, and that is precisely what we did have in the south-wide registration drive of 1962-64.

VEP accumulated a huge mass of documentary material. We are now at work on our book, which we intend to be a creative exploration of the new southern politics and the new people entering into political life. We anticipate publication in 1966.

A YEAR OF NEW DIRECTIONS

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed. Reapportionment and re-districting moved along in southern states, the North Carolina Fund ("to break the cycle of poverty in North Carolina") got under way, Congress passed the Economic Opportunity Act, and extraordinary student demonstrations shook the University of California; each of these developments evidenced in its own way how profound and how pervasive is the infecting influence of the civil rights movement. The epic Mississippi Summer Project unfolded. Perplexing and bitter riots rattled northern cities. A classic non-violent demonstration in St. Augustine, America's oldest city, symbolically revealed that what is oldest in our country might well contain also what is ugliest, but had no other obvious

purpose; purposeful and justified demonstrations in Atlanta, on the other hand, took a turn that showed that demonstrators can act as stupidly as anybody else. White backlash allegedly spread through the land, and men who believed that to be a fact led their party to a crushing defeat; all about, though, there is evidence of a big and resourceful segment of citizens who are at war against the shape and direction of contemporary American society.

How can all this be embraced in a view of how things are and how they are becoming? I am not bold enough to venture more than to suggest some of the elements which I believe must go into such a view.

I believe we must begin by seeing the civil rights struggle of the last decade as what it truly has been and is: one of the very great, very bright, periods in American democracy, in which this country moved ahead to achieve what is our destiny, a free society that values every individual. But we must also recall that though victory is an American habit, successful peace-making has never been one of our strengths. Successful peace-making here will require a thorough integration of Negro Americans into the educational, economic, political, and social life of this nation, so that each may stand on his individual merits. By now it should be obvious to all that integration

necessitates change affecting our whole society. Our society has been systematically oppressive, and the change from a discriminating to a non-discriminating social order cannot be a merely superficial alteration. Negroes have been either the sub-flooring of American society or its outcasts, and from neither role can they now come into American society without that society changing itself and its ways of conducting some of its important affairs.

Now it seems to me, and I say this after much reflection, that this has been most clearly understood by the conservative southern segregationists and by the youth of the civil rights movement. The southern segregationists have understood and have opposed. The youth have understood, and have gone realistically to work at the community level to revise and re-build and re-educate. They frequently take to their task an almost literal, philosophically naive, acceptance of the pristine ideals and values of American democracy, and this is virtually their entire ideology. Among a few is an equally strong conviction that the established processes and institutions of this society cannot be counted on to work in behalf of those ideals and values, a conviction unfortunately so deep as to yield a startling alienation from contemporary society, rivalling in its intensity and its recklessness if not its cause the

alienation of our Birch-type rightists. At SRC, we are all the more deeply gratified, therefore, that 1964 witnessed a remarkable renascence of youth interest in the Councils on Human Relations, and through them an outpouring of energy into community activities; in North Carolina, for example, about 1,000 college students are engaged in tutorials.

In the ways that they can, these students are tackling the hard, the basic, problems. So must we all. One clear fact emerging from 1964 is that in the South the day of the civil rights lawyer and the civil rights demonstrator -- despite Selma -- is passing, and the day of the administrator, the politician, and the community worker is upon us. I suspect the 1964 and 1965 Congressional legislation will mark only a phase of an era of public policy-making, though the focus will certainly shift to federal, state, and local policies that attempt to get at problems of educational, economic, and cultural disadvantage. We can only hope that our governments will learn to think ahead and not merely to react to pressures -- and do what <u>we</u> can to pressure them to that end. Similarly, our governments, but particularly the federal government, must learn that the South is changed, and that old ways and old men are no longer useful. In the closing days of 1964, following instructions from Annual Meeting, SRC made representations

in Washington regarding policies that determine the appointment of federal judges in the South; we shall (and have already in 1965) continue from time to time to carry as forcefully as we know how the message to Washington that this is a changed region. Similarly, the civil rights groups need to learn that change has occurred, and that it no longer suffices merely to keep doing the same things over and over, however dramatic and apparently effective they may be.

I grow more and more deeply convinced that the real battle ground is the mind of the American white man, and that we have gone nearly as far as we can get with the belief that by requiring people to alter their behavior patterns we cure the social ill of discrimination. We are at a time when old social systems are being discarded and the new ones are not yet in place; this generation of adults will make decisions that will endure for years to come as to what kind of society we shall have here in this land. The really key decisions will not be made by Presidents, Congress, or civil rights leaders. They will be made individually by millions of home-owners, church-goers, parents of school children, trade unionists. They will choose whether they want an open society (and today that can only mean an integrated society) or one built on the principles of social exclusion and isolation. Numerically and perhaps spiritually we have more segregation today than a decade ago. When 88% of the public school

children of Washington are Negro, it is a farce to speak of integration, and Washington happens to be only the front runner among our cities. In Atlanta, there are now 1,140 Negro children attending public schools with whites. In 1954 there were 27,291 Negro children attending all-Negro schools; in 1961, the first year of desegregation, 48,963 attended all-Negro schools; today, the number is higher than ever before: 55,265 Negro children are being educated in completely segregated schools. While this has been happening, the total white enrollment in Atlanta's public schools moved from 53,773 in 1954 to 59,319 in 1961, and was only 59,311 last September.

Examples could be multiplied. The southern segregationists have known all along that the issue was not civil rights but integration. We must all realize this. Racism once lost a war but won the peace, by substituting segregation for slavery. Racism is losing another war, but unless integration is the outcome it will again win the peace.

COUNCIL AFFAIRS

One felt both realism and vibrancy at the Annual Meeting, held November 20 - 21 in Atlanta. These qualities were typified, I think, by the two general resolutions passed. One, which was immediately released to the press, expressed our confidence in the integrity of Martin Luther King, then being impugned by Mr. Hoover.

The other sent emmissaries and views to Washington on the matter of federal judges. It is interesting that both were addressed, in their different ways, to federal action, the key to so much these days.

It was fitting, therefore, that a distinguished Southerner and now a principal federal officer, Governor LeRoy Collins, Director of the U. S. Community Relations Service, be the guest speaker at the dinner. Governor Collins's talk invigorated a large and happy audience of members and guests.

At the January meeting of the Executive Committee, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte was elected its Chairman. Our two chief executive officers are now both named "Wheeler," and both are men with whom a staff takes pride and delight in working. John H. Wheeler was, as all knew he would and ought to be, re-elected President at the Annual Meeting.

We also now have, out of four vice-presidents, two who are named "Wright." Stephen J. Wright of Nashville, President of Fisk University, was elected a vice-president, succeeding Albert W. Dent of New Orleans. Newly elected to the Executive Committee were Mrs. J. N. Rayzor of Houston, Dr. Dent, and McNeill Smith of Greensboro; they succeed Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, John P. Nelson, Jr., and Dr. Wright.

New members elected to the Council (for the Class of 1968 unless otherwise noted) were: H. A. Hank Brown,

Austin; Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Oxford (Miss.); George Lewis, II, Tallahassee; Herman H. Long, Talladega (Ala.); Mrs. Leo M. Mervis, New Orleans; Benjamin Muse - Class of 1965 - Manassas (Va.); Patrick J. Owens, Little Rock; Matthew J. Perry, Columbia; James W. Silver - Class of 1966 - Oxford (Miss.); Frank Smith, Knoxville; C. H. Thomas, Jr., Orangeburg; and T. Franklin Williams - Class of 1966 - Chapel Hill.

These are all outstanding people, and will strengthen our programs and outreach. The Council's rotation requirement caused four good and valued members of the Class of 1964 not to be re-elected. These were Mrs. James S. Crate, Bishop Joseph B. Brunini, Hodding Carter, Jr., and Jerome Crossman.

Mr. Carter, of Greenville (Miss.), was immediately elected a Life Fellow of the Council. Soo too were Mrs. David D. Terry of Little Rock; Ralph E. McGill of Atlanta; J. Waties Waring of New York, but formerly of Charleston; W. D. Weatherford of Black Mountain (N.C.); and Carter Wesley of Houston.

Mrs. Moise Cahn of New Orleans, a member of the Class of 1965, died during the year. Hers had been a good and even great life, and her passing was sudden, and hard for her friends to grasp. Dr. Roosevelt Crockett of Little Rock and Dr. Samuel Proctor of Greensboro (both of the Class of 1966) left the region.

An especially noteworthy development of the year was the establishment by the Executive Committee of a Development Committee to assist the staff. The Development Committee will look to long-range rather than immediate needs, will be primarily interested in southern sources of financial support, and will be concerned not only with the needs of SRC but equally as much with those of the Councils on Human Relations. The eleven member committee is chaired by Vice-President Josephine Wilkins.

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Membership in the state and local Councils was 9,545 in 1964, an increase of approximately 1,300 over 1963. Funds raised locally (exclusive of any foundation grants or SRC grants-in-aid) were $119,435, an increase of $53,910 over 1963. Total income of the state and local Councils was approximately $300,000, of which 17% came from SRC grants-in-aid, 45% from foundation grants, and 38% from local sources.

It was a year of changing the guard. New staff directors were appointed in Alabama, Florida, North Carolina, and Tennessee.* (Heslip Lee, a man we had all grown to admire and follow, resigned in December as

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*Edwin Stanfield, Alabama; Edwyn E. Lewis, Jr., Florida; Helen Adams Furman, North Carolina; Baxton Bryant, Tennessee. The new Virginia director is Robert Combs.

Virginia's director; his successor was chosen in early 1965.) We have tremendous confidence in the new people. Our keenest pleasure was, however, the growth of the Mississippi Council to a point where it could employ a full-time director; chosen in late 1964, Kenneth L. Dean, a Tennessean, was on the job in February 1965.*

Twenty-one professional staff persons, dedicated and resourceful men and women, are now employed by nine state and one (Houston) local Councils. Excellent lay leadership assembled in Louisiana, and as 1965 moves along we have every hope and expectation that a Louisiana Council will at last re-emerge and be able to engage staff.

From 1954-57, the state Councils were organic parts of the Southern Regional Council. Since 1957, they have been autonomous bodies, although their relationships with SRC have been very close. There has arisen in the last year or so throughout the state Councils a strong current of belief that there should be an even closer drawing together, not only of the state bodies and SRC but of the state bodies with each other. Where this may end is far from clear, but it does seem certain that during 1965 some

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*Our keenest sadness was the misfortunes of health which plagued Oliver W. Holmes, the remarkably able Associate Director of the Georgia Council.

decisions will be reached, and it does seem safe to predict that some closer program relationships will be formed.

I have already mentioned the growth of the Councils' influence on campuses (and vice versa); this has been especially marked in the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia. If space permitted, I would describe the new work being done in support of the national poverty program. Happily, the Councils are telling this themselves, through greatly improved publications.

OTHER FIELD ACTIVITIES

An ominous question during the early months of 1964 was whether the South would comply with the prospective public accommodations law. Following a series of meetings in the Spring, we undertook a special project of coordinating a southwide effort by many private human relations agencies to mobilize positive support for compliance. The work quickly became more than coordination, however, as in some localities we worked directly and in some others with specially formed ad hoc groups (such as "Partners for Progress" in Atlanta and the "Tallahassee Womens Intergroup Committee"). The project, stylishly called "Operation Opportunity," was directed by Louis L. Mitchell, on leave from his position as staff

head of the Florida Council on Human Relations, and to him and all the many groups and individuals who cooperated in a strenuous campaign is owed a considerable share of the credit for the good behavior which generally prevailed in the South after the public accommodations law passed.

The project was under the supervision of Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities, who was directly engaged in another notable special effort, working closely with Mississippians for Public Education to bring off peacefully and with good will school desegregation in Jackson and Biloxi. In place after place over the South a seemingly invariable sociological datum has emerged: no progress until the right of public discussion and dissent has been established. Almost equally invariable has been a supplementary datum, which discloses that seldom has the "power structure" led in gaining this right; its weighty role comes later, after the windows have been opened. In some southern places this has been the task and great achievement of save-our-schools groups. In Mississippi, MPE not only contributed greatly to this end but has since continued an active campaign for strengthened education, with chapters operating in seven localities.

The Fellowship of the Concerned, under the guidance of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, continued to add cubits to the

devoted work of many southern church and synagogue women. Some of the country's most influential churchwomen, including the president of the United Church Women, joined southern delegates in attendance at the annual meeting in October. Throughout the year, the Fellowship was quietly serving in crisis areas such as Mississippi.

We maintained our close association with the National Student Association, and formed a working relationship with the new Southern Student Organizing Committee. Although of unique value, these reflect the pattern of SRC's constant association with other agencies. We continue as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference and in a multitude of informal ways, difficult to convey or record, we are involved intimately in the work of other human relations and civil rights bodies.

After one final field trip to Mississippi, Benjamin Muse resigned from the staff, which he had enriched so greatly as Director of the Southern Leadership Project since early 1959.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

Muse's Ten Years of Prelude was published by Viking Press on May 17. "It is unlikely that a more comprehensive and authoritative report of the ten-year struggle will appear," said the Christian Science Monitor's

reviewer. "The best history of the decade that has been written," said the Washington Post. "A thoughtful, compact history," according to the New Yorker. Sales of the book, in the publisher's words, "go along steadily; we think it will last for a long time." Mr. Muse wrote the book, for which we hold the copyright, as an SRC project, and was supported in his preparation by SRC research and editing. An English edition has appeared.

Although SRC had not such a formal connection with James McBride Dabbs's, Who Speaks for the South? (Funk and Wagnalls), Mr. Dabbs, our illustrious former president, researched the book under an SRC project. The New York Times reviewer said of the book: "No other writer has so related the currents in southern thought to the mainstream of human thought throughout the ages. It is a book that will help the South understand itself and the North understand the South."

Jointly with the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we produced a beautiful film, Right Now!, by Robert Newman. The Voter Education Project distributed the film, which portrays a registration campaign in Savannah, to registration projects all over the region. Our latest word is that the film has been nominated for a prize competition at the American Film Festival.

Publications of the year were as follows:

Pamphlets:

The Price We Pay (jointly with the Anti-Defamation League)

Special Reports:

Louisville, by Benjamin Muse

Charlotte, by Pat Watters

Memphis, by Benjamin Muse

Brunswick, by Pat Watters

Law Enforcement in Mississippi

Special Issues of NEW SOUTH:

"The Southern Regional Council, 1944-64," January 1964

"The American Middle Ground in St. Augustine," September 1964

L-Reports:

L-47 "The Question from Jacksonville"

L-24D "Desegregation in Higher Education" (revised)

Miscellaneous:

What Happened in the South?

SRC's publishing interests are to reach as many opinion-leaders as possible and to affect public policy-making. Whether this is done under SRC imprint matters little; indeed, if others publish we save considerable cost. In addition to the fine work they have done for us, Margaret Long, editor of New South, and Pat Watters, Director of Information, have been encouraged to write in our field of interest for the magazines. During 1964, Miss Long published one article in the New York Times

Magazine and three in the Progressive. Mr. Watters had two articles in the Reporter, five in the New Republic, two in the Nation, two in the Progressive, and one in the New York Times Magazine.

During most of the year we were handicapped by not having a Research Director. Fortunately, we have assembled what I believe is the most capable research staff in SRC's history. A Research Director is necessary to a strong publications program, but it is the staff which must perform the research services which seem constantly to increase. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 directs the Commission on Civil Rights to become a national clearinghouse of information; the Commission, we predict, will find it an exhausting job. We have been such a clearinghouse, on a more modest scale, for years, and the pace is fast and the load heavy. We read, classify, and put away about 1,500 items every week, and the research staff is enabled by these to service the mounting demands of government agencies, press, community groups, and students.

OTHER MATTERS

Dr. Lloyd J. Elliott, formerly associate professor of economics at William and Mary, joined us in September as Staff Economist. Dr. Elliott will lead a new venture of studies related specifically to program work of the state Councils and other community groups. It is to be

known as the Economic Counselling and Study Project.

The number of foreign visitors for whom we were Atlanta sponsors declined, due to the vigor of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors, which we helped bring into existence a couple years back. Still, 65 visitors, accompanied by 13 escorts or interpreters, were with us for periods up to a week. Twenty-nine of the 65 came from Africa, seven from Asia, two from Australia-New Zealand, 22 from Europe, four from Latin-America, and one from Israel. Another 74 foreign visitors, sponsored by other Atlanta agencies, came to our offices for briefings.

We are participants and beneficiaries in the Eleanor Roosevelt internships in human relations. Our first intern came in February, worked for his year with VEP, and then was appointed to head a CORE regional office. A second intern came in September, and works with the Field staff. We are pleased that both the North Carolina and the Virginia Councils have been chosen to receive and train interns. These four who have come within our orbit are first-rate.

Paul Anthony voyaged to England in October as a Wilton Park Fellow, to participate in a conference sponsored by the British Foreign Office. Wiley Branton took time off briefly from his VEP duties to win the first jury acquittal in Arkansas's history for a Negro

accused of murdering a white woman. All of the staff faced almost too many speaking engagements; among my own number were the closing address of the Arkansas public meeting of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and a paper on "civil disobedience" before the Southern Political Science Association. I also contributed the opening essay to that body's symposium on the South, published subsequently by Praeger as The American South in the 1960's. The Atlanta NAACP for many years has brought the nation's outstanding Negro leaders to deliver its Emancipation Day address; this is a high honor, and on January 1, 1965 a local man, Vernon E. Jordan, my assistant, excellently lived up to it.

We assisted in getting started the Southern Teaching Project, which brought 53 graduate students from our best universities to teach summer sessions in 1964 at 13 predominantly Negro colleges, and subsequently we did an evaluation of the Project, now a seemingly established enterprise. Two other ventures for which we feel particular pride are the Southern Consumers' Cooperative in southwest Louisiana, recipient in 1964 of the nation's first small business loan under the Economic Opportunity Act, with which we have worked almost since its start; and the Norfolk Committee for the Improvement of Education, which we have assisted in a notable program of remedial education.

For the year, income slightly exceeded outgo. Mrs. Ruth House Alexander, our Secretary-Treasurer, was as always our ever-present help in all things financial. The complex financial affairs of the Voter Education Project were kept orderly by Mrs. Jean Levine, Fiscal Assistant. This is a fitting place to record my appreciation of the excellent job done by the entire SRC staff.

Conclusion

A portion of this report that was being written at home on a Sunday night was interrupted by a long distance call from a civic leader in a small city, working to avert a demonstration the next day over employment by the city's retail stores and trying to set up a job-training program. Calls were made, a Council on Human Relations staff member got on the road, there was no demonstration, the local Mayor's bi-racial committee agreed to broaden its Negro membership by taking in two leaders (one a student) of the militant group, the training program got underway, financed by the local merchants. This kind of experience, repeated many times, is perhaps as much a part of the truth of the contemporary South as are Jim Clark and Governor Wallace.

We have tried to be a useful part of this South. To be so requires, however, that one never lose sight

of the reality of that other South of violence and hate. For though the South has many facets, they are all reflected by the same stone. There are many "Souths" -- but fundamentally there is but one, a region seeking escape from its common history of racism, poverty, and political absurdity.

The Southern Regional Council in 1964 as in past years was a part of this struggle. Our office is a meeting-place of men, organizations, ideas, and programs. The new federal civil rights and poverty agencies have worked us ceaselessly, as they have set up and carried on their programs. Nothing has more occupied our time these past months.

We are in 1965 continuing to give priority to support of these new programs, though we shall not overlook our traditional role of reporter and critic. American democracy has invested its needs and hopes in governmental policies. We believe that experience shows that they cannot work well without the care and sometimes guidance of private agencies. In a short time, I believe, the state and local governments of the region will be as active as today is the federal government, and the Council will be as diligent in trying to strengthen them.

Leslie W. Dunbar

the migrant farmer

A Psychiatric Study

By Robert Coles, M.D.

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Southern Regional Council
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FOREWORD

Americans are a mobile people, but the persons of whom Dr. Coles writes are different. The whole family moves, except for infants the whole family works, they move almost constantly, they are poor. Even in the fact that they work the soil they are different from a steadily increasing majority of their fellow-citizens.

Are they citizens in any but the most minimal degree? Dr. Coles does not directly answer this question, though what he does say makes the answer obvious. What he does ably do is to show us the human wants and strengths which these people have. The economic hardships of the migrant farmers are traceable to their displacement from old farms by new machines. They are castoffs of the southern agricultural revolution, and yet their labor continues to feed us. We have not done as well at feeding them, their minds and their bodies.

Dr. Coles is a psychiatrist, now with the University Health Services of Harvard University. From 1961-1963 he was engaged in research for the Southern Regional Council, for which he is still a consultant. His work in numerous periodicals attracts wide respect. We are happy again to publish his findings and uniquely interesting insights.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

CHAPTER I

THE MIGRANT LIFE

Living in America today are many hundreds of thousands of people whose lives are characterized by continual movement each crop season from town to town, state to state, and region to region. They are people whose hands harvest the fruit and vegetables we eat.

There are three large-scale pathways they follow (called "streams" by the farmers, public health doctors, or government officials who are involved in one way or another with their lives). One is along the Pacific Coast, drawing upon native white and Negro workers, or Mexican workers, and moving from southern California up along to Washington and back as the harvesting season itself moves northward, then southward. There is a middle stream—heavily Mexican, but with a good number of whites and Negroes—which starts in the south-central region of Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma and moves northward in a wide area, terminating in states like Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

The third stream is the Atlantic Seaboard one. It is made up mainly of Negroes, but has some whites too. Starting in Florida in late May and June its workers move steadily northward, up through Georgia, settling into the Carolinas and Virginia for some weeks, then into Delaware, New Jersey, and New York, a few going on into New England. They stay north for the rest of the Summer and early Fall. Then by the thousands they return to Florida for a Winter and Spring of gathering crops there, sometimes in one general area (from farm to farm) or sometimes moving from county to county.

In a very real sense the migrant farmers form a "subculture" in this nation. They live apart from the rest of us in a number of ways. By definition they are on the move, regularly or irregularly living each year in several states and in the process managing usually to lose the many advantages of a permanent residence in any one of them. For example, migrants usually do not vote. They are rarely eligible for any local unemployment assistance. They may hardly see the towns whose nearby fields they harvest. Their rights to adequate schooling for their children, to police protection, to sanitary inspection and regulation of their homes, to enforcement of fire regulations for those same homes, are in many cases prejudiced.

They come and they soon leave. They not only do this but they know they do, and they *feel* the implications of their behavior, the facts of their arrival, work, and departure in isolation from the life of the various communities whose

fields they infiltrate and work. Whether they travel in caravans of trucks and buses, as many do, or by their own cars, they ignore most of the roadside stopping places as they move along from state to state. They have their own places to eat and sleep, to stop and obtain service for themselves and their cars; there are a few stations, or there are simply fields along the highways. Migrants know their "place," they know the houses to seek out when they arrive in a county, the stores which are theirs, offering their kind of food for their kind of cooking, and if you haven't lived in their homes and tasted the food, seen it being prepared and eaten, it is hard with words alone to do justice to the grease and starch, the common lack of utensils, the consequent vitamin deficiencies suffered by people whose diet ignores food picked by their very hands and rich as is possible in vitamins.

Most of the activities which Americans of different classes and regions call upon for their leisure time are not typically chosen by migrants. They usually have no neighborhood churches or movie houses. They join no social clubs and take no countryside trips or picnics. Their children do not go to scout meetings nor do they launch charity drives or attend book club meetings. Family visits are a matter of seeing the part of the family also on the road and hoping someday for a word or a few days with the rest of the family far away. Phones are not customary, and mail is rare indeed. There may be church services brought to them by ministers themselves migrant in order to reach them. There may be "platter parties," records played in a cabin to hard dancing and soft and hard drink. Television is not rare, bringing all of America into the lives of those who look at it, and, because watched by neighbors, a kind of rallying instrument. More accurately, television sets come and go, purchased by some for small down payments, often quickly taken away when payments are not forthcoming.

And so there is no comparing the unstable, disorganized social life of migrants with that of the large majority of Americans. They are separated from us by their hand-to-mouth existence, their migratory habits which deprive them from intimacy with any solid residential condition, and, in the case of the majority of them, Negroes or Puerto Ricans or Mexicans, by their racial handicaps in our country.

The history of migratory farm labor goes back well into the Nineteenth Century when roving bands of men moved about reaping and bundling our wheat crops. However, much of American agriculture slowly became heavily mechanized, so that by the 1920's there was a serious crisis developing in

the lives of millions of farm workers whose labor was simply no longer needed. To the cities many of them went, even from the South, whose farms and cotton plantations yielded more slowly to machines than the giant wheat and corn fields of the Midwest. Many, however, stayed on the land, eking out what existence they could.

With the onset of the depression years of the 1930's, dispossessed sharecroppers, or small farmers whose income was near nothing because of the depression, or additional thousands driven from their dried, choked land by a series of droughts, combined to offer a frightful spectacle to their countrymen as they moved, by new thousands, hungry, fearful, and confused across the continent in search of a decent chance of work.

While many of these people also moved into the city, many others remained loyal to their competence in farming by taking jobs as fruit pickers and vegetable harvesters in the expanding farms dedicated to those crops in California, in the Midwest, and in Florida. With rapid transportation by train and truck and refined methods of refrigerating these once perishable commodities, there had developed in the period after the First World War a large-scale industry of growing fruit and vegetable produce, once, of course, grown locally by farmers near the cities they supplied. As these new farms, and the packing houses attached to them, came into being they required workers to plant and gather their crops, then pack them and load them on waiting box cars and trucks. The farms themselves were scattered over great distances, and, in keeping with the changing seasons, over entire regions of the nation. To work on them, men and their families have to be willing to move regularly and sometimes frequently too.

These people do not have comfortable lives, in comparison with the way most of us live. In large measure they live in houses whose adequacy, let alone comfort, leave much to be desired. Often they are flimsy, rat infested, one-room hovels with improper sanitation. In them live large families, sleeping at close quarters on cots or on the floors, often eating without utensils on the same floor. If some of these people live more comfortable lives, many live under conditions which an essay like this cannot hope to describe fairly. What most migrants share is the more than occasional exposure to poor housing, bad sanitation, a diet poor in vitamins and protein, inadequate medical care, continual movement—and consequent lack of firm association with any particular community—, very limited incomes, and a lack of eligibility for a number of

privileges many of us either take for granted or consider "rights": the vote, a telephone, a library card, unemployment or welfare benefits, minimum wage protection.

In the southern states alone there are an estimated quarter of a million migrant workers, according to figures issued in 1965 by the U.S. Department of Labor. In general, what is happening in the South, and elsewhere, is that the number of farms is dropping (by 18% from 1959 to 1965) while the actual land tilled holds the same or drops only slightly. The average farm thus tends to be larger, usually a matter of large farms absorbing small ones.

As with farms, the number of sharecroppers has been slowly falling. For example, in the 1950's the sharecropping system of cotton farming in Mississippi gradually gave way to mechanized production and reduced cotton acreage. The number of tenant farmers dropped from 83,000 to 33,000 between 1954 and 1959, while the number of regular farm workers (no longer sharecroppers) rose from 24,000 to 39,000. In fact, the total number of sharecroppers in the 16 southern states dropped by more than half in that time, leaving 121,000 sharecropper farms, according to the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Such political, economic, social, and cultural facts affect the lives of these people, influencing the way they act, their view of themselves in relationship to others around them, the assumptions they make about the world. Such facts also become psychological forces as they bear down and help shape the thinking of children, the behavior of parents, the experiences of both. In many respects these "environmental" forces determine the way migrants touch and feed their children, toilet-train them, bring them up to get along with one another and themselves as they grow and develop. These "external" facts become translated into internal ones, of fantasy, dream, action, and personality development.

Psychiatric research must, therefore, make proper mention of its necessary and affirming kinship to sociological and anthropological observation as well as historical knowledge. It is not simply a matter of seeing the impact of a social system on people. It is one of seeing how, out of historical events in a given political and economic system, a social system has developed, with its own culture and frame of mind. Migrants have a "sub-culture" within that of the poor, including their own non-migrant relatives.

In broad and over-simplified categories, these small, marginal southern farmers of yesteryear have done one of several things. Many, and those who are the subject of this short

study, have adopted a migrant life, while continuing their occupation as workers of the soil. These people in their own way are showing as much determination and self-reliance as those others who have stayed at "home," and continue to struggle for economic survival, or those many others who have left the land and braved an alien city life but, with few marketable skills, have frequently and widely become public wards, living on relief. On the other hand, some of these rural dispossessed have made the transition to self-sustaining city life. Quite often, I found that these successful ones had been those with military service from which they had learned to do things that cities want done.

Here are the words on tape of a Negro man whose six year old daughter pioneered school desegregation in Louisiana:

> We just couldn't stay on the farm no longer. My daddy's still there, but there wasn't room for us, so we had to leave or we would have been taking our mother's food and bringing nothing in . . . I mean you can grow some food, but not enough to keep you fed all year, and there's no money for anything else . . . So we left one by one . . . I went to New Orleans because I'd learned how to be an auto mechanic in the service. So I figured I could always get me a job there . . . My brother didn't have nothing he could do but farm and he figured he could go to Florida and get a living from that . . . We had some cousins do that a few years back, so he knew to go to them.

A white man is now telling his story. A deeply convinced segregationist brought up in Mississippi, he had withdrawn his child from school when the Negro man just quoted sent his child there, yet they grew up only 30 miles apart:

> . . . It was the army that did it . . . I mean getting my trade . . . my electrician's training gave me the push to come here . . . One of my brothers is still home with my folks and there ain't much they're getting out of the farm to keep them but barely alive; and another's in Mobile and he ain't doing much of anything so far as we can hear. I think he works on the docks there when he can; but he's got no skill is the trouble . . . and we have a brother in Florida who works on farms there. He stays there most of the year, and they leave in the summer and do some picking North, and then they come back. It's better than no work at all . . . No, I think they'd rather be right where we are, to tell the truth. They came here before we did . . . yes, he's older than me . . . so he didn't get a job and he didn't get a job, and then he either had to stay on relief or leave, so they just packed up and went back to the farm (their father's small farm in Mississippi) and then I guess he had to leave that too, like we all do . . . so that's how he come upon Florida.

What emerges from these family histories is a small confirmation of what we all know about the serious troubles of millions of southern tenant farmers, black and white, and how these troubles cause emigration, and how the destination chosen can be influenced by educational experience (the

armed services were unwittingly serving as "vocational rehabilitation" centers for both of these men), and, finally, how the difficulties of poor people lead to frustrations and animosities easily channelled, given any social and political encouragement, into racial antagonisms.

CHAPTER II

NATURE OF THIS STUDY

My interest in these people was aroused in the course of a study of the adjustment of Negro and white school children to school desegregation in the South. Several of the Negro children and one white child had been born in sharecropper cabins in Mississippi, Alabama, or South Carolina. Their early years had been spent on farms, and their parents had only recently moved into New Orleans or Atlanta, where they came upon the crisis of a serious social struggle that affected them and the education of their children. In the course of taking family histories I learned that in five families (four Negro and one white) there were uncles, aunts, and cousins who had left those same fixed, if no longer sustaining, farms to join the migrant labor force rather than the tide going steadily toward cities of the North or the South.

What made for such different choices, and what happened as a result of them to such differently lived lives? Through one Negro family in New Orleans I established preliminary contact with their relatives and other Negro families who harvest winter crops in Florida and move up the Atlantic states in Summer and Autumn doing likewise. I was unable to trace down the migrant relatives of the white family, but in the attempt met with other white migrant families in Florida and established effective communication with them. In preliminary visits I interviewed at length public health doctors and nurses who have long been concerned with the severe medical problems which afflict the bodies of these people, and the related sanitary problems which rise from their living and working conditions (contaminated drinking water, inadequate drainage and sewage facilities).

I worked as a general physician in the mobile public health clinics which attempt to reach migrants (known to be suspicious and isolated) by seeking them out directly; accompanied nurses on their post-natal rounds; did likewise with dieticians whose job it is, often against stubborn emotional resistance, to try to educate people whose diet is woefully unhealthy about ways of improving health through modification of food habits. (The irony of people surrounded by fresh fruit and vegetables, yet shunning them for themselves and their children in the face of medical advice to the contrary, was one of the first reminders encountered that more than simply "material deprivation" was at work in these families.)

I also talked at considerable length with the farmers who enploy, and often provide living quarters for, migrants and

have had considerable experience and difficulty with them and their habits of living. I spent a good deal of time talking with county agricultural agents in Florida and some northern states, learning the history of agriculture (and hence migrations of people to support it) in the various counties and states; talked with some school teachers who must try to educate migrant children, and visited schools where they are taught; talked also with certain social workers who come into contact with these people, and with those from church groups who have come to know and try to help these people while others of us have scarcely heard of them and their kind of existence.

Eventually I selected ten families for more intensive study. Six were Negro and four white, all part of the eastern Seaboard migration. I interviewed these mothers, fathers, and children over a period of two years, some months visiting them weekly at home. On later occasions I followed them in their migration northward, traveling in buses and trucks with them or in two instances in family cars. I lived with two Negro families and one white family for two weeks each. I tape-recorded our interviews and with young children both played games and placed heavy emphasis on drawing and painting pictures. I photographed homes and their interiors, fields and the way bodies and hands must posture themselves in them to harvest their crops, and buses and trucks with their dense "loads," so that I might document such conditions of existence and study their meaning to the people who live under them, work under them, and move about under them.

CHAPTER III

OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

My primary interest has been with the relationship between the migrant and the "outside world" and the growth and development of the migrant child's mind. Migrant farmers live a kind of life that asserts itself upon their infants and children, and emerges once again in adults able to live with its demands. The extreme poverty, the cultural deprivation and social fragmentation, in sum the uprootedness which characterizes their lives, falls not suddenly upon them (as it does upon the observer who tries to comprehend their manner of survival) but is a constant fact of life from birth to death, summoning therefore a whole style of life, a full range of adaptive maneuvers. Perhaps if we take a migrant child at birth and follow his life along we shall best combine the telling of their lives with the psychodynamic developments in them.

Infancy

In only two of the ten families were the children delivered by doctors. The rest of the mothers relied upon midwives or simply relatives and friends. Frequently a pregnant mother returns "home" (where relatives—parents, brothers and sisters, even cousins—maintain a permanent residence) to deliver a baby. In many instances such is not possible, and children are delivered wherever the mother happens to be, often enough "on the road," that is, in the course of traveling for working purposes. One is struck by the casual attitude toward childbirth displayed by these mothers, and their common knowledge of how to deliver children, remove the placenta, tie and sever the cord.

Many of them are quite afraid to deliver their babies in a hospital, fearful that the child in some way will be "hurt." For example, one of our mothers remarked that, "They say it's cleaner there and safer, but I tried it once and I got scared to death and my baby didn't behave good. He cried more and didn't take my milk so easy." While many also complain that they simply have not sufficient money to pay for good medical and obstetrical care, it seems clear that even were such facilities free to them, their substantial fear, suspicions, and superstitions would have to be overcome—and perhaps some accommodation on the part of the doctors and hospitals be made in keeping with the migrants' cultural attitudes toward child-bearing and rearing.

Migrants seem much less self-conscious about pregnancy and childbirth than do not only middle-class families but

many of the urban poor, both Negro and white. During the pre-natal period the mothers constantly refer to their pregnancy even well before it is obvious. Other children are told about the fact as soon as menstruation stops. One mother told her four children, "We is getting a baby again, 'cause I don't bleed no more." As her abdominal wall swelled in later months the children would often come up to touch and fondle it, even to talk to the baby inside. There was similar behavior in the other families. Moreover, likely as not, the mother would wear little or no clothing in the early morning and evening hours. The mothers frequently wear heavy clothes during their work in the fields, pants, rubber boots, and rubber guards on their knees to protect them during stoop labor, and are sometimes relieved to be rid of all clothing at home. Thus, the unborn child is publicly seen, felt and followed along as he grows in the womb.

Many Negro migrant women—I did not notice this in whites—at this time become more religious, going with special frequency to the various churches that flourish among them. Names such as "The One and Only Church of God" or "God's True House of Faith" describe the more evangelical and customarily passionate among them. In addition, more conventional denominations send ministries to migrants, and these ministries come perhaps into closer and more directly helpful contact with them than does any other segment of "our" population with the exception of certain public health service doctors, nurses, social workers, and dieticians.

The increase in church attendance was attributed by several mothers to a desire to insure a baby who would survive pregnancy, be born without complication, *and live*. The loss of children due to miscarriages, the mishaps of difficult deliveries, or the various untreated diseases of the first days and weeks of infancy are very much on the minds of these women.

Likely as not the child is born at home, in the presence of his brothers and sisters, or, if a first child, his "father." (Many Negro migrants do not formally marry, or may do so after several children have been born.) Of course, there may be several "fathers" to a given family of children, though the current husband is almost always called "father" by all children, and his name is assumed. Since residence and schools alike constantly shift, this is an easier practice to follow than in the cities or rural areas where some of these same customs hold for non-migrants, but with less formal cooperation from the society. White migrant families are much more likely to have a common father.

From the first day of birth the new child eats and sleeps

with the rest of the family. Migrants quite often live in "one-room" houses, small shacks which are built to cover people with a roof rather than help them divide their activities and time with one another in certain ways. The children are breast-fed, and so fed for a year or more without any other food, except perhaps soft drinks which are introduced in the first months. There is little of the modesty one sees in our predominant culture, and again even in the poorer sections of it. Children of five and six may fondle both baby and breast during the feeding period. There is no concept of a schedule of feeding. Infants are often brought to work, watched over by their brothers and sisters, or grandmothers; their mother is summoned when the child cries, there to be fed with little interest in covering the breast from anyone nearby.

The infant sleeps with his mother for the first few months, then is entrusted to the considerably older children, if there are any, rather than any siblings one or two years older. In such cases girls of five and six become quite occupied with introducing food to the child, playing with him, clothing him. If there are only very young children the infant still will likely go to the oldest of these, almost as a gift or birthright. There are families within families, younger children "belonging" to various older ones.

The young child sleeps with the other children, if he is a first or even second child he or she may sleep with his or her parents until enough children come to warrant a second bed, or cot, or sleeping bag. The infant thus grows and becomes a child in the midst of the constant physical presence of others, their noises, smells, actions, and habits. He is constantly touched, held and seen by them and thus receives that sensory, especially tactile, stimulation; or we might say, metaphorically and literally both, that kind of nourishment.

The growing child of one or two responds to such an environment by talking and moving about with ease. He is often naked, allowed to be so and encouraged to be so. Since his parents follow the sun in pursuit of work made possible by the sun, he is usually quite comfortable without clothes. He is not toilet trained until he is well able to walk outside his house, usually in the second year though sometimes well into the third year. The outside world is often his toilet, the nearby land of trees, thickets, and grass. Many of these children have never been in a house that has a bathroom, never seen a bathtub or sink. The mothers tend to be fairly firm once they have decided to train the child. They or one of

their other children quickly carry him outside, where he can continue, or, if he is finished, he may be left there a bit alone, told not to come in and prevented from doing so. That is a harsh fate, a cruel exile for childen so constantly close to others. They rapidly seem to get the point. On the whole, then, toilet training seems to be accomplished quickly, without great self-consciousness on the part of anyone, indeed rather smoothly and effectively.

Childhood

The children are allowed great freedom in moving about —their very inheritance—as they leave the infant and baby years to become walking, talking boys and girls. They are extraordinarily responsible for one another. They feed one another, clothe one another, sleep together, and often work together, following their parents at picking in the fields as they become seven, eight, or nine and thus old enough to do so.

Migrants' homes have practically no printed matter. Many migrants are illiterate. They do not read newspapers. They do not even receive mail. Their children fast pick up their parents' words, but they come to school with little preparation for books, maps, or pictures. The walls of their homes are barren. Some of them, however, have seen a good deal of television. On the road they often cannot have TV, because they are in homes unequipped for electricity. In Florida the same may hold, but it may not if they live in certain camps or housing compounds. The first thing purchased is a television set, and the children become utterly taken up with it for a while. After a while the enthusiasm seems to subside and then stop altogether, enough so that the set is ignored for long spells. I wondered how the children—and for that matter their parents—responded to the comfortable world of America as it entered *their* world. I soon learned that they seemed to respond to it as "our" children do to adventure stories, science fiction, or plain comic strip stimulation of dream and fantasy.

For example, one child of six said that he would some day board a rocket to the moon, and on the way "get off to see the cities up there." Questioned earnestly about the existence of cities on the moon, he explained that he meant the cities, and the life in them, he saw on television and passed by, at small but significant distances, in his travels with his parents.

Particularly revealing are the drawings these children do at five and six or eight and ten. When asked to draw pictures

of themselves they consistently sketch their brothers and sisters *with* themselves. When asked to limit themselves to a drawing of themselves, they hesitate, seemingly confused or paralyzed, or use the crayons in helter-skelter fashion that results in no picture at all. They seem very much afraid of being alone, of asserting on paper or in games the kind of individuality rather commonly sought by children from different backgrounds.

For example, a seven year old boy was asked what would happen to a soldier that was isolated from other soldiers in a game. He said the soldier would die of starvation. ("He'd better get back fast or he won't eat and that'll end him.") All such games showed the children anxious to have groups of soldiers close together. There were no isolated leaders, and when I tried to establish their presence the children wanted them back with the others, or feared for their lives. They seemed unable to command their imaginative resources for situations where people were on their own.

The games and drawings also gave us some indication of how these children felt about themselves in relation to non-migrant children. They are, of course, well traveled, though they do not move on the main highways, or the planes and trains the rest of us use. Still, with their parents they see the land and its people, and from their parents they get a series of notions about others. "I tells my children we feeds the rest of the children," one mother told us. Another mother constantly told her children that the alternative to their kind of life was "trouble" or "no food and going to jail." Several parents frequently remarked upon the good fortune of being able to get what work they did as harvesters. The children were reminded that they had cousins whose parents didn't work at all, and "they takes to drinking and fighting all day long."

The children thus sense that they and their parents do something important for others, that those others have a better but distantly unobtainable life, that the alternative to the migrant life is not that better life but one even worse than the one they know—full of danger and pain—and that their present life (whatever its trials) serves to keep them and their families from not only external hardship but internal disintegration.

One child was finally able to formulate (and confide) her impression of the life of city children. She drew a house so large as to cover almost the entire paper, then filled it with furniture. There was only one small window. The furniture seemed so abundant as to be a log jam. I had a sheaf of her

drawings showing her *own* house; it had many windows and walls so drawn as to leave spaces that ranged from crevices to gaping holes. She invariably filled "her" house with six, seven, or nine people, but never any furniture. (She was one of six, her mother was pregnant, and with her father there were eight in the family.) The walls on the city home were scrupulously and thickly crayoned—and in red, instead of brown and black. The girl was telling that she knew that other children lived in more solid, perhaps brick, houses, less exposed and open to the wind or rain, filled with tables, chairs, and beds that she knew she did not have in her own. When asked about the people who lived in the urban home, they slowly took on shape at her hands: parents and two children, all bigger and stockier than her own family. She had to draw them, incidentally, on another piece of paper, there being no room for them on the first piece. The house and furniture had monopolized all the space.

Other children do consistently similar drawings. As they become nine and ten, they can speak their observations more readily. One little white boy of seven emphasized his own kind of living (its rootlessness) by spending considerable time on the kind of foundation (including an elaborate cellar) he gave to the houses he imagined non-migrants to have. A migrant child of nine explained the differences between his family and many others as follows: "We has to keep moving or we don't eat except from relief, if they give it to us. . . . They have the work near their houses, and they has it all the time. . . . They takes the pictures on TV in their homes, because most people can recall them and there aren't but a few of us, so we aren't there on the picture."

As migrant children become four and five they learn their mothers' wishes and develop the controls necessary for their later life. The power of police, traffic lights, and other rules of the road are recited by their parents to them as they move along. Children are physically punished, hard and mean at times, for taking food not theirs, for squabbling with one another, or failing to execute assigned tasks promptly: fetching water from a pump, holding the baby, feeding the dog. (Stray dogs abound in migrant camps, and are not ignored. One public health doctor said, "The dogs may symbolize what they think of themselves, because they sure take care of them and feed them whatever they have to eat.") Older children are trained to follow after their parents, harvesting in the fields. They must learn how to pick tomatoes or pluck beans, and if they become slow or careless they are hit and shouted down. I have noticed that when punished in the

fields they are very often hit by hand on their legs. It is leg work and hand work that makes for harvesters.

By the time, then, a migrant child goes to school he has been taught his do's and don't's, to fear certain others, to get along with people in certain ways. Impulsiveness, self-assertion, rivalrous expressions, and envious feelings tend to be strongly discouraged at home, but allowed of children as groups, that is in conjunction with brothers and sisters. Thus, groups of children can fight other groups, or envy one another openly so long as collectively.

Mothers show great warmth and open affection, kissing and fondling their children, rubbing the skin on their arms, but also show quick anger toward them and severe punishment of them, most often slapping accompanied by shouting. Rarely is one child punished alone, or often the mother will remind the others that they, too, have done similar wrongs in the past, and will in the future. There is an absence of grudges in parents. A punished child will likely as not be embraced seconds or minutes after being punished, almost, sometimes, as *part* of it. The result seems to be a sharply defined sense of limitation or restriction, one that does not spread into general shyness or inhibition.

This may explain what many observers of migrants notice, their capacity to change moods and behavior so rapidly; they can be fearfully, grimly silent (especially before the "strangers" of our world) and then quickly joyful and talkative with one another. "Their moods don't last," a nurse told me. I suspect that their early training sets the stage for what they will later need, a highly developed sense of flexibility in their personality, an ability to manage the constant restrictions of the external world, but still not succumb to the apathy and despair that would fatigue and immobilize them. In a sense, then, there is a "bounce" to the way these children are punished that teaches them fast recovery from a slap as well as specific, responsive obedience to it.

Much of the hardest punishment goes into confirming the child's sense of submission to the non-migrant world, or passivity before it. There is a striking difference in the relationship between the child and his family "at home" or in travel, and the child at school, in the fields, even on the streets. At home the children play together easily and warmly. They are very free with their parents, and their parents with them. Open expression of love and demonstrations of it are seen. In children of eight and nine, when one might expect otherwise, boys talk openly of wishing to marry their mothers, girls of wishing to marry their fathers. There is, later on,

a substantial incidence of step-father-step-daughter sexual liaison, and those between fathers and daughters have been noted by social workers who observe both white and Negro migrants. Two mothers said that such happenings were not rare; but were frowned upon and reported about as the "events" they apparently are: "It goes on sometimes, I think 'on the road' if the mother is getting ready to have a baby, or something like that. . . . I don't think it goes on a lot. No, it shouldn't, but it does sometimes; maybe on account of drink, and you kind of get frustrated."

In point of fact the rigid incest barriers that hold for middle-class families seem less sturdy with these families, often fathered by several men, in constant movement, living and sleeping practically on top of one another despite their invariably large size. Their children are much less secretive, resort to much less furtive and symbolic maneuvers to express their attachment and direct love for their parents, and also their anger. Yet, in contrast to such physical intimacy and propinquity, openness of feeling and of anger, closeness of relationship between children, when migrant children meet many people on the "outside" (as their parents are likely to refer to anyone from a teacher to a farm manager) they often appear isolated, guarded, withdrawn, suspicious, and apathetic or dull.

Thus, in many respects migrant children are brought up to have two rather explicit ways of responding to the two worlds of their family and "others." Though, of course, all children learn a version of that kind of distinction, there is a sharpness of contrast to the two-fold behavior in migrant children that is quite special. It is, at times, uncannily as if they had two sets of attitudes, two personalities, one for their family, one for the rest of the world.

From Childhood Straight into Adulthood

Migrant children become migrant adults with no ceremony, or time to be not quite either, so as to consolidate the one before taking up the other. There are two elements that mark the beginning of adulthood in the migrant, and, when both are fulfilled, he or she is an adult and so treated by parents, brothers and sisters, and neighbors. These are experience in working the fields and the onset of puberty.

By ten, many migrant children have put in considerable time at harvesting whatever crops their parents have worked at. In some southern states, school times used to be adjusted so that children could help with cotton or other crops, and that practice has not yet vanished for many sharecropping

regions. With migrants there is an even greater possibility for school schedules to yield to the needs of work; though the several states may insist that children within their territorial limits attend school, migrants tend to shuffle in and out of towns, counties and states, making it hard indeed for any regulatory agency to keep track of them. Their children may spend most of the Winter and Spring in one Florida school, or they may move about from one school to another, or not attend any school for very long. Dropouts among even the more "stable" migrant population—those who do less moving about—tend to be high in the junior high years.

At ten to twelve the children start becoming adults physiologically; many of them have already been working for several seasons. It is not long before they are marrying and having children. Brides of 14 and 15 are common, and their husbands are likely to be the same age or not very much older.

Before actual marriage the young men and women may live with their families and travel with them, but at 12 to 14 they are "on their own time," as several mothers describe the fact that their sons and daughters were going out at night, and often staying out. They were, too, earning money and keeping it, rather than turning it in to their mothers. I noted that sexual maturation seemed to trigger the social and economic independence of the child with great speed. I wondered about the "defensive" nature of this fast departure, whether the highly crowded living conditions made a sexually aroused young man or woman "too much" for his parents to put up with. The parents said that they felt that migrants tended to "marry earlier" than sharecroppers, and certainly *part* of their explanation is the ease with which older children can often make at least *some* money, and the fact that migrant farmers need their children rather less than do sharecroppers, whose children must help their parents work the land even when married, and often for no money at all.

Young Adulthood

Married and parents, workers and housekeepers, young migrant men and women (at 16 or 18, for example) have their "platter parties" when they can join record machine with a source of electricity. On their way to work at six in the morning they can be seen literally dancing in the streets or pathways, often with a beer or two before they get on the buses which take them to the fields. Often their first child is given to the maternal grandmothers as a kind of "present,"

though slowly the mother accepts responsibility for the baby and, with it, for adulthood itself.

Many of the younger migrants try very hard to break out of the migrant stream, to venture into cities for jobs or at the least buy a car on time, which means they can travel by themselves rather than in the crowded trucks and buses that many of their parents may have to use, tired as those parents may be of depositing money for used cars that soon break hopelessly down. In large numbers they seem headed for disappointment. It is not only their lack of education and the unemployment which afflicts their segment of the economy. They themselves are at once afraid when they approach the city, many of them unaware of just how to obtain work there.

Moreover, many earnest young migrant workers are repelled by the prospect of sitting week after week waiting for jobs that do not in any case seem forthcoming. They are made anxious by the sight of relatives, friends, or simply fellow human beings drawing relief (as migrants they are ineligible for it until they establish residence, which may be easy or very hard, depending upon the state and its criteria for residence). Part of the explanation for their common anxious reluctance to join the ranks of the urban unemployed is perhaps based on fear of the city and its pervasive "authorities," and a developmental reliance upon the movement of travel, and farming done during it, for a sense of their own identity or self-respect.

One migrant (aged 17, two children) told his feelings as follows: "I tried the city for a job, and I moved in with a cousin, and no go. . . . They was all on relief and I was supposed to get on when I could, after applying; but we got tired of waiting, and we just left one day. . . . I'd rather keep 'on the season' and feel right than sit all day as they do and *do nothing.*" There were several psychological themes in this and other interviews with him: his awe and confusion before the complexities of bureaucratic procedure; his fear of the city, its people, will, and customs; his restive inability to accommodate himself to a passive, idle, "taking" posture in contrast with the one he grew up to know, the energetic, kinetic, changeable, and active one of migrants.

Young migrants, like their parents, show few inhibitions over sexuality. They have grown up with it, heard and seen it from their first days. Their parents have never seen fit to restrict their love-making to private or relatively secluded places. (They are generally not to be had anyway.) In the evening hours as the children play noisily with one another,

their parents will have sexual relations. I noticed, however, that many young, childless couples preferred privacy from their parents for such times—not always available while in transit. The woods are then often used.

Finally, I noticed a gradual change in mood or spirit in youthful migrants. At 20, at 22, they are full-fledged adults; we would call them "older" migrants. They have lost much of their interest in the possibilities of another kind of life; they often move about by themselves, no longer attached to their families, and little interested in seeing and visiting them even when near them or migrating with them; they are caring for their own children; they have settled into the curious combination of industry and initiative (needed to keep moving over such distances, to keep working at such back-breaking work) and lethargy and despair (reflected in their faces, their gestures, their way of slow movement, flattened speech, infrequent merrymaking). "We keeps going," said the father of one of the ten families, "but it ain't a good time like we once thought."

Psychopathology

Having discussed some of the features of growth and development as they take place in migrant farm families, I might now mention some of the medical and psychiatric problems particularly evident in these people. I have already noted the high infant mortality rate. From infancy through childhood a host of illnesses, uncorrected deformities, and congenital abnormalities or developmental disorders face the children, and any psychiatric study cannot exclude such facts from a discussion of the sources of migrant psychopathology.

There was striking evidence in the ten families and in my work as a "general practice" physician beside the public health doctors of tooth decay in children; of uncorrected disturbances of vision; of repeated ear infections that have resulted in faulty hearing; of valvular heart diseases, congenital and rheumatic, that are associated with impaired circulation of blood; of continual parasitic diseases that produce diminished appetite, weakness, and anemia; of vitamin deficiencies based on faulty eating habits, many of them from aversions as well as poverty or lack of availability; of chronic diarrheas, chronic fungal diseases of the skin, chronic tuberculosis; of untreated or poorly treated, chronic and recurrent, venereal diseases; of chronic kidney and bladder infections; of muscle pains and bruises or bone injuries or back diseases brought on by working conditions; of nerve palsies.

Such illnesses cannot help but affect the minds of people

regularly suffering from not one but in all likelihood many of them. Fatigue, insomnia, loss of appetite, trouble in breathing or walking, pain, itching, bleeding, blurred or double vision, hardness of hearing—these are some of the symptoms of these diseases, and their psychological effects upon people will be appreciated.

To view the more formally psychiatric disorders seen in migrants, we must see much of their behavior, as with all of us, as an attempt to adapt to (cope with) the particular kind of life which is theirs. There is little sense in taking middle-class social and cultural standards and transposing them to migrant families as measurements of their "normal" or "abnormal" behavior. While it is true that migrants share an American citizenship with us all, their living conditions and habits have a quality all their own.

This said, we can, however, take notice of the breakdown of adjustment in these people, and try to indicate when it seems to happen and why. Migrant children generally start life with strong support from mothers who predominantly breast-feed them for long, unanxious periods over many months, and offer constant affection and tenderness to them. Their toilet training is largely casual, basically unconcerned with time, frequency, or specific place, though gradually firm on the distinction between house (or vehicle) and the "outside." Children learn to get along closely with brothers and sisters, but scrap easily with other children; they are punished quickly but without prolonged residual hostility, and allowed both to be openly affectionate and angry to their parents. They are in contrast taught rigid controls before non-migrants, and fears of them also.

What we see in migrant children, to some extent as a result of this, is a preservation over the generations of a certain soundness of mind, self-confidence and self-esteem in one set of circumstances, in company with a rigid, anxious, fearful way of engaging with another set of circumstances. Thus, there is little to no childhood schizophrenia in migrant children, very few of the temper tantrums and bed-wetting complaints commonly seen in middle-class child guidance clinics. There are few if any specific "learning problems," again so frequently seen in those clinics, because the entire culture of the migrants has a "learning problem" built into its whole way of life, work taking precedence over residence, let alone schooling, and parents, basically tired and illiterate, having no capacity to stimulate a taste for education in their young.

On the whole, these children at five or six seem cheerful,

spontaneous, affectionate to one another, and relaxed, in spite of their frequently poor physical health and the comparatively hard life they and their parents must live. There are positive forces at work in their family life that give them initial psychological strength to face the world.

Bit by bit over time this initial stamina faces challenges and threats. Physical health deteriorates: the first sight of some of the teeth, squinting eyes, infected skin, and bent backs of "young" migrants in their twenties confirms that fact. The tight-knit, isolated protection that migrant living offers children yields to the demand that the child, in his early teens, establish his own livelihood, marriage, and capacity to "keep going" (literally as well as metaphorically).

At this point migrants often develop a variety of "symptoms" or ways of thinking and feeling which indicate their response to the cumulative stresses of their kind of existence. They may drink heavily before or after work, using the cheap wine and beer they can afford to dull their senses in the face of, or in the wake of, their long hours of harvesting. They may become nasty and violent with one another, just as when children they were allowed to be toward neighbors. They often become careless and hurtful toward the homes furnished them by farmers, destroying screen doors, stopping up the central plumbing facilities of a camp. Some may call such behavior "accidental"; but many farmers are correct in sensing the barely submerged hostility and resentment at work in these people.

The migrants don't specifically "intend" to damage property, but are aware of feeling overworked and underpaid, and carry those feelings around with them farily constantly. When, after many months, I hesitantly "interpreted" for several of them a connection between those feelings and their way of *not* caring for property, I met surprise and denials, followed several days later by admissions from two of the five migrants that they did in fact consciously kick doors or walls at times, and thus might well do other similar deeds without even knowing why.

Apathy, gloom, and severe depressions are seen in many migrants, and depressions severe and crippling enough to be considered psychotic. In fact, I have seen seven cases of psychotic behavior recognized as such (though not, of course, so labelled) by migrants and reported by members of the ten families. These cases are people who are called "different," yet they work and are generally tolerated. Rarely, except for criminal reasons, do these people see psychiatrists or even mental hospitals, even when grossly schizophrenic. I

thought two of my 17 adult informants (three of the homes were fatherless and without a continuing husband) psychotic, that is, in comparison with the others, guarded, depressed, hard to follow in thinking, and inappropriate in mood.

Migrants are particularly likely to use such psychological mechanisms as denial, projection, and suppression. They favor conversion reactions (I saw paralyses and seizures which made no neurological sense) and tend to express a good deal of their anxiety or despair in somatic form (and language, too). "My blood is weak" or "my stomach is weary" may express depression and tension but also tell of episodes of real physical illness, such as ulcers, parasitic diseases, or anemias of one sort or another. In this regard, it is hard to evaluate any given complaint from a migrant without taking into consideration his style of life and even reason for expressing a particular complaint at one time or another.

One way of approaching some observations is to hear what others who work closely with migrants feel about them. Growers employ them and are very sensitive to their capacities and behavior. Here are small sections of one long taped interview with a Florida grower, an earnest, hard working, thoughtful, and kind person; similar comments come constantly from other growers, from doctors, nurses, teachers, county agricultural agents, from all whose work brings them close to migrants:

> No matter what we try to do for them, they undo it. We build houses for them, and they destroy them. We fix their screens, and they tear them within the same day. We try to get them to take care of things, you know, where they live, everything from the house to their own belongings, and they don't seem to care . . . If you ask me the real answer to this is massive education of the children, because I know they're not born the way they are, but they sure develop that way as things are now, and you could give them twice their salary and they'd still do what they do now . . . They'd drink it away and waste it on a lot of junk they buy, silly trinkets and unnecessary luxuries if you ask me . . . and then they still wouldn't eat right if they could get as much money as anyone around here; and they wouldn't know how to save it and spend it sensibly the way you and I would . . .
>
> So it's not just money, it's their bringing up . . . and what a lot of people want is for them to change and be more like us . . . Well, if they're going to be more like us I think you'd have to get children right from the beginning and set up good schools for them and teach them real intensively, not just reading and writing, but all the things we learn at home as well as school . . . you know, how to care for yourself and what the world expects of you . . . I mean that you should study and try to get ahead . . . then if they had that kind of education I *do* think they'd grow up different from their parents . . .
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> Yes, I suppose they wouldn't want to work for us then . . . But if we're trying to make those kinds of changes with them we'd

probably have to do something about our agriculture, too . . . We won't be needing them anyway the way we used to; it's a matter of time when machines will take it all over, or most of it, and then we could use the better educated ones; and just a few of them compared to what we have now could run a farm if they were intelligent enough . . .

But meanwhile we're caught in the middle. We've got to worry about the market prices and weather and all the overhead we have and we have all the trouble of getting migrant labor and then keeping them steady and productive . . . It's easy to jump on us, but no one helps our vegetable prices the way they do some crops, and we can be wiped out in a season from a freeze or price drop, and when we need labor it's an emergency. Either those fields get harvested right away or they don't. And who's going to do it? . . . Maybe if they helped us with getting equipment to take away the need for so many field hands, and also got going on educating them, we could sooner or later get rid of the whole problem.

Again and again one hears that migrants are unreliable, unkempt, lacking in thrift and tidiness. Worse, they tend to be willfully destructive of property, heavy drinkers, quarrelsome with one another, and generally a discouraging and depressing lot, unresponsive to aid, sullen before advice, ill-suited even for more money or better working and living conditions. And their employers make a sound case, not only for this, but for their own precarious position in our economy.

Such assertions and complaints lodged by many intelligent growers and hard working officials in the fields of migrant health and education are hard to dispute. It is very trying for a dietician to work with a family daily surrounded by citrus fruits yet unwilling to serve them to their children. Potato chips, cokes, perhaps canned and stewed corn, fried fat: "yes" for these. Fresh fruit and vegetables, the very harvest of their hands, are ignored or rejected. Migrants often are suspicious when mobile units come almost to their very door offering nearby free medical diagnosis and treatment. Many migrant families don't want their children to go to school, don't care whether they receive their "shots," and don't, certainly, pay attention to the amenities of property care or civil behavior with one another, to the value of moderation in alcoholic intake, sexual indulgence, and child bearing, to the conventions of marriage and divorce, or to the refinements of budgeted expenditures for sensible, and hopefully useful, "permanent" possessions.

Of practical interest in a discussion of migrant psychopathology is their common refusal to eat oranges, grapefruit, tomatoes, cherries—the healthy foods they so desperately need. Even when they hear earnest and effective dieticians correlate in simple, stark language the relationship between their eat-

ing preferences and habits and their own and their children's ailments, many stubbornly refuse to make changes in their diets. Ignorance is surely one part of the explanation, but interviews suggest that another part is a strong aversion to eating what they must live by and work upon. In several cases I saw real revulsion at the mention of eating or serving a tomato or orange, a real kind of fear, as if in some way all the anger they felt at having to harvest those foods for a living would eventually come to haunt them and live in them if they were consumed.

In sum, many migrants seem to have constructed a split in their personalities which results in two distinct personality styles. With their children and husbands or wives they will often be warm, open, and smiling. At work, with strangers, and often with one another while traveling or even walking the streets, they are guarded, suspicious, shrewdly silent, or sullenly calculating in what they do have to say; and sometimes clearly apathetic, humorless or even bitter, resentful, and touchy. Such alterations in mood and attitude appeared to me as grim and striking examples of the capacity of the human mind to respond to its environment and keep itself intact by developing a high order of ability to divide itself severely and categorically. A mother said: "We switches back and forth from being in a good mood to a bad one because you learns how to travel, and you just make your head travel with you, so you gives yourself and the kids a break from the field."

Of course, the problem of *differential behavior in white and Negro migrants* had to be considered. There were definite differences between the six Negro and four white families studied along such variables as promiscuity (higher in Negroes), duration of breast-feeding (longer in Negroes), tendency toward open expression of anger toward one another by word or deed (higher in whites), distance covered in yearly migrations (higher in Negroes), number of children (slightly higher in Negroes).

In the important respects of viewing the infant as a rare and thus specially valuable possession (to be nourished well in the early months), of generally having a "permissive" attitude toward toilet training, of attitude toward education and toward the time their children became adults and toward themselves in contrast to the world, the two sets of families largely resembled one another. Other observers have said that in some cases white mothers are not as warm with their infants, stricter with their children later, and prone to more pervasive depression, including more overt anti-social violence,

when so disposed. (Of course, whites in the South can behave more aggressively "in public" than Negroes, regardless of class or occupation.)

My observations, however, tend to indicate that migrants, including white migrants, have developed certain characteristic attitudes *on the basis of their work and travel habits.* The constant movement, the threat of social chaos, the cramped living and traveling, make for common problems and remarkably similar responses to them which separate to some extent *migrant* behavior from that of the rest of the poor. Migrant farmers once were mostly poor farmers. They still are poor and they still are farmers, but they are also migrants. As such, there is a specific social and cultural condition to their lives, and a specific psychological stress and challenge too. If poor people have their own culture grounded in the life and laws of the slum or the rural village, migrants do not share in it, though they may of course carry some of it with them in what they do possess, a life of mobility that calls forth its own variation of habits and practices, surely more resembling the way poor people than middle-class people live, but different from both.

Still, these people are fellow Americans. They may watch the same television sets; travel in cars similar if older than most; and travel on the public road system, though most of them shun principal roads out of fear, the wish to be alone or with their own kind, the dread of "breaking down on the road and ending up in jail." Their assumptions about everyone from the policeman to the gas station attendant may be different, even, from that of many other poor people, but they *see* those toll roads, gas stations, and signs advertising the host of goods and services we are accustomed to consider part of our way of living in this rich land.

What is the psychological effect of living the migrant life in a land where others seem well able to live a more settled and comfortable one? The drawings of migrant children show that they know such facts and generally tend to judge themselves in some way weaker, blemished, guilty, or at fault for their condition. One four year old girl told me that were her mother's rheumatic heart condition better, they would doubtless live better. A seven year old boy in another family put the blame for his general bad luck on his own poor health, a bone disease affecting his right leg. There is a tendency, thus, to feel not only weak and hard pressed but *responsible* for that fate. Though by such a maneuver of the mind these men, women, and children may achieve a rare feeing of control over their destinies, the price they pay

in largely unrealistic loss of self-respect is rather a significant one.

Particularly unfortunate is such self-accusation when, in point of fact, these migrant families are willing to move about so far and wide, working so hard. Many poor are now called "unemployables," and many others rely upon welfare payments to keep them from hunger until jobs are more plentiful. Migrant farmers try to work, often go far to work. What psychological insistence makes them travel to work, rather than to a city to go on relief, cannot be described by any one generalization. The explanation rests in a combination of such factors as fear of the city, a genuine attachment to the land, a sometime enjoyment of movement, a depression that sets in for many of them when they *do* stop traveling and working, and a fear of that depression.

I must also mention the consistent willingness of migrant farm workers to work under literally any and all conditions, and for wages that hardly compare with any earned by other American citizens. We hear today a good deal of talk that insists upon the need for foreign workers to do "stoop labor." It is claimed that enough of our own people will not do certain hard jobs, picking beans, cucumbers, tomatoes, or cutting celery. I can only say that I have seen these people by the hundreds at work, and heard dozens and dozens of others wish for more work and better pay, but not for *different* work, involving less strenuous effort.

Frankly, it comes as a surprise to many of those who work closely with migrants—ministers, social workers, dieticians, and a few doctors and nurses—to hear that American farmhands, white and Negro, are reluctant to do *any* kind of farm work. The facts are that they always have done whatever farm work was available, and frequently done so for meager pay at that. Anyone who has stood about in the "loading zones" of certain southern towns and watched the crowds of workers assemble at 6 A.M. for the long day's work, including the haul to work and back, will recognize the irony in claims that there are insufficient workers to farm our land. That foreign labor is more "manageable," more susceptible to various regulations and the authority of their employers, is doubtless true. The issue, however, is social and economic, not psychological: the American farmhands I have studied and observed are *motivated* toward work, *want* to work, and *will* work. Other workers may well be preferred by farm owners, but psychiatric observations do not support many of the claims frequently made about the "laziness" of farmhands. On the contrary, most of these people display an

initiative and desire for work in striking contrast to their poor brethren in cities, many of whom are unemployed and on relief, some of whom are unable to work, and some eventually uninterested in looking for any possibility of work. Migrant farm workers, almost by definition, show a remarkable capacity and desire to travel far and wide in search of work.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

On the basis of my observations I would first emphasize the *isolation* that specially characterizes migrant farm life.

In effect, migrant farm workers comprise, by the hundreds of thousands, a vastly ignored sub-culture whose work is essential to our well-stocked tables, but whose lives are often simply not known to most of us. There has, for example, been no psychiatric study of how these people manage such strains as constant movement with its social and cultural disorganization, economic hardship, political disenfranchisement, and the personal and familiar conditions of uprootedness in general.

My own investigation finds that in order to adapt to such unusual facts of environment migrants turn their isolated, mobile life inward, becoming guarded and suspicious toward outsiders but, in compensation for a rootless life, exceptionally close-knit with their young childen. They tend to be unusually warm and stimulating with their infants, and rather lax about disciplining them. They so treat them that there appears to be significantly less hostility among the children; in contrast, hostility and suspicion are channeled toward other families as well as the world in general, which is seen as unfriendly and punitive. Families thus become separated from families, even within the migrant culture, so that the price for cohesion within the family is isolation and alienation from others.

Moreover, migrant children progressively learn a sense of their own weakness and inadequacy in comparison with the rest of the population, whose existence they comprehend and see from the distance of the traveler or television viewer. Their drawings and their play in games as well as their words indicate that they see themselves as smaller, less able to make decisions affecting their own lives, and, for some reason not clearly understood by them, stained, crippled, or paralyzed. For that matter, migrant children do not have the cultural accompaniment to physiological adolescence that we call "youth." They go directly into adulthood, with its work, marriage, and parenthood, in their early teens.

Migrants thus tend not only to be distrustful of others, but even hostile toward many attempts to help them with medicine, shelter, or advice. They tend to avoid the very food they harvest, often in a fearful manner. Perhaps they simply are avoiding reminders of their hard work; perhaps they prefer other food for reasons that stem from their folk-

ways. In any event, vitamin deficiencies and generally inadequate diets result from such behavior.

Migrants develop a variety of medical and psychiatric illnesses. Especially are they susceptible to mood swings, violence toward one another, and heavy drinking. The physical health of these people is generally quite poor, with a host of diseases plaguing their skin, muscles, blood, vital organs, and nervous system from birth to death. These diseases also affect the minds of those so afflicted, causing anxiety, fear, irritability and excitability, withdrawal and moodiness.

There is an urgent need for closer study of the lives of migrant farmers, and the problems in such a study are to some extent indicated. I can only remark upon the extraordinary resilience shown by many of these people. The exertion of will they can muster, under the conditions of life they have as their very own, calls for further psychiatric study into how people manage stress and preserve, as well as lose, some of their psychological stability and human dignity. To say, as some do, domestic migrants will not work at "stoop labor" is to ignore the daily facts of life for hundreds of thousands of native Americans who, in point of fact, *have done* and *continue to do* precisely that: working under all sorts and conditions of work for pay exceedingly low in comparison to that most of us get.

Confronted with such dismaying facts our reaction as middle class citizens, as professionals in medicine or education or government, are understandable if at times self-defeating. We want to "forget" what amounts in sum to a vastly unpleasant and complicated state of affairs. We are made uncomfortable. We don't quite know what to do.

Still, what *are* we to do? I can only say with some special experience that it is indeed possible to get to know and understand these migrant families and their behavior. If we are to approach these people with some of our standards of living and behavior, which they see on television or from the road and know to exist for others if not themselves, we must do so, it seems to me, with patience and willfulness. We must, that is, be prepared for the tiresome work, the coordinated planning, in education, medicine, agriculture, housing, and a host of associated fields, required for the job.

Our tenant farmers and migrant workers will respond to consistent and strong effort exerted their way from the many directions involved in replenishing the needy. Their children can be better taught. Their health can improve. Their water can be safer, their food more nourishing. Eventually their actions can become more constructive and their

spirits higher. Nor need they be enemies of their present employers, many of whom wish them well and are also caught in frustrating situations which are really part of the same social and agricultural problems afflicting the migrants. Whatever we do, then, we should *mean*. A few casual and half-hearted attempts are likely to result in frustration, anger, and, finally, a sense of failure on both sides, theirs and "ours."

A Proposal for Support of a Project in Citizenship Participation

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Summary

The Southern Regional Council proposes a three-year project in citizenship participation. The primary purpose of this project would be to reach those persons in the region still unregistered and bring them and others more fully into the political life of their communities. To do this we propose to draw heavily on the experience gained from the now concluded Voter Education Project and to develop substantial programs in registration, civic education, and leadership training. Many of these activities would be carried out in close cooperation with the major national civil rights agencies as well as with state and local groups who have an interest in citizenship participation.

For these purposes we propose a budget of $348,900.00 per year for the three-year period. We now have a grant from the Ford Foundation which provides $24,000 per year for the three-year period for this project.

12-7-65

The Southern Regional Council has concluded a Voter Education Project begun in 1962. We believe that program was successful and base this proposal on the experience gained during that project and the needs it revealed.

A New Program

We propose a second project with a somewhat different emphasis. A central purpose of this project, as with the original project, is voter registration, primarily though not exclusively for Negro Southerners. But on the basis of experience, we believe that the achievement of maximum voter registration should also incorporate citizenship education and leadership training. We believe programs in these areas are essential if substantial progress is to be made in voter registration.

This proposal notes and attempts to put into perspective recent developments, particularly recent national legislation and the role and potential role of the United States Department of Justice. We do not anticipate a project in which private organizations would relieve any governmental agency of its responsibilities. Rather, we would hope this project would supplement, support, and encourage the implementation of national directives toward achieving full citizenship guarantees for all people. We believe that the involvement of private agencies is necessary, and that

a partnership between public and private efforts is essential if either is to succeed.

As with the last project, we shall make every effort to see that this program is completely non-partisan. This is not only to comply with the regulations concerning a tax-exempt agency, but because our interest is in a healthy functioning of democracy, and not in local or national partisan politics.

Interagency Cooperation

The programs in this proposal are recommended on the assumption that there will be the closest possible cooperation with the major national civil rights agencies and that these programs will, when feasible, be conducted with and through those agencies. Prior to submitting this proposal we have, by phone, talked with Mr. Roy Wilkins, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mr. James Forman, and Mr. James Farmer. Generally, there was an agreement on the need for such a program, the hope expressed that such a program could be developed, and an expression of willingness to cooperate. We have been unable to reach Mr. Whitney Young. We did talk with Mr. M. T. Puryear of the National Urban League staff. He indicated he could not commit the League at this point. The director of the Southern Regional office, however, has indicated his wish for full cooperation.

We have talked, too, with a number of other persons in education, unions, political science, human relations, and government.

We are optimistic about the possibilities of cooperation and recognize its essential benefits. It would, however, be misleading to oversimplify this situation. There are strong and deep elements of competition between several of the agencies. This must be noted as well as the possibility of future disenchantment with this project on the part of one or more of the national civil rights groups. This is a situation which calls for candid expression. We note these difficulties to underscore the need and opportunity for a project of this kind to seek cooperation with and among the several agencies. Several references in this proposal are made to that end.

Voter Education and Citizenship Training

The Southern Regional Council proposes a three-year project with the primary purpose of reaching those people of the region who have previously been in varying degrees alienated from full citizenship participation. They will be reached in terms of exercising the franchise and in achieving the maximum degree of involvement in the total political process.

The present 2.3 million registered Negro voters in the South, a million and a half of whom were registered in

the last four years, represent those that were not too difficult to convince of the importance and value of registering and voting. This leaves to be registered better than two million persons many of whom reside in the ghettos, slums, rural poverty pockets and plantations of the South. This project is designed to initiate them into the political process.

Through citizenship education we will seek to show unsophisticated, unregistered persons the direct relation of politics to such bread and butter issues as better housing, employment, administration of justice, education, police and fire protection, office-holding, recreational facilities -- in short, their own self-interest. In this part of the program we will be in large measure developing and extending the work of the earlier Voter Education Project.

Leadership Training

Leadership, finding it and developing it, has been a major concern with all those persons whom we have consulted. What we face in many rural places in the South as federal and private efforts have increased the electorate is a leadership vacuum which will not long be neglected. Already we are receiving some disturbing reports that those presently in power are using, or are threatening to use, the most vindictive means, including economic and physical coercion, to see that those persons

newly registered -- or available to be registered -- will not influence the status quo. In the cities, newly registered Southern voters can be as easily removed from the obligations and blessings of citizenship as have their economic kinfolk in the non-Southern ghettos where power has been taken from them by a paternalistic oligarchy.

We propose an experimental program of some magnitude for the support and training of recognized and potential leaders. We can foresee placing such persons in workshops, day-long or week-long, in cooperation with national agencies, institutions of higher education, and other non-partisan resources. Exposing leaders to areas and problems beyond their own communities would be invaluable in lessening the isolation felt by many of them. It would give them the perspective of sharing experiences and sharing and learning new approaches.

We plan in this instance, and in other ways, to involve some of the colleges and universities of the region. We believe both the physical and intellectual resources of a number of the region's institutions of higher education can be profitably brought into programs of leadership training. Our early approaches to individuals connected with some of these institutions give encouragement to this idea.

The rationale for the leadership training aspect of the program is consistent with our main goal of increased participation in a democracy.

It seems important to note here that in leadership training, as in other aspects of the program, we will not seek to impose rigid formulae or to single out individuals for roles of leadership. Our function will be to provide the best resources available for the development of leadership according to individual potential and local needs. What we aspire to do is to nourish the constructive involvement of citizens with their society.

Method of Operation

To carry out this project we propose a small central staff and minimum central office expenditures with a maximum of the requested project funds spent in program. A proposed budget of $348,900.00 is attached. With the exception of rent, communications and related items noted, we do not propose an overhead expenditure for the Council.

This is an experimental project. We expect and welcome further consultation and guidance from the foundations we are approaching. The staff will place before the Council's Executive Committee any tentative agreements regarding this proposal for that body's approval and guidance.

As stated earlier, the first purpose of this project shall be voter registration. Therefore, we would hope to have an opportunity for the closest possible cooperation with, and support of, the soundest groups now organized for voter registration.

Besides the five major civil rights organizations, the groups include such state and local organizations as the South Carolina Voter Education Project, the Alabama State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, the Tennessee Voters Council, the Durham Council on Negro Affairs, and the Jefferson County (Ala.) Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting.

In addition to direct financial support, the project will offer central staff services to participating groups. We will in turn rely on these groups for program development and have, in fact, already begun this process.

Where we provide funds for local programs developed by chapters of national organizations we believe it will prove most efficient to give funds directly to the program group rather than route them through national offices. There seems to be general agreement among the agencies for this. If this is done, it will alleviate the need for the several agencies to establish the administrative machinery necessary for handling such grants. Their responsibilities would be handled by

project staff. The selection of such program groups and the extent to which they are assisted will be determined in consultation with the national agencies.

Other Resources

Various private organizations may figure in the project other than as direct recipients of funds or personnel. For example, the Labor Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, the Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or Project Enable of the National Urban League will be developing programs which can make resource persons available to functioning programs. Conversely, the activities of those agencies may make use of the materials and personnel provided by this project.

Program, as it will evolve from the concerns of national organizations and from other groups geared to dealing with local issues will reflect what they, in their own judgment, can accomplish well and find desirable to attempt. Their purposes may sometimes be only akin to the aims of the project. The needs of many areas are not clearly and immediately known to us. There are techniques which either have been operative or are still on the drafting boards which have not come to our attention. And there are persons whom we do not know with skills and potentials which

we need. For these reasons it is felt that an advisory committee will bring to the project the best available thinking and information resources, which will cut across boundaries of place and special interest.

The committee will be composed of persons with no direct civil rights organizational identity but who are more than conversant with the work of the organizations and have some appreciation of the problems of competition for credit in this area. The committee members will also have some direct involvement in the areas of registration, voter education and politics, either through study or personal participation. The project would like to solicit viewpoints and the committee meetings should be in the fullest sense an open forum. Provision would be made for a minimum of four meetings annually.

Advisory Committee Members

What this committee can do for the project is perhaps best illustrated by listing those persons who have, thus far, agreed to serve if such a committee is formed. They are:

Norman Hill, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Russell Sugarman, Memphis attorney
Frank Smith, Director, Tennessee Valley Authority
C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Richard Miles, Director, South Carolina Voter Education Project
Hank Brown, President of Texas State AFL-CIO
Jesse Hill, Atlanta businessman
John H. Wheeler, President, Southern Regional Council
Samuel D. Cook, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University

Other persons shall be added to this list. We will make a special effort to see that representation from backward areas is included.

Involvement of Students

The project would seek a maximum involvement of young people, particularly those now in college. This has both an aspect of leadership training and of directing the energies of these young people into this area of concern.

In the proposed budget there is an item which would allow the project to give a number of modest scholarships to college students to encourage their interest and to allow them time to work in voter registration and citizenship education. This item is included in the proposal because of our observation of student activity in this area and the substantially greater potential if students are given direction, instruction, and financial assistance.

We also propose a similar number of grants to students for summer work. These students, carefully selected, would be made available to assist local programs in voter registration and citizenship education, including community organization.

Research

There is a substantial research and information program in this project. The first need is for brief reports for distribution to individuals and groups engaged in voter education and citizenship training on subjects ranging from voter statistics to a description of successful local programs. Primarily this function would be to quickly gather and share information and training materials.

We would also encourage and support local groups in developing their own materials. Effective communication below the level of the middle-class electorate is at once our greatest challenge and a goal of great constructive potential.

The adjunctive benefits of research undertaken or supported by the project would be two-fold. First, it would serve as a journal of events in this arena for which, incidentally, the only precedent is the book now being written from the Voter Education Project, scheduled for publication next year. Second, it will encourage an enlightened recognition of our efforts by the politically concerned everywhere.

Proposed Budget, One Year

Program and Administrative Costs:

Salaries and staff benefits (Including project director, field representative, research director, research aide, administrative aide, and secretary)		$ 48,500.00
Other central office costs		
Travel	$ 8,000.00	
Telephone and telegraph	4,000.00	
Materials and equipment	4,000.00	
Postage	4,000.00	
Rent	2,400.00	
Other	2,000.00	
Auditing	1,000.00	25,400.00
Consultants (Research & Program)		
Travel and fees		6,000.00
Meetings (Travel and Other Expenses)		
Advisory committee (to meet 4 times a year)	$ 4,000.00	
Statewide meetings (annually in each of 6 states)	6,000.00	
Other meetings and travel	4,000.00	14,000.00
Program Aids and Interns		
Salaries and Travel (full time)	$25,000.00	
Summer student workers (80 @ $250 each)	20,000.00	
Student work-scholarships (80 @ $250 each)	20,000.00	65,000.00
	Total:	$148,900.00
Funds for Program Grants, in cooperation with national, state and local groups		200,000.00
	Grand total:	$358,900.00

Index to Price Code

SC - single copy
Q - price per copy in quantity
SCF - single copy free
QRR - quantity rates on request

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1964:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 1944-1964. How, why, and by whom the SRC was organized; statement of policy and aims; statement of views. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

SERIES OF SPECIAL REPORTS telling of progress in race relations in five southern cities: what happened, how, why, and the outlook for the future. CHARLOTTE, LOUISVILLE, MEMPHIS, available now @ 40¢ each city; others will be out later, same price. (Mimeo., 40 to 91 pp.)

LAW ENFORCEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI. Special Report on Mississippi during the Summer of 1964, responsibilities of Mississippi and federal authorities as they relate to law enforcement and white reaction to the COFO program. SC 40¢.

THE PRICE WE PAY. Samples the costs -- chiefly money -- incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Produced in cooperation with Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. SC 75¢ QRR.

1963:

DIRECT ACTION IN THE SOUTH. A report on the Negro revolt, beginning with Feb. 1, 1960 and continuing through summer, 1963. SC 35¢ QRR.

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER. Comments by four outstanding Southerners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial. SC 20¢.

PLANS FOR PROGRESS. A study of their interpretation and implementation by 24 large corporations with southern branch offices in Atlanta. SC 10¢ mimeo.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES by M. Hayes Mizell. Sponsored jointly by Penn Community Services and South Carolina Council on Human Relations. SC 10¢ mimeo.

SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: TOKEN DESEGREGATION AND BEYOND, by Prof. J. Kenneth Morland, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, 27 pp., June, 1963. Sponsored jointly by SRC and Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. SC 50¢ QRR.

THE DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY, by Robert Coles, M. D. Two-year research by child psychiatrist on effects of school desegregation, 25 pp. July, 1963. Sponsored jointly by SRC and ADL. SC 50¢ QRR.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. A synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South by state and city. I. covers period April-June, 1963; III covers period July 24-August 28, 1963; IV, a year-end summary, covers period August 28-December 31, 1963. (No more copies of II, June-July). These synopses are neither press releases nor detailed analyses, but very brief statements of action. Mimeo. SC 20¢ each report.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES: IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH, by Vivian W. Henderson, Prof. of Economics at Fisk University. "Unless unforeseeable, 'revolutionary' changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the 'forgotten man' in America's affluent society." 23 pp., Sept. 1963. SC 25¢ QRR.

BUSINESS -- NEXT TARGET FOR INTEGRATION? by John Perry, reprinted from Harvard Business Review, March-April, 1963. SC 20¢.

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA. Brief description of federal agricultural programs for Negro farmers in the Deep South. SC 10¢.

MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY, by James W. Silver, University of Mississippi. Presidential Address before the Southern Historical Association, Asheville, N. C., November 7, 1963. SC 50¢ QRR.

1962:

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, 22 page report based on survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, University of Houston, November, 1961; ATLANTA, Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May, 1962; CHATTANOOGA, Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, February, 1962. SC each study, 20¢, Q 15¢.

ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, Prof. History & Social Science. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement" for desegregation in that Georgia city. Mimeo. SC 25¢.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE, by Elliott M. Rudwick, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Southern Illinois University. A 14-page survey of number of Negro policemen employed in the South and their status in 130 communities. SC 10¢, Q 6¢.

THE OXFORD DISASTER . . . PRICE OF DEFIANCE, by Rep. Karl Wiesenburg, Jackson County, Miss. Reprint of articles appearing in The Chronicle (Pascagoula, Miss.) December 17-21, 1962. SC 10¢.

SOUTHERN STUDENT NEWSPAPER OPINION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI RIOTS. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford. SC 5¢.

1961:

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48-page report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. February, 1961, SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by Leslie W. Dunbar. Article reprinted from Autumn, 1961 Virginia Quarterly Review. SRC's Executive Director examines the changing climate of southern thinking. SC 10¢, Q 7¢.

THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M. D. Eloquent message a southern Presbyterian elder delivered to his church school class. SCF, Q 2¢.

THE FREEDOM RIDE, May, 1961. Chronology and reactions. Mimeo. SC 25¢.

THE CASE FOR INTEGRATION, by Daniel C. Thompson, Social Science chairman, Dillard University. Dr. Thompson's side of a debate on integration -- a clear and explicit statement of Negro aims. SC 10¢ QRR.

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. Refutation of Carleton Putnam's views on superior-inferior race. SC 5¢, Q 3¢.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, a commentary on the school desegregation decree of 1964.

1960: (and later, as noted)

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS THE CHANGING SOUTH. A collection of reprints illustrative of SRC's program in public information. SCF.

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock, and Montgomery, 1960. SC 25¢.

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer. Racial news in the press. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS. In question and answer form, the fact confronting the South on this issue. SC 25¢.

MAP, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by LeRoy Collins, then Governor of Florida, dealing with fundamental issues of southern life. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED . . . A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, by Warren E. Gauerke and Donald Ross Green. 40 pp., 1959. SC 15¢.

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, reprints from The Washington Post in 1958 in reply to Davis Committee report.

A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959), Lofton pits arguments from James M. Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR.

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH, by Margaret Price, 1959. Statistics and specific local examples. SC 25¢.

LEADERSHIP REPORTS

(All mimeographed unless otherwise noted) SCF, QRR

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ORIGINS AND AIMS

L-5 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA

L-16 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, by Frank H. Stallings, Associate Professor of Education, University of Louisville, 1960.

L-17 DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. Findings of some border and southern school districts which have desegregated. 1960.

L-19 WHAT PRICE TAG FOR 'MASSIVE RESISTANCE?' Two articles by Frank Trippett on the economic effects of Virginia's policy reprinted from St. Petersburg Times.

L-21 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, address by an Atlanta industrialist, H. McKinley Conway, Jr., stressing the importance of leaving education to educators. 1960.

L-22 A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS. A biracial group appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply leadership. 1960.

L-23C DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet, 1935-63.

L-23B " " " "

L-23D " " " "

L-24* ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, President of Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, concerning racial problems and economics. 1961.

L-24A NEW SCHOOL LAWS FOR GEORGIA

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, 1961.

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia. 1961.

L-27* THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Aspects of the option taken in parts of Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. 1961.

L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT. 1961.

L-29 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE. Scientists reject theories of Negro racial inferiority. 1961.

L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA. Reprint from Jackson (Mississippi) State Times, November, 1961; and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION, reprint from the Birmingham (Alabama) News, October, 1961.

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from Wall Street Journal, January, 1961.

L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Professor of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, Louisiana. 1962.

L-33* A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for American Police Executives." 1962.

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. May 30, 1962.

L-34A DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. August, 1963.

L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia. 1962.

L-36 RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS WAY IN RACE RELATIONS. Reprint from the Washington Post. 1962.

L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" presented to Congress by the Council of Economic Advisers.

L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on economic hazards of University of Mississippi riots. 1962.

L-40 OBSERVATIONS FOR A SECOND CENTURY, from an address by Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina on the "Good Neighbor" program. 1962.

L-41 EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES OF GOVERNOR BERT COMBS OF KENTUCKY AND SECRETARY OF COMMERCE LUTHER T. HODGES. Both speeches concerned national need for development of a deeper understanding of the meaning of practical human brotherhood. 1963.

L-42* ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF EDWARD J. MEEMAN, editor emeritus of the Memphis Press-Scimitar, upon receiving the National Human Relations Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, February 25, 1963.

L-43* BUSINESSMEN POINT THE WAY. Recently issued statements by business groups in southern cities calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate. 1963.

L-44 CHARLOTTE HAS BUILT ITS INTEGRATION ROAD: A DIFFERENT WAY, By L. M. Wright, Jr., city editor of Charlotte Observer. The story of quiet, organized desegregation of public facilities without demonstrations. 1963.

L-45 PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MISSISSIPPI. Analysis of reports from Public Welfare and Department of Education of Mississippi, noting gap in educational opportunities for whites and Negroes. 1963.

L-46 VOICE OF THE PEOPLE: 'AT THIS VERY LATE HOUR.' -- A letter co-authored by two citizens of Birmingham, James A. Head and Charles P. Zukoski, Jr., reprinted from the Birmingham News, Sept. 30, 1963.

L-47 THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE. Description of Jacksonville's racial outbreak of 1964.

SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. SCF.

NEW SOUTH, monthly magazine published by SRC, SC 20¢ each; subscription, $2.50 yearly. Articles of general interest in copies of which we still have a supply:

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON, by Margaret Long, September, 1963.
THE MYTH, THE MOVEMENT, AND THE AMERICAN DREAM, by James M. Dabbs, retiring President of SRC. December, 1963.
THE TURKS, by Ira Kaye; ACHIEVEMENT IN ALBANY, by Wyatt T. Walker. June, 1963.
BLACK MUSLIMS--MIRROR OF THE EXISTING ORDER, by Eric Lincoln. January, 1963.
MISSISSIPPI. October, 1962 (violence and harassment).
MARGINAL MAN AND THE NEW NEGRO IDENTITY, by Herman Long. April, 1962.
A SEMANTIC JOURNEY IN THE SOUTH, by Lillian Smith. March, 1962. A psychological x-ray of southerners.
THE DILIGENT KNITTERS, by Nedra Tyre (fears and falacies), February, 1962, and THE RIGHT TO PROTEST, by Marion Wright (Rebels--past and present).

THE ONLY TRUE AMERICAN, by Louis E. Lomax. January, 1962. and THE WHITE FEATHER, by Will D. Campbell (human relations).

MINORITY SOUTH: "Some of My Best Friends Are Southerners," by George A. Gulette; "Police, Minorities and Mobs," by E. C. Hale, Chief of Police, Lexington, Kentucky; a southern newspaper reader. September, 1961.

THE FREEDOM RIDES . . . their impact on one rider, the Deep South, national unity, and world opinion. July-August, 1961.

REPRINTS, SCF - QRR

New York Times, 9-27-59, "The Agony of the Southern Minister," by Ralph McGill.

Washington Post, 10-7-62, "The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed," by George McMillan.

"Segregation v. the Space Age," by Marion Wright, 4-9-48.

Harper's, June, 1958, "The Easy Chair," by Harry S. Ashmore (Little Rock).

New York Times, 4-1-60, "A Southern View of the South," by Harold Fleming.

BOOK, paperback, THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. (Little Rock). Negro history, useful to elementary and high school students. 25¢.

LATEST PUBLICATIONS

1965:

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

ENCOUNTER WITH THE FUTURE, by Pat Watters

CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER FEDERAL PROGRAMS

AMERICANS ARE LAW ABIDING CITIZENS

*Out of print, but available on loan to special individuals or groups for research or other special purposes.

"Perhaps the oldest and most consistently reliable source of information about the South's sociological and interracial problems is the Southern Regional Council . . . /it/ has been dedicated to research and to the principle that fair, open, and well-informed discussion and dialogue are invaluable to advancement and understanding."

-- Ralph McGill
Atlanta Constitution, 8/5/63

"The . . . publications of the Council since 1961, when I discovered it, have been a constant source of enlightment and inspiration. I have seen published in New South, its lively little monthly periodical, statements of truths that the establishmentarian white liberal editors of the North wouldn't even understand."

-- Howard N. Meyer
The Commonweal, 7/10/64

SOUTHERN
REGIONAL
COUNCIL

P U B L I C A T I O N S

A listing of current materials related to civil rights and race relations available from

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

August, 1965

Reprinted from **The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,**
Philadelphia, Vol. 357 (January, 1965), pp. 108–112
Printed in U. S. A.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

By Leslie W. Dunbar

The Southern Regional Council

By Leslie W. Dunbar

Abstract: The Southern Regional Council evolved from the Commission on Interracial Co-operation formed in 1919. Shaped by and shaping Southern history, it has reflected whatever has been best in Southern ideals, taking its present structure in war-year (1944) optimism and declaring against segregation in 1951. Odum's founding vision sought to solve the South's racial problems through a commanding regional body's oblique attack on underlying stresses—economic, social, political—but events early forced the Council to focus on race solely. Disruption of traditional racial patterns by the civil rights movement may now allow a shift in emphasis from human relations to human resources. Commitment combined with objectivity has been the hallmark of publications and information services. The council comprises a co-optative board of 100, which directs policy, and a staff. Autonomous but in close liaison are state Councils on Human Relations which have general membership. Because the Council is noncompetitive and has enjoyed trust, it frequently administers programs through and with other agencies. Flexible and unencumbered by restraining policies, the Council looks to embody a future South of constructive dialogue and cultivation of resources.

Leslie W. Dunbar, Ph.D., Atlanta, Georgia, has taught at Cornell University, Smith College, and Mt. Holyoke College. He worked for the Atomic Energy Commission, 1951–1954, and was a Guggenheim Fellow, 1954–1955. He was Director of Research for the Southern Regional Council from 1954 to 1961 and has been Executive Director of that organization since 1961. He has contributed articles to various journals and magazines.

THE Southern Regional Council (SRC), twenty years old in 1964 and successor organization to the former Commission on Interracial Co-operation begun in 1919, has been an indigenous strand of Southern history. In some measure, which others must estimate, it has also helped shape that history. Contrary to the view widely held, a concern for racial justice and democracy has always been an element of the Southern tradition, and, even when ineffective and hard-pressed, was never altogether extinguished among the region's whites. The Council has embodied and increased this element, deriving strength and opportunities from its growth, shortcomings from its vicissitudes.

FORMATION

The Council was formed during the war years, at one of those occasional moments in the region's history when there was a widespread opening of the mind of the white South to a disposition toward, and even a hope for, change. Indeed, without this happy climate the Council would not, perhaps could not, have been established. But a large part of the Council's difficulties since have had their origin in the same happy fact. For the Council was intended by its founders to be a body of commanding regional stature and authority; indeed, the prominence of a large number of the 292 white persons who signed the "Atlanta Statement" of 1943 promised that it would be. This founding assumption withered quickly, however, as the liberal moment passed and prestigious names deserted the infant they had helped birth, and as over the South Negroes turned to the more immediately productive leadership of the NAACP lawyers to advance their cause. When the Council in 1951 took an explicit and public stand against segregation, many—but not all!—remaining whites of power quietly departed. In the last few years, there has been a return, not of the same persons, of course, but of new men of prominence, and the white side of Council membership again approximates in distinction the Negro membership.

If it may seem passing strange for an employee of the Council to write in these detached terms of it, the explanation is at once both simple and basic. For the Council, as was said before, is a part of the South's history, and one must look at it not only with love but with realism. The Council never had nor has a realistic chance to be anything more than the South at its best. It can never exceed—though of course it can fall short of—its environment of men and ideals and intelligence.

AIMS AND METHODS

The intellectual midwife of the Southern Regional Council was Howard W. Odum, who saw in its creation the possibility of an immense catalyst furthering his dream of regional development. True to Odum's view that the racial relations of the South could not be changed and perfected by a frontal assault, but only by encountering and solving them in the context of the other political, social, educational, and economic problems of the region, the Council set out in its early days with all these interests. Very soon, however, its program focused on race, and has stayed there. Odum's great strategy was artificial; race so undercuts and overhangs every Southern problem that none can be rationally treated without first wresting it from enslavement to a debilitating system of race relations. Somewhat paradoxically, Odum's strategy may now, twenty years later, be the road for continued usefulness of the Council.

Again, this is said with the detachment that sees the Council not merely as an organization to which one has grown deeply attached and identified,

but as the representative of liberalism in the Southern region. The civil rights movement will have overcome the old race relations of the South for but unsatisfying results if the same energy and intelligence are not soon addressed to making the political, social, and economic life of the region—and the nation—adequately responsive to the needs of the newly emancipated people; this is to say that emphasis must shift from the cultivation of human relations to the cultivation of human resources.

Even in the boldness of its first days, the Council proposed as its methods research, information, and interracial dialogue. Essentially, these are still the methods. Especially since 1951, when the Council publicized its stand against segregation, its research and information work has been faced with an interesting challenge. Thoroughly committed to one side of the era's most bitter controversy, the Council has, nevertheless, claimed objectivity and factual accuracy for its research publications and information services. Combining partisan commitment and objectivity is sufficiently rare as to be a delight for those who attempt it, and the steady growth of attention to the Council's publications and the rather dizzying increase of demand on its information services suggest that the attempt has not failed.

Early publications of the Council had an impressive circulation. Among them, such pamphlets as *The South: America's Opportunity Number One* (1945); Rupert B. Vance, *Wanted: The South's Future for the Nation,* with an introduction by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia (1946); and Dorothy Dickens' *Wanted: A Healthy South* (1946) reveal something of the initial thrust of the Council. Among the many publications of this pre-1954 period, another which had wide attention and direct influence on Southern practices was *Race in the News* (1950). The Council has always had a basic interest in limitations on suffrage, and has reported and commented frequently. Two pamphlets in particular, released in 1957 and 1959, and both written by Margaret Price, had substantial impact on the legislative history of the civil rights acts. *The Federal Executive and Civil Rights* (1961) received careful attention by the incoming Kennedy Administration. George McMillan's *Racial Violence and Law Enforcement* (1960) has been widely used in Southern police training. Vivian W. Henderson, *The Economic Status of Negroes* (1963) and Robert Coles, *The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study* (1963) offered light and bearing on basic issues. Many of the Council's recent publications have sought to interpret confused events to a perplexed but deeply concerned nation; an example of these was Howard Zinn's *Albany: A Study in National Responsibility* (1962). With caution, SRC has ventured into book publication; to date, there have been Benjamin Muse, *Virginia's Massive Resistance* (Indiana University Press, 1961); Muse, *Ten Years of Prelude* (Viking, 1964); and James McBride Dabbs, *Who Speaks For the South?* (Funk and Wagnalls, 1964). Through the years, a monthly magazine, *New South,* has come out.

THE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

In 1954, the Council ceased being a membership organization in the usual sense. Originally, it had absorbed and maintained several state groups created under the guidance of its predecessor, the former Commission. Now it was to decentralize, establishing in the various Southern states Councils on Human Relations, to which all membership was transferred and which, about 1957, became legally autonomous bodies. The Southern Regional Council is now a cooptative body of about 100 members.

Between it and the state Councils on Human Relations the relationship that has developed is somewhat like that between parents and their adult children: as intimate as desired, but not binding. The state councils are an expression of the "grass roots" philosophy of one of my predecessors, the late and much beloved Dr. George S. Mitchell. They, and their many local chapters, give strength, outreach, and a capacity for local attentiveness and action. It is within them that the old, and still firmly held, belief in the essentiality of interracial contact and dialogue and co-operative action on real problems is today largely expressed.

The present stucture has also had the unintended beneficial consequence that, freed from the exigencies of a mass membership, SRC has during these years of tension been able to move, usually quietly but generally freely and effectively—one believes—in field work of many kinds. There have also been unending consultations with people well outside the orbit of civil rights movement; during these years, the much lamented breakdown of communication between the races has not been nearly so real as that between the white South and the rest of the nation, and SRC has been one of the few open transmission lines.

A not so beneficial consequence has been that the new structure almost inevitably yielded, as a by-product, a heavily staff-oriented operation for SRC. This has enabled SRC to develop an unusual degree of flexibility of program and versatile staff skills; but surely long-run interests, not only of the organization but of the liberalism which it expresses for the South, require that the SRC lay membership—"the board"—resume active policy direction. Or, to put it differently, in the days of "massive resistance," when only defense strategies were possible, they were probably best left to the professionals; in the fluid and progressive present, lay leadership all over the South must assert itself in behalf of the new opportunities.

This is not to say that the "board" is idle. Its members comprise a very large chunk of the progressive leadership of the South, active in all fields of struggle and reform. But for the most part the conspicuous leadership they supply is outside the program activities of the Council itself. They greatly strengthen that program, however, and not only by the weight of their names. At least as important is the base they give to SRC's strategic contacts and influences throughout the region, and the deeper dimensions they give to the staff's understanding of events and policies by their frequent informal reports.

There seems to be a growing intellectual awareness throughout the nation that some measure of conflict, even a large one at times, is indispensable to social reform. Yet concurrently, we have the emergence and growth of the new profession of "intergroup relations," which has always, even though sometimes unacknowledged, the aim of minimizing if not preventing conflict, and of containing it whenever loosed. Another paradox is that the most radical wing of the civil rights movement has a thorough intellectual devotion—almost obsession—to a fuzzy "power structure" theory of social control and change, surely almost the purest of conservative theories.

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Undoubtedly a good bit of SRC's work, both in the field and at the writing desk, in the decade since 1954 has sought to minimize conflict and to reach the "power structure." More in keeping with the founding vision of SRC has been the program which since early 1962 has been its largest; that is, the administration of the Voter Education

Project. Here is a combined effort by all the principal civil rights groups and many local Negro organizations to increase voter registration dramatically and, in decisive places, decisively. The Project, which will close its field work in late 1964, promises to telescope into a couple of years the voting growth which by normal trends would have taken a decade or more. Voting is no panacea and registration even less so, but without them there is no progress at all.

From the Project, SRC will draw and publish research findings, directed at the question of the effectiveness of organized activity to counterbalance depressing socioeconomic conditions. But for the present, the Project can illustrate another facet of the SRC program. Only because SRC is a noncompetitive and generally trusted agency has it been able to administer the Voter Education Project. In other ways too numerous to list, a great deal of SRC's activities involve co-operation with other agencies.

THE FUTURE

As the Voter Education Project is loyal to SRC's founding hopes, so too is the state Council on Human Relations movement. The ties between the state groups and SRC are today drawing steadily closer, and nearly everywhere the state groups and their local chapters are stronger than they have ever been. How they may prosper in the future depends chiefly on two questions. Can they shift from being defensive bands, waging a brave fight against hostile racists, to the role of creative artisans, contributing to an intelligent and humane cultivation of all the human resources of the region? Will white and Negro liberals of the South continue to find a biracial association a valued instrument for achieving their interests?

SRC's own future depends also on these same questions. We shall have the rule of civil rights in the South, but only the bold would today predict whether we shall also have an integrated social order. We stand a better chance of building one if Negroes and whites continue to believe that it is worth-while to join and work with each other, with a candor which embraces their separate identities and their common interests. The Council has taken pride in being a useful organization, free of restraining strategies and versatile enough to meet many issues. For the future, how the Council may evolve depends, as it always has, on the configuration of Southern society.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

The winds of change blowing steadily over the South are shifting people from farm to city, stimulating economic development, altering the political landscape, breathing fresh life into educational institutions. Most important of all, they are sweeping away the unnatural code and out-moded customs that once dictated the conduct of race relations.

In this period of pervasive social change, the Southern Regional Council occupies a central position. Since its birth almost a half century ago, it has stood at the turbulent center of progress to an open, equal, unsegregated society. To achieve this goal, its methods are research, the persuasive force of education, and the skills of community organization.

A LINKAGE OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS

From the beginning, the Council idea was to create and sustain a sincere and open-minded dialogue between Negroes and whites. In 1919, a group of the South's leading church people founded the Commission on Interracial Cooperation to encourage the interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the races. Opening such channels of communication and keeping them open always, not merely as a last resort in crisis, was a revolutionary concept in those days. Now, it is widely recognized as a fundamental necessity for intergroup amity.

When the Commission was succeeded by the Southern Regional Council in 1944, the idea of continuing dialogue was carried forward. Today, it is sustained through these programs:

• **State Councils on Human Relations:** Organized by SRC in 1954, Councils in eleven southern states function independently, with programs as varied as the needs of the states they serve. Some Councils are involved in tutorial programs for culturally deprived children; others in obtaining peaceful compliance with civil rights laws; still others in equal employment opportunities and accelerated school desegregation. Each is a state center of information in human relations. All of them draw strength from a constant interchange of ideas and material and from the resources and support of the SRC.

By 1964, their growing membership united nearly 10,000 Southerners, Negro and white. The major part of their combined budget—nearly $300,000—is raised locally, in evidence of their firmly rooted place in southern life.

• **Annual Meeting:** The Southern Regional Council consists of a body of one hundred members drawn from both races and the thirteen southern states. These distinguished men and women meet yearly in a conference which is a seed-bed of thought. From it regularly come new directions in all concerns of the region.

• **New South:** A monthly magazine, perhaps the most highly regarded publication in the field, presents provocative articles from nationally known contributors. It reaches about 6,000 opinion makers.

• **Fellowship of the Concerned:** This project links together church women all over the South. It grew out of the old Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Today it brings key women leaders together for conferences and workshops to share ideas on many aspects of southern life.

• **Southern Inter-Agency Conference:** SRC acts as secretariat for the Southern Inter-Agency Conference, which links together virtually all agencies in the field. These range from such militant groups as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality to church groups and service agencies such as the American Friends Service Committee and the YWCA.

• **Less formal,** but equally important in this linkage of people and ideas, is the continuous use of SRC resources and offices as a meeting place through which all strands of the human relations movement weave their way.

THE FOUNDATION IS RESEARCH

Programs such as these, no matter how well conceived, cannot bear fruit without a solid foundation of information. The foundation stones of the Council structure are its library and research facilities. The library is a specialized collection in depth, containing thousands of volumes, pamphlets, special reports, field studies from private agencies and government, and from individuals and universities. It includes the largest collection of newspaper and magazine clippings dealing with southern racial and political issues.

SRC is not only an information center, but a frequent publisher of original studies keyed to the critical problems of today and the emergent problems of tomorrow. Its publications have demonstrably influenced the policies and practices of southern leaders and governmental bodies. Titles of recent years, representing the range of SRC research, include the following:

The Federal Executive and Civil Rights
The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South (a series)
The Economic Status of Negroes, V. W. Henderson
Albany: A Study in National Responsibility, Howard Zinn
Louisville, Memphis, Charlotte, Brunswick (a series), Benjamin Muse and Pat Watters
Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond, J. K. Moreland

The library and research staff are chief bulwarks against easy answers and facile slogans. For while the Southern Regional Council is totally committed in an area of great controversy, it strives ceaselessly for objectivity in its studies and consultations. Its reputation for objectivity is widely respected. Scholars, government officials, and private agencies constantly draw upon the library for reliable information. National publications and other mass media routinely check their facts with the research staff.

SPECIAL PROJECTS

The combination of broad-gauged community programs, of research and study facilities, and of a highly skilled professional staff, gives SRC unique flexibility and strength. Thus it can sponsor special projects which no other agency, or group of agencies, is equipped to undertake.

• **Voter Education Project:** Started in 1962, this was the most ambitious drive ever for full Negro voter registration in the South, registering over 600,000 new voters in cooperation with persons and groups throughout the region. The field work ended in October 1964. The VEP is engaged now in a comprehensive analysis of its data for book publication.

• **Foreign Visitors:** At the request of federal agencies, the Council serves as official sponsor for scores of overseas visitors each year. Most of these are either government officials or influential leaders who want an unbiased view of race relations in the South.

• **And Many More:** Each year's Annual Report shows a variety of short term projects. In recent years these have included such diverse undertakings as a psychiatric study of the effects of desegregation upon school children, an evaluation of the work of northern graduate students as summer school instructors in southern Negro colleges, and the coordination in early 1964 of a large south-wide effort to assure compliance with the Public Accommodations Law when passed. And many more.

SOME FACTS ABOUT SRC

Organization: The Southern Regional Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational. As such, it has been granted tax exemption by the U.S. Treasury Department. It is not a mass membership organization but consists, as previously noted, of one hundred outstanding Southerners.

Between annual meetings, an Executive Committee of fifteen members meets periodically to plan and review program and to direct the staff.

Policy: In 1962, the SRC reaffirmed "A Statement of Policy and Aims" which reads in part:

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit and will no longer be imposed; where above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God."

Finances: The Southern Regional Council operates on a yearly budget of approximately $235,000, plus an equal or greater amount for special projects. The magnitude of its activities leads many to believe that it is privately endowed. SRC has no endowment. Its support comes from foundations, church denominations, trade unions, and other friends. As its influence and responsibilities grow, so too will the need for long-range support of the Council's philosophy and programs.

OFFICERS

President	John H. Wheeler, Durham, N. C.
Vice Presidents	Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.
	Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.
	Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.
	Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tenn.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman	Raymond M. Wheeler, Charlotte, N. C.
Members	Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.
	James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.
	Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, La.
	C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Ala.
	Mrs. J. N. Rayzor, Houston, Texas
	McNeill Smith, Greensboro, N. C.
	H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.
	Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va.
Legal Counsel	Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta, Ga.
Executive Director	Leslie W. Dunbar
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. Ruth House Alexander

When the Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944, its incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, President of Atlanta University; the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, then editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*; Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church; and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

". . . In working to make equal opportunity a reality in all parts of our national life, the Southern Regional Council is advancing the cause of all Americans. In promoting good will and better understanding among people of all races, colors and creeds, the Council is serving not only the South but the whole country. . ."

—John F. Kennedy, The White House,
November 8, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia
1965

ENCOUNTER

With The FUTURE

I HAVE NOT ENDED the story for there is no end. This Movement is alive, it is growing, it has already become a part of our life as Americans; it is joyous, still a singing movement, still one full of compassion and love; and being so, it is flexible, amenable to the best our minds and hearts can offer it. Amenable also to the worst we offer it. A brave vigorous movement that is here to stay: rich with infinite creative possibilities, potent—and dangerous, for the potential good can be distorted and lost by the despairing restlessness of those from the ghettos who have no hope, and who are too uninformed historically, too unsure emotionally to analyze current conditions or foresee the consequence of their acts. We, as a people, could be confronted soon by a series of catastrophes. Whether this happens depends on the wisdom of responsible Negroes but more, much more on what every responsible white American does next. One thing is certain in a plexus of uncertainties and that is, *our encounter with the future cannot be evaded,* it must be met by both the artist and the scientist in us, by our deep intuitions and our rigorously proved knowledge—and by the human being in us, too, that creature who knows the power of compassion, the potency of a strange love that keeps reaching out to bind one man to another.

—LILLIAN SMITH, *Our Faces, Our Words.*
(W. W. NORTON, 1964)

Encounter With The Future

by

PAT WATTERS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

May 1965

Foreword

PAT WATTERS, a senior staff member, has written for the Southern Regional Council this inquiry into the thought and influence of certain American youth. These are people who have given both direction and depth to the struggle for civil rights.

The record will show, I believe, that the Council by its Special Report of February 25, 1960 was among the very first to welcome and value the sit-in Movement begun by Negro students of the South. In a sense, this pamphlet is a sequel to that 1960 report, for if that expressed faith this expresses respect for a Movement that has since served and in no small measure inspired this country. It still serves and it should, in sum and despite misadventures, still inspire.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director

IT used to be so wonderfully simple. Here were these Negroes and they were right. There were those segregated lunch counters. In an age of ambivalence, of moral ambiguity, the Negro Movement gave us at last a choice, as clear-cut as a sit-in, between good and evil. It let us have the cake of certainty and eat it too, by frosting it with forgiveness, non-violence, love.

It is not that simple any more.

Of course it never really was, and we never had any right to add that to the impossible demands we have made on Negro Americans, however they might have encouraged it. Two years ago, the catch-phrase was "new militancy," and I remember a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) veteran saying then: "It's not new. We've been militant—and angry—all along. It was just that nobody bothered to ask us."

No single phrase can catch the mood now. Most of the negative elements—internal dissension, disorganization, alienation, the Communist question, dispute over attitudes toward whites and toward America itself—have been there all along. So have the seeds of new and positive elements (beyond the old bravery and dedication): whole new concepts of methods and goals; a new thrust toward causes, rather than symptoms, of social sickness. Now it is time to bother to ask about all these things, precisely because the comforting oversimplification of the sit-ins is gone forever. It is time to look at the Movement with something like human expectations, and, perhaps, with compassion, and to try to understand some of the real depth of the struggle between good and evil that is, indeed, its profound meaning for America.

This is a look at the youthful wing of the southern civil rights Movement, for as always it sets the pace. SNCC is the

key, but also involved are much of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), and of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) insofar as they reflect or react to the same radicalism. Throughout the report, references to the Movement are in this rather loose sense.

This is not an "insider's" report. It doesn't pretend to anything like omniscience. If there was once a time when anyone not a worker in one of the four chief civil rights organizations might nevertheless develop an "insider's" knowledge of the Movement, that time is no more. No longer can a reporter measure the mood of the Movement by talking to a few key people. Often now it is difficult to be sure who the key people are, and difficult sometimes to evaluate what any people tell you. The best one can do from the periphery is to talk to as many people as possible, observe as much as possible, and try to think it through. The effort is important.

Communication by the youthful wing about itself has always been in action more than words. Where the issues are crass, as in a sit-in, nothing more is needed. Where they are not, as at the Democratic National Convention in 1964, communication either breaks down, or is on a level difficult to perceive. Very few people in the nation understand what SNCC was trying to say with its action of opposing the political compromise offered at the convention. Its efforts to explain in words weren't successful. It has always had a disdain for the efficacy of words spoken to an audience outside its own circle. Perhaps this is because the context in the circle is so terribly different from that of any audience outside it.

Nevertheless *something* was communicated by the action at Atlantic City. It produced circles of negative reaction to SNCC that have been widening ever since, and these negative reactions have prompted the many examinations of radicalism and other realities of the Movement, like this study. These may, finally, find out what SNCC was trying to say at the conven-

tion, or more of what it has been saying all along. If so, one must still jerry-build his own understandings.

A beginning is to try to understand better the COFO Summer of 1964.

Gains and Losses

This was the campaign concentrated in Mississippi by the four civil rights organizations, SNCC, CORE, SCLC, and the NAACP. They were banded together into a Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). COFO had its origins in earlier futile efforts to register Negro voters. The Mississippi Summer was the first large-scale coordinated effort of the four organizations, and it may be the last.

Any appraisal of it has to be with awareness constantly of what the workers were up against, simplified in these grim statistics from the New York *Times:* 1,000 arrests; 35 shooting incidents, with three persons injured; 30 homes and other buildings bombed; 35 churches burned; 80 persons beaten; at least six persons murdered.

COFO operated 47 Freedom Schools and nearly that many community centers, worked on voter registration and developed the Freedom Democratic Party (FDP). It brought in upwards of 1,000 volunteers, many of them white northern students. They were a presence from the rest of the country and were psychologically effective, if not in inhibiting racist murderousness, then in calling attention to it. Lawyers, doctors, and church people from afar similarly served.

Immediate tangible results were few: a very small success in fiercely resisted registration; the attraction to the Movement of a relatively few Negroes who are very faithful, giving them tastes of real learning and equalitarian association; the attraction of many more (80,000) in the less risky role of FDP voters; the election of a very few Negroes to the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service county committees.

The most impressive tangible result was not evident until nearly a year later. A major goal of the Summer of 1964 was to develop an indigenous Negro leadership. By the following Spring of 1965, virtually all of the COFO projects and activities were in the hands of indigenous Negro leadership.

COFO claimed many intangible results on the morale of Negro Mississippians and in awakening political consciousness. Perhaps even more, intangibly, was done for white Mississipians. They saw integration in action. They learned how far from the rest of the nation they stood, and how much they have become despised for this. Since the Summer, they have showed the first signs of change, and hope. Moderates are speaking out. McComb ceased public sanction of racist terrorism. The Mississippi Economic Council, a state chamber of commerce, called for law and order, communication between the races, "impartial administration" of voting laws, and support of public (desegregated) education.

A number of pressures, including economic, were behind this. Also in the background was successful court-ordered desegregation of three school systems in August, abetted by a state-wide organization of white liberals and moderates known as Mississippians for Public Education; enlargement of the FBI forces in the state; continued federal court suits against segregation; continued exposure by the national press of racism and thought control in the state; and passage of the Civil Rights Act. COFO had its impact on all of these.

In 1964, nothing much could succeed in its specific, announced goals. What COFO helped so much to do was to force Mississippians to confront themselves and their problems, and the nation to confront Mississippi. COFO's success has made obsolete this strategy.

Unstructured shaking up of Mississippi's peace—agitation for the sake of confrontation—has not the same necessity as it had last Summer. The new federal poverty program should be given a chance to work; school desegregation should continue smoothly;

white moderates and liberals should be given a chance to gather themselves together.

COFO seems aware of this. A big adjustment for many of its workers is the shift to poverty program work, community development, agriculture committee work, Title Six compliance. Many have left for other parts of the Black Belt. Like pioneers, some freedom fighters get restless on yesterday's frontier. The unexplored territory of racism is rapidly diminishing and where pockets of it yet remain—in Alabama, Louisiana, or northern suburbia—they call out to be seen and tested.

Not that Mississippi is tamed. The enlarged FBI force shouldn't leave. Neither should the effort to work at the deep levels of poverty and racist persecution. Nearly all of the Negro population is yet to be registered to vote.

The gains of the COFO Summer were not without cost to the southern Negro Movement. The effects have lingered and are an influence as the Movement prepares for another long hot Summer. Stress last Summer brought dissension to the surface—more than ordinarily—among member organizations of COFO and its allies. At the end of the Summer, the Mississippi NAACP voted to withdraw, a generally unpublicized action.

During 1964, the NAACP and SCLC had participated only nominally in COFO. CORE, on the other hand, had contributed one-fifth to one-fourth of the trained field workers. The rest had been SNCC, and the volunteers. As 1965 came in, it became clear that COFO was to be almost entirely SNCC, or that it was to become a self-directing organization, fraternally related to SNCC.

Indeed, the Mississippi theater had become an organizational complex. During 1964, three lawyer's groups were active in providing defense council for COFO, with the heavy duty work being done as always by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and its cooperating attorneys. There was also a new group—the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee. Finally, there was the National Lawyers Guild, which was close

to COFO leadership, but with which the Legal Defense Fund will not associate, and which LCDC held at a distance. A fourth group, generously financed and with ties to both the American Bar Association and the Mississippi bar, appeared during 1965: the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. A further change is that LCDC has become sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The legal achievement in Mississippi is one of impressive results. The appearance of so many "outsiders" practicing law in behalf of Negroes upgraded standards of justice. Prosecutors needed more than the color of a defendant's skin for a conviction that would stick. Appeals have been started on interrelated cases involving habeas corpus and transfer to federal courts which may eliminate or curtail harassing arrests of civil rights workers on baseless charges.

Involvement of doctors, an auspicious development, and of the church in the COFO Summer was less contentious and will probably continue. The Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches is an apparently permanent program with a $400,000 a year budget, and a program paralleling COFO's generally, though with missionary overtones.

After withdrawing from COFO, the NAACP announced its own Mississippi program. If COFO was SNCC's great opportunity to lead the Movement structurally, it failed. At least for the present, the most youthful part of the civil rights Movement is still only one part. Nevertheless, the SNCC approach—living and working with the people—is established in Mississippi and southwest Georgia and by CORE in some parts of Louisiana, and is being put into practice by new exponents, including SCLC. This could be crucial to the future of the Movement. Hitherto, SNCC's virtual monopoly on this kind of sustained work has been its chief strength, and the source of its radicalism. It remains to be seen whether other organizations can do the kind of job SNCC has done, and, if they can, whether it will have the same radicalizing effect on them.

A New Radicalism Seeks Its Identity

One SNCC innovation that has not been adopted by other elements of the civil rights Movement is the Freedom Democratic Party. The FDP envisions extending out from Mississippi, and envisions offering its own candidates across the Black Belt, refusing to make "lesser of evil" choices. This, amid much criticism and sincere misgivings about SNCC's leftism, is a chief factor in the widening of a breach between SNCC and the so-called coalition of civil rights organizations, labor, and the rest of the liberal establishment. The NAACP and organized labor this Spring in Mississippi, for example, joined forces to block an effort to get national accreditation for an FDP-developed Young Democrats organization.

But SNCC's radicalism also is manifest in two other of its directions. First, SNCC has always been an endless, introspective conference, toiling away at defining itself, its ideals, its aspirations, its plans. As it has grown, it has vacillated between bringing non-staff into its "conference" or excluding them. Its policy now seems to be to confine the conference within the staff, *and* between staff members and the Negro dwellers in rural and urban slums. There is a formalization of the latter in SNCC's announced plans for "People's Conferences."

Second, SNCC's persistent iconoclasm throughout early 1965 in saying, over and over again, that passage of the Voting Rights Bill is of considerably less importance than unseating of the Mississippi Congressional delegation is important for insights it provides. Liberal forces will pass a voting bill. SNCC refuses to say "thank you" and has itself given the effort only left-over energy, maintaining that the major problem—enforcement—is still not solved. Instead, it will demand of liberal forces that they do something which they probably will not do: unseat the Mississippi delegation. It is the SNCC style. If the great demonstration planned for Washington during the Summer of 1965 in behalf of the Congressional challenge comes off, its

true importance will be that its target—actual if not announced —will be liberals.

Amid all the dissension around it last year, SNCC itself apparently underwent serious and traumatic internal struggle.

A perhaps symbolic issue seemed to be disagreement over how SNCC should be organized. (The "coordinating committee" has from the beginning been preoccupied with forms of organization, just as it has been supremely disorganized, the latter a part of its style which probably costs more than it is worth, and, when necessary, as with organization of the short wave radio in Mississippi or the FDP convention, can be abandoned immediately. In the internal convolutions of its forms of organization, which seem always more and needlessly complicated, it often seems, maybe consciously, to be parodying the over-organization of our age.)

The dispute this time seemed to be over whether the loose but at least structured organization of the past, with a defined executive and administrative function, should be supplanted by an arrangement of local and perhaps even personal autonomy. James Forman and John Lewis, two of the top officials of SNCC, led the former view, Robert Moses the latter.

In a sense, the issue was state's rights (local autonomy), and the area of discontent much the same as Senator Goldwater tapped. And—despite the harm done by reactionaries to a legitimate idea—discontent with over-organization and meaningless form is one of the profound mass emotions of the time.

The ostensible issue was resolved at a seven-day annual meeting this Winter, with those in favor of organization over local autonomy prevailing. The decision was probably influenced by a three-month period of near anarchy in SNCC just preceding. The meetings of SNCC in the past year have become for members apparently a particularly upsetting experience, with emphasis on letting everybody speak, so that they are overly long and emotional. This reorganizational meeting was of this pat-

tern. Its most important achievement was to complete the transition of the organization from one of student and community groups to one of individuals working as organizers. The staff workers emerged as the power base, with frequent staff meetings promised. Apparently in deference to local control, the executive committee was selected almost entirely from among Negro Mississippi staffers. But on a practical level, the executive committee functions little. Decisions are made in the offices in Atlanta, or, just as often, by local leaders in the field. It is never simple.

Distrust of organization continues a strong influence in SNCC, and one needs to understand this. Mr. Moses, the Harvard mathematics major who began the SNCC work in Mississippi four years ago, personifies this instinct. To escape the mantle of revered leader and prophet that settled on him in Mississippi, he went to the length of changing his name and moving to Alabama. He is now Robert Parris.

Throughout recent SNCC literature and conversation, opposition to the very concept of national civil rights leaders is a strong theory. This is part of the intensified dedication to working with and through the people. Big leaders weaken the will of the people to think for themselves, SNCC argues. The real task is to develop decision-making ability among the people, and leaders from among them.

In much of this, the term alienation is inescapable. At times, it seems to be SNCC against the world, and divided against itself. Willy-nilly, it cuts a swath of lost friends and uninfluenced people, many of them white liberals. In one locale where the local newspapers are bad beyond belief, the one completely competent, honest, and fair-minded newspaperman on the scene has come to despise SNCC. He has no good word for it. He could have remained a useful friend. This kind of thing is behind the drop of the voice, and even intonations of sorrow, almost pity, when people who are genuinely friendly to SNCC start telling its flaws.

The alienation reached a crisis at the Democratic National Convention last year and the scars and enmities linger on from FDP's refusal to accept a two-seat compromise of its demand that all the FDP delegation be seated. Some SNCC people insist this was not necessarily a rejection of the concept of compromise, but rejection of an insulting, unsuitable compromise, that an earlier proposal to seat anyone of both factions willing to pledge loyalty would have been accepted. Nevertheless, to those oriented to the give and take of politics, and the cloaks and daggers of sinister motivation, the FDP decision and SNCC's heavy influence on it had to be either hopelessly idealistic and unrealistic, or diabolically designed to confuse the masses of the Negro followers, to stir them to needless discontent. To SNCC, everybody from the President on down had "sold out." Perhaps it is well that 1965 and 1966 are not particularly big political years; they may be a breathing space during which the political breach within the Movement and with the liberals may be healed.

Viewed as a third party effort—as many in SNCC do view it—FDP might not gain as much power for itself as its backers think, but it could take crucially needed power (in the Black Belt and the Negro ghettos of the North) away from the liberals to the benefit of the right wing.

In the initial stages at least, FDP seems contenting itself with the role of being a separate wing of the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi. In Georgia, Julian Bond, public information officer of SNCC, jumped into a reapportioned House of Representatives race, running as a Democrat. The opting is in, for the time.

SNCC's unwillingness to settle merely for registering Negroes, its plans to run its own candidates, can be at least partially understood by looking at the areas in the rest of the South and nation where there is Negro enfranchisement and something less than an equal society. Atlanta comes to mind. An interesting study might be made of the impact of Atlanta, the head-

quarters of SNCC and SCLC, on radicalism and awareness of sad realities in the southern Movement. Again and again, when they cite evils of tokenism they want to avoid in the reformation of the Black Belt, the Movement people use illustrations in Atlanta: the manipulation in the past of the Negro vote by conservative Negro leadership in coalition with moderate whites; tokenism in schools, annually exacerbated by policies increasing housing segregation and the growth of a ghetto; hypocrisy and cynicism summed up by what critics contend is the city's regard for its national image for good race relations but not for the human victims of racism. One needs only to see what the Movement believes about the South's "most progressive" city to understand its pessimism and intransigence in other parts of the South.

Southern liberals look askance at FDP with slightly different perspective from those in the North. They regard as dangerous its tendencies to solidify and continue a racial alignment in southern politics, leaving both major parties still in the hands of whites, and discouraging effective political alignment of Negro voters with white moderates or liberals.

(The FDP idea began with mock elections in the Fall of 1963 as a demonstration of disenfranchisement. Somewhere between then and Atlantic City, some began to think of the demonstration party as simply a party. Interestingly, the first mock election originated the idea of involving white college students in the southern struggle, thereby arousing the national concern over their safety that never came for the safety of Negroes in general, or the small bands of full-time civil rights workers. The students who worked in that election, as did later the Summer volunteers, went in with their eyes open to this aspect of their role. The sad rationale behind it was demonstrated anew during Selma when the death of a Negro civil rights demonstrator in Marion was largely ignored by the public—though fully covered in the press—while the later murders of two white civil rights demonstrators caused a great storm of national indignation.)

By demanding a stronger repudiation from the Democratic Party and its liberal supporting forces of the unholy alliance with racism in the South since Reconstruction, the FDP shows a new face of the Movement, less willing to forgive and forget. It raises a question not satisfactorily resolved by either World War II or the Civil War: is unconditional surrender the way to deal with the people behind a social system with which there can be no compromise? About the system there is no question; but what of the people?

For all its inherent dangers, FDP forces us also to examine a cherished rationalization. Politics is the art of the possible and of compromise, but neither of these is necessarily a virtue, and we still have a responsibility to examine the possibilities and set limits to compromise.

Because it was so long and so hot, the Mississippi Summer was reported in column inches far better than any other civil rights campaign. But the coverage nearly all centered on violence, partly because of circumstance, partly because of the Movement's and the press's own fixations. This is a dilemma. The Movement and the press both know that what the public responds to is turmoil and violence, even though other important things might be happening and even though the great violent upheavals haven't bettered appreciably the lot of the Negroes immediately involved, as an examination now of Albany, St. Augustine, and Birmingham would show.

The important things that were happening in Mississippi during the Summer of 1964 were the reaching to the grassroots of Negroes, the forcing of change on the white population, and development of political consciousness in the Movement. And these were reflections of the very important effort of the Movement to adjust to the new realities of its role. But violence made the news.

SNCC for a time seemed trying to move out of the violence dilemma in Selma. But when it did agree to demonstrate, it did so in a manner that seemed deliberately to provoke violence.

This illustrates one of the more strained tensions, more precarious philosophical balances, within the Movement—the reconciliation of deliberate provocation by Negroes of the close-to-the-surface violence of an element of whites in the South with the true spirit and high meanings of non-violence. Often there is a frank admission by a civil rights worker that to him, as an individual, non-violence is only a tactic, not a way of life, or a way to a better life for the world. The simple act of demonstrating, no matter how orderly and dignified, was often in the immediate past, in parts of the South, a provocation to violence. In more sophisticated sectors and the present more sophisticated time, when the mere presence of a demonstration fails to provoke violence, demonstrators have jeered, taunted, and otherwise, short of actual violence on their part, brought it forth. There are also elements in this of a grim game to see who will "chicken" first, a simple release of hostilities. The cynicism that begins with considering non-violence as simply a subtle sort of weapon would seem to justify this next step to make it effective. It is only another step, too, to the use of violence itself, where tactically feasible. But at its best, non-violence never sought, as no human should, deliberately to goad the beast in a man. The question—and the answer is really not known—is whether America has ever responded to the higher meaning and hope of non-violence, or whether it has simply reacted to violence and turmoil, acting in civil rights matters only as necessary.

New and Old Radicals

The introduction of white volunteers in great numbers to the existential reality of the southern race struggle was another most important aspect of the Mississippi Summer. To white Mississippians, this was the unkindest cut. COFO's popularity rating would not have been improved if all its followers had worn

Brooks Brothers, or had constantly fawned and bowed and made that elbows-in shuffle of self-abnegation common to an older generation of deep-South Negro men. But by the beards of the Summer volunteers, and the hanks of their women's hanging down, uncombed hair, they offended to the soul nigh onto a state-full of whites. These were people who voiced no noticeable storm of popular protest over murder of COFO workers, but who, on the subjects of unkemptness, beer drinking, white and Negro dating, racial and sexually mixed sleeping arrangements, and, most of all, beards, howled in holy and moral and righteous indignation. They really believed at the beginning that a horde of Communists and beatniks were coming to rape and pillage. They were relieved that racial revenge was not so reaped, but they remained convinced about what constituted the horde. The horde did little to convince them otherwise.

COFO attempted to organize poor whites in Gulfport, but in most ways, seemed to write off the whites in Mississippi en masse. If the Goldwater vote (more than 90% of whites) may be regarded as a headcount on racism, then COFO was probably right. Yet, as the grip of totalitarianism in the state slips a bit, one remembers the accounts of how the overtures of moderates and liberals to the COFO volunteers were rebuffed. "They lectured us, and wouldn't listen," one liberal told me. "They were so dogmatic."

One remembers the account of how in the one town in Mississippi where there was a hope of engendering sympathy and respect from local whites, the volunteers came with arrogant disdain, and promptly alienated the town.

It was of course murder that these kids felt they faced. They were scared all over Mississippi.

A professional man took a look at the worst of human failings among the volunteers under the terrible pressures of the Summer, and concluded that the patterns of behavior did not differ from the norm for a similar group of young Americans any-

where, in far less stressful situations, for example, on a college campus.

The consensus among those who saw the volunteer operation being formed and in motion is that the majority of the white volunteers were not the way-out variety of campus radicals, but were mainstream, middle-class young Americans, highly motivated not so much by intellectual or neo-beatnik philosophical instincts, but by the standard religious, patriotic, and political ideals of the mainstream. Even severest critics of COFO say this, adding that the effect of the Mississippi Summer was to radicalize such youngsters considerably. One has but to read the thoughts and feelings of these white volunteers in a compilation of their letters home *(Letters from Mississippi,* edited by Elizabeth Sutherland) to see the truth of both propositions. They were radicalized not just by SNCC, as the critics contend, but by the conditions they encountered in Mississippi, the same radicalizing forces that had been at work on SNCC for five years.

I asked Aaron Henry, the Mississippi Negro leader from Clarksdale, if any more strenuous efforts would be made in the future to screen out "oddballs." "Oddballs!" snorted Mr. Henry. "They ain't nothing but oddballs. Coming down here to get scared to death and shot at just to help us Negroes. They're not typical Americans. They're oddballs all right. The right kind." An impeccable moderate summed them up another way: "They are good and dedicated and absolutely right. But there is a harshness and cynicism to their idealism. They're the kind of way-out people I could never get along with when I was in college."

The issue of the beards (and the philosophically inaccurate but semantically correct epithet, "beatnik") goes deeper than race; it is part of the age-old antagonism of young and old, the old against the new. The new young rail against many of the same things the beatnik movement did, in oversimplified sum the values and compulsions of the atomic-age industrial society, but they are not "beat," not impotent.

Less obviously, the young as a class have been only a little less powerless than Negro Southerners. When the latter, out of desperation, finally forged a lever to power, the young jumped to get a hand-hold, too. The lever since has been used in campus protest across the country. Reaction there has been more civilized and realistic than in Mississippi, but the methods have been criticized and the question keeps being put: is this a Communist infiltrated thing?

Mississippi racism didn't ask the question; it knew—and has cried over the years—that it's all a Communist plot. The Mississippi Summer saw more responsible people taking the question seriously. This was fed by the FBI assertion that two out of every seven of the volunteers had "connections" with organizations listed as subversive by the Justice Department. The only names mentioned were not of Communists but off-spring of Communists. A month after this disclosure, the FBI at Jackson was refusing to discuss it at all.

A frank discussion with SNCC leaders is about the least comforting follow-up on the question. Certainly, they say, we don't worry about the past or present political affiliations of anybody. If they are for what we are, which is merely to make America do what it says it believes, we accept them. How can they hurt us or the country? Julian Bond of SNCC told me a couple of years ago in one of the earlier, smaller of the recurring panics over the question, that "Sure, if a guy comes in here and says he wants to work and then the first thing he says after that is, 'I'm a socialist,' we probably wouldn't take him. Not because he's a socialist, but because he must be hung up on politics. We'd do the same thing if all he talked about was, 'I'm a Republican.' "

One acute observation is that in the usual refusal of SNCC people even to discuss the Communist issue, there is denial of their most cherished ideals, the civil liberties of those who are genuinely concerned about it. It is anti-anti-Communism as dogmatic as extremist anti-Communism. One SNCC spokesman

answered this, and in a sense confirmed it, by saying that people who had to discuss Communism had nothing relevant to talk about, that they were really worried about something else, namely, the radicalism of the Movement. A Mississippi Negro, not of SNCC, who pointed out that the mass of Negroes there don't worry about Communism because they don't know what it is, echoed the answer when he said, thoughtfully: "Radical ideas are not necessarily Communist. Maybe it's time for radical ideas."

SNCC seems to say it is simply uninterested in the ideological clash between Communism and democracy, that it is not pertinent in the existential reality of the personal clash with racism. What they seem to be saying is that nothing can be worse than what they fight, so why bother with these minor battlings so long as the major one remains unresolved?

While the Negro Movement and the campus movement feed each other, it is probably accurate to say that the campus movement draws more heavily. SNCC is its model organization. The COFO Summer "snickized" the volunteers, and they took this back to the campus. But the campus radicalism is less single-minded and hence more revealing about politics. Even a brief reportorial sorte into this world of student radicalism reveals an unknown little theater of power battling and bewilderingly shifted values, definitions, assumptions. "Oh, don't worry about the Du-Bois clubs," said an intimate of this world airily about the California-based organization that openly avows Marxism. "They are Russian-oriented, and hence for peace," and added: "And therefore to the right of SNCC." The term Maoism is flung around; often, as in a long interview with an entirely pragmatic student much dismayed by his Summer with COFO, it is used not to describe an ideology or organizational tie, but merely a frame of mind. The structured, ideological Maoists in the country, meanwhile, are coming out into the open, so it seems important to keep the distinction clear between actual and metaphorical Maoists.

SNCC with other elements of the Negro Movement came together formally with the campus "new left" Movement in demonstrations against American policy in Viet Nam. Interest in such matters as foreign policy is not new in the Movement; part of it, in the past, when the Movement's chief obstacle on civil rights often seemed the federal government, probably reflected a tendency to sympathize with other lands embroiled with this same federal government; if the emphasis now is stronger on such matters, this may in part be due to the fact that the new audience is more interested in such matters. Part of it, inescapable, too, is that the Movement probably tends to identify with the people in a place like Viet Nam, North or South, because of race, because of poverty. The first poster against U.S. policy in Viet Nam I ever saw was in the COFO office at Jackson. In SCLC, a strain of pacifism has always accompanied emphasis on non-violence. (One doesn't get the feeling that the Movement thinks out such foreign policy stances, however, with the same thoroughness and continuity that it gives to race relations.)

The searcher for subversion in the Mississippi Movement finds immediately in Freedom Schools and Community Centers, among other randomly received donations of literature, the damning little stacks of such publications as the *People's World,* West Coast party organ; *Freedomways,* a Marxist magazine; the *National Guardian,* Chinese-oriented; and the *Crusader,* published by Robert Williams, formerly a Monroe, N.C., Negro militant, now in Cuba. A sample of his approach: "The weapons of defense employed by Afro-American freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline firebombs (Molotov cocktails), lye, or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. . . . Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns, and ammunition can be bought clandestinely . . ." Strange literature for the non-violent coordinating committee, though certainly not reflective of program.

Everyone always says there are no Communists in positions of influence in the Movement. How they know this is hard to say. Clearly there is no reason why some skilled undercover man couldn't become a leader; indeed, in SNCC, such a fellow would seem to have found a perfect set-up.

The point is that nobody really knows; nobody produces proof of anything, and the legacy of McCarthyism (and the upsurge of HUAC won't help) has created such an absurd context that it is almost impossible to think logically within its framework. The Maoist mind—formally connected or informally operative—would seem to be an enemy of all the Negro Movement has stood for in the past, and it is this, *intellectual positions,* not old and ineffectual Reds still living in the 1930's, that should be our concern and that of the Movement. (Or perhaps our concern should also be *psychological types:* "What really worries me," said one astute observer, "is the number of psychologically suspect characters around now.")

Of interest to some observers is the rapid change that occurred in FDP leadership. The FDP was created in the Spring of 1964. Its early leadership included some of the most prominent, established Negroes in Mississippi. By the Fall of 1964, these people of stature were mostly gone, replaced by youthful SNCC militants or figures drawn from the impoverished masses. Legal representation by a nationally known attorney, close to the Democratic Party and to the AFL-CIO, had been exchanged for that of a group of lawyers which includes men who are themselves targets of Communist accusation. There are unsinister explanations for all of this, and part of SNCC's strength is its refusal to compromise its beliefs; it opposes the House Un-American Activities Committee and, therefore, tends to be protective of those whom it attacks. Part of SNCC's style is its willingness to affront middle-class, including middle-class liberal, values *and* concerns. These qualities can be respected, though they may reflect immaturity as well as radicalism. At any rate, the FDP—particularly an enlarged FDP—because its business

is politics and the business of politics is power, causes especial concern to those who have witnessed its development.

The attempt to make judgments on the Communist question, as is frequently pointed out, in the light of 1930's and 1940's concepts is an exercise in unreality. This may mean that there is developing a redefinition of what is respectable on the American left—with SNCC and the campus radicals setting the limits and beyond, and forcing America back to some of its pre-McCarthy intellectual freedom.

The investigation we should be making, then, is not one in the McCarthy style, as seems inevitable with the dangerous reinvigoration of HUAC to "investigate" the Ku Klux Klan. (The Klan is about as relevant to what remains wrong with the South as the Cosa Nostra is to the real sickness of New York City.) The investigation that should be made is within ourselves to determine what in the new radicalism supports and promises to strengthen our heritage of democracy and freedom, and what in it is subversive in itself of these.

The red scare among liberals and moderates is not so much the fear that the Negro Movement will some morning deliver America into the hands of the Russians or the Red Chinese. What is feared is the kind of betrayal that so hurt the labor movement in the 1930's and 1940's, particularly in the South, by Communists or by those opposed to labor who seized on Communism as a way to discredit it, depending on your view of that history. The fear is that the Negro Movement and its great hope of a truly integrated society will be similarly betrayed, become tainted in the mind of the mass of the public, and lose the popular support that it needs to achieve its goal. (The question of whether its true goal is achievable where such a fear is possible is a paradox whose implications need facing.)

The red scare these days is akin to the paralyzing fear of the far right that haunted us when Senator Goldwater ran, possibly as groundless now as then. It is a fear founded largely on propaganda and image considerations, the likelihood that if one sure-

enough Communist is found in the Movement the great American middle will become disenchanted with the racial revolution, and then turn to the right. The new radicalism tends to react on this same image-conscious level, saying that if concessions must be made to the witch-hunt and hysteria-prone streak in the American mentality, then this in itself defeats the goals of the Movement.

Neither view seems to come to grips with the genuine conflict that exists between the goals of the Movement and the political system of Communism, which is the legitimate concern. It is, in any revolution, considering the sad history of most of them, relevant to raise and to continue to raise the question of ultimate values which are at stake—support of the traditions and institutions in America and the West which assert and protect human rights and freedom, representative government, respect for truth, and concern for the individual, as opposed to dehumanization and totalitarianism in any form, including Communist.

One of the main questions that SNCC and the new radicals raise within the Movement is whether it is fruitful any longer to work within the framework of the liberal's problems—his desire to achieve the Movement's goals and his fear of both Communism and the far right. The question as more often stated is whether it is fruitful to try to work within the framework of the liberal establishment and society's institutions as they now exist.

What alternative does SNCC think it has? Blowing up bridges? Howard Zinn, a white college professor who has been in the thick of things with SNCC since its beginnings, and has written a book about its meaning and mystique, describes one route that many of the influential SNCC people take seriously. It is the notion of parallel institutions, of which the Freedom Schools and the FDP are the first going examples.

The idea, as explained by Dr. Zinn, is to have something in between the people and the established institutions. You prod

the institutions to do better; they fail; you set up parallel institutions to serve needs, set standards, and prod the institutions harder.

The idea, Dr. Zinn said, has its roots in both anarchist and trade union socialist theory. It marks a return to these old radical streams and a flowing together of them. Distrust of government had been abandoned in the 20th century in favor of the power of government—by the Bolsheviks in Russia, by the trade unioners in the New Deal.

As early as the Spring of 1963, Dr. Zinn urged in a speech to SNCC that they keep the centers of popular power they were creating outside the existing institutions. Para-government is indeed revolutionary, he points out. It could include local governments. (In Ruleville, Miss., last Winter, a SNCC field worker told a mass meeting of plans for a mock election of city and county officers. "We'll elect a mayor and he'll be a mayor. I mean he won't really be a mayor, go down there to city hall and all. . . .") As Dr. Zinn points out, this is the kind of thing you do when you are setting out to overthrow an existing government, or—as is the case—to transform it.

Over against SNCC's distrust of existing institutions is the thinking and persuasion of Bayard Rustin who urges a continuation of the coalition of labor, the churches, liberals, and the Negroes which marched on Washington, got the civil rights bill passed, and elected Johnson. The Negroes cannot win alone, he points out; poverty cannot be ended without drastic new measures (massive public works); coalition is the answer.

SNCC people attended a trade union luncheon in Atlanta at which Mr. Rustin spoke eloquently on these ideas. Afterwards I asked them what they thought. "Look at that lunch," was one answer. It had consisted of cocktails, a crab meat souffle, sufficient for most lunchers, a heavy roast beef course, three vegetables, salad, and for dessert, flaming baked Alaska. (The hosts had ordered and paid for a good-sized lunch, but a lesser one than they got, through the generosity of the chef, an old

Czech socialist, who apparently believed that nothing is too good for the working class. Nothing is simple.)

Much of the widespread concern about the youth wing of the civil rights Movement can be described as merely SNCC's normal effect on a new audience. Certainly little of the radicalism is new. It may be stronger, deeper, now in such an organization as SNCC, and the new audience may be more preoccupied with such matters. But I remember in 1963 listening to SNCC workshops on the evils of Wall Street and the sickness of all American society, but listening with half an ear, for these were side issues to the main fight then against public segregation.

Robert Moses, six months before Atlantic City, made a speech warning against accepting the first compromise liberals came along with. He also talked then about the need to open a new frontier, of freedom of association, and also said then that those who accused SNCC of trying to wreck the two-party system just couldn't admit that the two-party system wasn't working, that to do what really needs to be done on race, a national administration would have to destroy knowingly its chances of winning the next election.

An important thing for this new audience to know about SNCC is that it has its eye on power. This was evident when it—after much debate three years ago—chose the quiet drudgery of voter registration over more spectacular avenues of expression, and it is not merely evident but becoming effective now in the grassroots community work and political organization. A SNCC veteran of the southwest Georgia work described it: "One of the basic assumptions of SNCC is that you get nowhere without power, and the most effective and meaningful power is grassroots political power, organized and cohesive. . . . I have the feeling too that it is more important to concentrate on city council elections than on the presidential elections. On top, the issues become obscured. There is dilution of top policy through things like the war on poverty. We don't need to lobby when we have power. We don't educate people. We help them

express what they know. They know what is needed. We show them how to get it."

Thus, three main elements of SNCC are its willingness to work with the people and know their lives, its determination to put these people into touch with power, and its concern with the forms of organization.

The youth wing knows what the good reporter knows—that the greatest truth is not in abstractions but what exists in the given situation, and it's never simple. "Tell it like it is," they say, summing up at once the perhaps fatal fault of much of our communication—from Congressional debate to news coverage to the best seller list. They live with the people they want to help. This is, besides the hell of racist oppression, living in the culture of poverty with all the dislocations that implies.

Here is a white, formerly middle-class SNCC youngster on some of the cultural differences: "There is less value on big words and academic distinctions. This is from their lessons of survival. They don't see the difference in the guy who says, 'Sorry we have no vacancies,' and the one who says, 'We don't hire niggers.' The result is the same. They don't differentiate between the superior court and criminal court, or the county jail or city jail. They're all bad. It doesn't matter whether it's the FBI or the sheriff. The important thing is they're white and they're against you."

What such youngsters know of racism and poverty is known in their guts, the same kind of knowledge out of which Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the symbol of the FDP, speaks. It was Mrs. Hamer who set something dangerous aloose at the Democratic Convention, an emotionalism in the credentials committee that threatened pre-arranged plans, and made a floor fight unthinkable. She disturbs people. They laugh at her and others like her, disparage them, dismiss them. "They do not," said a middle-class Mississippi Negro, "represent me. They don't help the Negro's image. They might illustrate certain of our problems in education." A white minister in the state, referring to FDP's

elevation of poor people to leadership roles, said the problem was already too many ignorant people in political power.

But when Mrs. Hamer tells of her and her people's suffering, she is eloquent in a way that most of us who are smoother and better educated cannot be. She speaks to the emotions; like good blues, her voice tones and images cut through to something responsive in us, and we feel and understand and are, for a moment anyway, angry along with her. "Somethin' got to break," cries Mrs. Hamer. "They jes' keep on sayin' wait, and we been waitin' all of our lives, an' still gettin' killed, still gettin' hung, still gettin' beat to death—Now we tired waitin'!"

All of the more than 50 long books written out of the long hot Summer say no more. Perhaps what upsets people about her is that they recognize in her a threat that is older and more menacing than Communism: the wrath and the power when the persecuted cross a line which says life itself is not dearer than end to the persecution.

Increasingly, it seems clear that one of the great reappraisals America needs to make is its attitude toward the relevancy of the dispossessed of the nation, and the earth, of what they feel and what they say. This involves, as some have put it, the debate of the Federalist Papers all over again.

America's poor, we are beginning to learn, have their own distinct culture, and it is far less like the dominant culture of the nation than it is similar to that of the other poor of all the other nations. This distinct culture of poverty isn't pretty and is not to be romanticized, but it does have its good characteristics and strengths, and some of these are the very characteristics whose lack, glumly, we are told cripple American culture and its people—for example, ability (or, among the poor, necessity) to live in the present moment instead of forever in the past, mulling it over and rationalizing it, or in the future, planning it and fearing it. Anyone who comes into surface contact with this culture of poverty, however peripherally, comes away impressed with these positive qualities—from Tolstoy to Oscar

Lewis. Yet those who—in various states of alarm—contemplate new trends in the Movement usually fail to see the healthy potential in the new notion of putting many people from outside the culture of poverty into it, to live it. The poor, they seem to say, are not blessed with anything we need. But why can we not learn from these people, get some of the energy of their strengths into our own culture, a revolution of fiber more than of form, instead of allowing their strengths to be destroyed when, hopefully, we destroy poverty?

SNCC's involvement with these people may form a Gestalt that will, as direct action did five years ago, sweep away many objections which, taken one by one, are entirely valid.

Who Are the Alienated?

And there are plenty of these.

The controlling—almost the entire—ideology of the youthful militants, apart from the handful of adherents of DuBois Clubs and other such disciplined groups, is still a literal acceptance of the copy-book ideals of American democracy. Their charge against America is that we have despised our own inheritance, have alienated ourselves from our ideals.

The full-hearted agreement with American ideals is balanced by an angry disillusionment, amounting at times to cynicism, about the institutions and processes of American society. To understand this alienation is to understand the kind of life the field workers endure, the special world of psychological and physical danger they live in. An uninitiated white can enter just the edge of this world for just a few days and (though the situation isn't the same because Negroes have bought with pain better defenses) he comes out endlessly angry, distrustful, and more than impatient with those who can remain unconcerned about its evils. The irrationality of the reaction is that of the

returning front-line soldier's to the essential frivolity of civilian life. It is an over-reaction, but the assessment of the realities of both the hell at the front and the frivolity back home are valid. The over-reaction can be hard to take. A disenchanted volunteer told of a fellow white in the Movement who said to him: "The trouble with you is that you don't wake up every morning like I do, hating America."

Dr. Robert Coles, the Harvard psychiatrist who has studied the psyche of the southern Movement with exquisite and erudite sympathy, has written in the November 1964 issue of *Psychiatry* a study of the worst effects on the full-time workers in the civil rights front lines. He makes the point that they must fight distrust and fear from Negroes as well as white racism. He describes resulting irritability, hopelessness, loss of energy and terrible fatigue, and says: "They are clinical signs of depression. They constitute 'battle fatigue.' They indicate exhaustion, weariness, despair, frustration, and rage. They mark a crisis in the lives of those youths who experience them, and also one in the cities which may experience the results, translated into action, of such symptoms."

He goes on to suggest that the psychiatric profession can be helpful to their most difficult effort. This is the effort to maintain the "delicate equilibrium" of "trying to keep their courage and initiative while accepting the often sour lessons that come with growing older and living through unexpected and dismaying experiences. They must keep their moral initiative, maintain their ethical resolve, yet somehow avoid succumbing either to depression as an inward expression of frustration or to disorganized rage and anti-social behavior as equivalent outward forms."

We have avoided such truths about the southern Movement's most deeply involved workers, blaming them for symptoms caused by the insanity they fight, like blaming a man battling a mad dog for getting his trousers torn. So have we been willing to accept the whole rationale of non-violence without daring

to look behind it for what our knowledge of human beings will reveal. Such super-goodness and saintliness in an individual, we know, is often the mask for murderous rage that is so great he dare not show it, even, or most of all, to himself.

This, then, is the background for understanding stories like that of a youngster who two years ago I watched in one of the most beautiful exhibitions of personal, gentle loving of white taunters the Movement has known, but who during the Mississippi Summer saw one beating of a Negro too many, and screamed for weapons; the background for hearing a gentle and sensitive young man of the Movement talk with dispassion, if not satisfaction, of how Black-Belt Negroes hate whites so much that it may end in the killing of women and children; the background for understanding the sullenness, distrust, sneers, and condescension with which civil rights fighters can greet outsiders.

But there is a great danger to the individual, the Movement, and the nation in translating the insight that Mississippi represents the worst in all the nation and its history into a belief that Mississippi is the nation. Dr. Coles, in tracing an emotional cycle common to many new civil rights workers, describes a final "philosophical" adjustment where they become able to relate what they experience in the hell of racist oppression to all of life, instead of abstracting it as the meaning of life.

Too much integrity can be a neurotic paralysis. You can become so right, so uncompromising that you no longer are able to function in this wicked world.

From Radicalism to Racism?

SNCC's penchant for disorganization has to be counted among the same kind of liabilities. Disaffected Summer volunteers called it debilitating. The press is constantly confounded by it.

It goes beyond unanswered phone calls and unpredictable

actions. During last Summer there were at least three different, opposing theories current, discussed, and activated about the function of Freedom Schools. They were never reconciled. Until one understood this, and no one explained it, it was impossible to make much sense out of the many COFO publications and pronouncements about this vital program. The full propaganda value of these schools, as the elaborate demonstrations that they were of the unutterable condition of Mississippi education and the desperate needs of Negro children there, was never fully realized. Does the nation know about these conditions and needs yet, in their full, horrible meaning?

Yet another weakness of the youth wing in general is the tendency that has always been there to a certain snobbishness that is not so much racial as it is a matter of whether you've been where they've been. On one level, it is almost a cult of suffering.

But these are as nothing to the most hurtful and hurting danger to the Movement, and that is that Mississippi may after all win—not by murder and intimidation, but by the spread of the contagion of racism.

There are signs to see in the southern Movement and among the masses of people to whose grievances it gives voice, signs long evident and ignored in the North. At the mass meetings, the effort is still made (though sometimes not) to say "white segregationist," not just "the whites," when anger and bitterness come pouring out. But in private conversations, it is the man, the white man, Mister Charlie, all-inclusive. The old plea, seldom ever heeded, to the white Southerner to take each man on the basis of his worth, and not his race, incredibly, surrealistically keeps coming to mind in conversations with people of the Movement. The possibilities for success of terrorism against whites is a topic for informal discussion. Hatred often shows in eyes, in words, deeds. That it is earned hatred is not the point. It is lamentable not so much in the light of the reality Negroes face, but in the light of what the southern Movement first promised and sought—which was a suggestion of a way out of all the

trap of hostility and fear in the nation, and the world. The suggestion may never have been realistic or even right, but it was a mustering of will to try to find some new truth out of all the old good truths that are preached in the Negro churches, and the inability to muster such will for survival is one of the modern world's most frightening characteristics.

A white tells himself after an encounter in the Movement with reverse racism, "Well, it probably did him good to be able to say that, and me to know how it feels." But this would be a pitiful and puny way for the Movement to end, the Movement that marched the beautiful Negro people of the South to the edge of something better than America has yet known, and let them, and us along with them, see the Promised Land, and begin to believe in our hearts that we could get there.

(We speak of the beautiful. There is so much we could learn. I talked with a fat and creased-face Negro woman who was housing white COFO volunteers in a little Mississippi town, and she told me about her husband, how before he died, back last year when he was sick, he had gone down to the mill and gotten some scraps of beautiful cloth, yellow and red and orange and green, and had brought them to her and told her to make a quilt of them, so that when he was gone, she could spread it on her bed, and when she got in it at night, she could think of him. We can't even talk about beauty like that. It embarrasses us.)

There are still many on both sides of the color line who have not given up getting to the Promised Land. If we are to concede that, all along, the Movement ideal of non-violent, religious, redeeming love was better than America deserved, then we can begin to realize that the amount of vitality still behind the ideal among Negro Southerners is remarkable.

We can also begin to sort out the phenomena that fall short of the ideal. John Lewis, the quiet, always polite, utterly fearless chairman of SNCC, made a much whispered-about speech in the privacy of the Winter reorganization meeting which, in

effect, said that whites were welcome but that the Movement "must be black controlled, dominated and led." (If you're not black, get back.) He tied this to "the fact that we are caught up with a sense of destiny with the vast majority of colored people all over the world who are becoming conscious of their power and the role they must play in the world."

Bayard Rustin makes the distinction between such identification with Africa (Mr. Lewis and other SNCC leaders had recently returned from a visit to Guinea) and black nationalism, saying the former can be entirely healthy, and I recall a year ago listening to Mr. Lewis tell two African visitors that SNCC was as much against black nationalism as segregation, because they meant the same thing.

Robert Moses in a speech a year ago put the identification with Africa in a perspective that clarifies its meaning. He was arguing that it is fallacious to compare Negro Americans with other immigrant groups who have succeeded in the country. The Negro American, he said, does not come from the European community and tends to identify with the African community. And neither America nor the world has progressed to the point where there is a community big enough to include both. The reason for this, he seemed to be saying, is white exclusiveness, white racism. Another Negro leader, on a more earthy level, seemed to be getting at the same thing, chuckling as he did: "We're still trying to figure out if the white man's soul is worth saving."

It has also been suggested that what might on the surface appear to be reverse racism in the Movement might in reality be based on more pragmatic stratagems, part of the infighting between distinct types in such an organization as SNCC, with race irrelevant—in a sense, a manifestation of real integration. Interestingly, whether significantly or by chance, the alignment is often white women against Negro men.

Antagonisms were common between white Summer volunteers and the old-line Negro civil rights workers and, to a lesser

degree, their followers. There was fear and resentment, the feeling that better educated, more articulate whites were moving in and taking over. "Look at those fly-by-night freedom fighters bossing everybody around," a SNCC veteran summed up the feeling during Selma. The clash was more cultural than racial, and all too human. Some of the northern whites probably were insensitive to the beauty and strength of the Negro people with whom they worked. Others, however, were overwhelmed by these qualities, talking lovingly of them long after they got back home, and, ironically familiar to a Southerner, expressing love of the landscape and atmosphere and the soft, slurred speech of the South itself.

August Meier, professor of history at Roosevelt University, has suggested in a perceptive paper on the types of "true believers" in the Movement that the antagonisms are largely ones of class and orientation. Broadly, this was, before the Mississippi Summer, the resentment by lower class religious Negroes of the South of middle-class and high-achieving Northerners with beatnik, radical, and other intellectual orientations. He takes some hope from the fact that during the Mississippi Summer another type of middle-class northern youngster was coming into the Movement, one deeply committed to religious and national ideals, the same that motivate the lower class Negroes.

There is of course irony to the fact that it was this entrance of the mainstream into the white wing of the Movement which prompted the most widespread concern in the nation about intellectual and political postures of the Movement. Such concern would better have been expressed a few years earlier insofar as the whites of the Movement are concerned. It is also worth noting that after its single Summer of encounter with this mainstream of white volunteers, SNCC moved to de-emphasize the role of volunteers and of white staff members.

Class antagonism—the reaction of middle class Negroes to the COFO and Delta Ministry bias against any but the poorest being leaders—was, as much as anything else, behind a serious schism

in the Greenville, Miss., Negro community during a May 1965 effort to get jobs integrated.

* * *

Racism remains the enemy. If it really does infiltrate the southern Movement, the danger and damage will be far greater than if Communists should. If we are really convinced of the threat of either—racism or Communism—then our concern should not be to punish and destroy, or to lop off the most radical arm, but to find the ways to strengthen the Movement against both. For these were our bravest and best Americans trying to achieve overnight with action the goals of the bravest and best of American thought. If we lose them, we have indeed lost.

If these youth, as vital a part of the Movement as they have been, do show signs of alienation so deep that they are in danger of being hostile to all of America, we should be mainly worried about why. It does no good to keep repeating that the answer is to get rid of the evils in the South that have so alienated them. We keep fighting to do that, and not without success.

We can't just dismiss SNCC either, call it crazy or Communist, and forget about it. For SNCC's genius, from the sit-ins on, has been to put its body where truth is.

In the middle of an obscene Fourth of July racist "patriotic rally" in Atlanta last year, with Ross Barnett and George Wallace inflaming a crowd of lower-class whites from all over the South, SNCC sent into the grandstand full of hate a white girl in company with three Negro men. The truth of the patriotism and civilization there showed immediately as the crowd shrieked and gangs of men attacked the three Negroes, beating them over the head with heavy folded metal chairs. (SNCC was of course criticized later for provoking the savagery of that mob.)

The truths that SNCC with its bodies seems to be seeking now are in the realm of ideas. "Do I really *want* to be integrated into

a burning house," James Baldwin asked two years ago and we whites have been talking about it ever since. SNCC, by hesitating outside the door with its bodies, makes us do more than talk. It forces us to try to come to grips with what Baldwin says. Are we, indeed, a burning house?

A whole range of other ideas—from the frequently bewailed way we have crippled representative government to the legacy of McCarthyism—are similarly being translated by SNCC from abstract to emotional understanding. On the campuses, such high-flown concepts as academic freedom and the noble meaning of a university are getting similar treatment.

In the past, the Movement was right in its moral position on segregation, and its militants were right about the tactic of direct action. SNCC and other elements of the Movement may not be right at all about many of the political and social issues they are raising. But the tactic seems as valid as ever if it forces us to do more than talk about these issues, if it forces us to the kind of emotional understandings we must have if our thinking is ever to be more than sterile. Desperately, our thinking needs to be creative and capable. Because things won't ever be simple again.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
IN THE
SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

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RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
IN THE
SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

The exclusion of Negroes from the administration of justice in the state courts of the South has long been the subject of serious criticism and concern. But little attention has been given to the extent of exclusion of Negroes from the federal courts of the South.

One obvious reason is that, in the conflict between state and federal law on basic Constitutional questions of the past two decades, the state courts have with frequency appeared as the antagonist of the Negro Southerner, and the federal courts frequently as his protector.

This protection has come, however, largely through the overriding decisions of federal appellate courts. As federal jurisdiction is extended, the role of the federal courts becomes ever more vital to the national effort to achieve full justice. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 enlarges the responsibility of the federal courts, including district courts, many of which in the past have been highly protective of segregation. The voting bill now before Congress seeks to by-pass these courts. New federal legislation to protect citizens against the Klan and other dispensers of death and ruin will, however, almost certainly increase the reliance on the district courts of the South for the protection of individual life and liberty.

Pressures to move civil rights issues out of the streets and into the courts continue. The question has to be asked (and it has always had its pertinency in criminal cases) -- what kinds of courts will handle them?

The federal court system in the South, guided by the Supreme Court and the Courts of Appeals, has slowly demonstrated the ability of a frankly white-dominated institution to deal justly with the broad, crucial questions of race. But now, not just the logic and principles of these very decisions but all the practical understanding of human dealings that is implied in the term "jury of his peers," require a closer look at the racial composition of the courts themselves, as administrators of justice to the individual as well as guardians of principle.

This report deals with employment practices and jury composition of the southern federal courts. It is based on such documentation as there is available plus interviews with lawyers practicing in the federal courts of each state.

States covered by the survey are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas in the Fifth Circuit; North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia in the Fourth; Tennessee in the Sixth, and Arkansas in the Eighth Circuit. Each state contains from two to four U. S. District Courts. Data on the Courts of Appeals refer only to their offices and operations within these eleven states.

Clerical records of the federal government do not designate race of court employees, and there are no compilations of statistics on racial composition of juries. No systematic examination of each court in each state was attempted. Respondents for the most part relied on memory and general knowledge. Results of such a survey are not definitive or finally authoritative; there is room for minor errors and oversights. But such a survey does reveal general

patterns, and it is with these that we are concerned. If more detailed and precise research is stimulated, that is good; but the immediate purpose is a new awareness of the need to improve the situation.

I. Employment

The broad patterns regarding the role of Negroes in the federal courts under study in this survey can be summed up in the following statistical table:

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
Circuit Court Judges	12*	12	0
District Court Judges	65	65	0
Referees in Bankruptcy	55	55	0
U. S. Commissioners	253	253	0
U. S. Clerks	28	28	0
Deputy U. S. Clerks	321	321	0
U. S. Attorneys	29	29	0
Assistant U. S. Attorneys	158	153	5
Jury Commissioners	109	109	0
U. S. Marshals	29	29	0
Deputy U. S. Marshals	165	156	9
Secretarial and Clerical	364	**	**

*This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuits. The numbers respectively are three, seven, one, and one.

**Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number, from observation, is quite small.

The above table may possibly overlook some Negroes in some positions. But it cannot be far from the exact numerical situation.

The circuit court and district court judges are appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of

the Senate. So are the United States attorneys and marshals. The clerks of the respective courts are appointed by the judges. The judges also appoint U. S. commissioners, jury commissioners, and the referees in bankruptcy. The clerks select their own deputies and clerical assistants, subject to approval of the judges. Assistant U. S. attorneys are appointed by the Attorney General of the United States. The Attorney General authorizes marshals to appoint deputy marshals.

Exclusion of Negroes from the top positions in the system obviously has the practical effect of virtually eliminating them from lesser positions. The influence on appointments and hiring by southern office-holders through political party patronage channels can't be overlooked.

Of the nine Negro deputy marshals there are two in Alabama, one in Mississippi, two in North Carolina, one in South Carolina, two in Tennessee, one in Virginia. Of the five assistant United States attorneys, one is in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, two in Texas, one in Virginia. This is at best tokenism.

In no state are Negroes serving in the positions of importance and highest responsibility except in token numbers as deputy marshals and assistant U. S. attorneys, and in four states - - Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana - - in none of these positions at all.

In lesser positions, a Negro clerical worker was noted in Alabama, a bailiff in both Florida and Georgia, court criers in Virginia and South Carolina, and two secretaries in Texas. Again, some may have been overlooked, but not enough to change the general picture.

In nearly every state, employment of Negroes in custodial jobs

was noted. Use of Negro employees designated as "criers" or "messengers" as valets, chauffeurs, and the like was reported. In Georgia, such an employee's duties were described as helping the judge with his robes, bringing his books, and driving for him.

A respondent in Alabama said: "If it were not for the lone Negro deputy marshal, the District Court in Birmingham would look like the County Courthouse." A respondent in Virginia, when asked if he were describing Negro employment in addition to a deputy marshall and two criers as "negligible," replied: "non-existent." Instances were cited in Tennessee, Texas, and Georgia of Negroes turning down appointments or jobs. Strenuous opposition was encountered to appointment of the three Negroes in responsible jobs in North Carolina. This came from various sources, including political ones.

II. JURY SERVICE

Negroes are called and do serve on petit and grand juries in the southern federal courts. Estimating and evaluating the degree to which they do is of course not an exact science. One respondent's "tokenism" might be another's "substantial numbers" or another's "fair amount."

But for the very most part, lawyers interviewed in each of the eleven states were not satisfied that Negroes are serving on juries to the extent that they should be.

In Alabama, a typical jury panel was described as five or six Negroes among 110; Negroes occasionally serve on grand juries. An Arkansas respondent said he and others estimated that out of double panels of 40 to 50 persons, three or four might be Negroes, and out of a single panel of 24, one or two might be Negroes. In most

cases in Arkansas, lawyers consider Negroes as "ciphers" who will go along with the majority, but they are said to dismiss Negroes when opposing counsel has been active in civil rights. There is a general understanding in Arkansas, a respondent said, of the need to avoid the appearance of systematic exclusion. In Florida, one sees "as many Negroes as women" on jury panels; their service was termed "more than token," but less than reflective of Negro population. Negroes were said to be called "fairly" for jury duty in Louisiana, but more than average numbers are eliminated by challenge or excuse from serving on the jury. The same was said of South Carolina. Mississippi's situation was described as "token." So was Tennessee's, Georgia's, and North Carolina's, with recognition in the latter of some improving efforts. In Texas, the estimate ranged from "token" to "substantial numbers," with more of a conflict of opinion among respondents over whether enough Negroes serve than in other states. A Virginia respondent said that from five to seven Negroes might be on a panel of 30, from two to five on a grand jury. A respondent said the number serving on federal juries throughout the state is "not sufficient."

The respondents described two problems involved in getting satisfactory numbers of Negroes on federal juries. One is whether or not enough Negroes are called for jury service in the first place. The other is whether among those called, even if it is a "fair" number, enough Negroes get through the various processes of attrition to do what really counts -- actually serve on a jury.

One often cited reason for a smaller number of Negroes called for jury duty is the lack of knowledge of the Negro community on

the part of the mostly white court personnel. (All southern jury commissioners are white.) Prospective jurors are generally selected by a procedure described by the Judicial Conference of the United States in The Jury System in the Federal Courts, September, 1960. It involves getting persons of substance to recommend those who might be selected. Often, only white persons make these recommendations. Even the Negroes who make them might not be persons of knowledgeable acquaintanceship in the Negro community. They are often the Negroes who happen to come into contact with white persons.

A Tennessee respondent said officials go to persons such as the presidents of chambers of commerce for names for jury lists. Use of state jury lists was reported in parts of Georgia and Virginia. Use of voter registration lists -- which are notoriously low in the number of Negroes -- was reported in Mississippi.

Some respondents singled out individual district courts where genuinely conscientious efforts seem to be made, with varying degrees of success, to get representative numbers of Negroes on the jury lists. These included the Middle District of Florida, the Atlanta Division of the Northern District of Georgia, the Middle District of North Carolina.

The lawyers interviewed were inclined to attribute the high amount of attrition among prospective Negro jurors mostly to racial circumstances, partly to other causes.

Peremptory challenges by opposing attorneys account for some of the attrition, particularly where the case involves Negroes. Negroes, in the view of defense attorneys, value Negro life and welfare, it seems, more highly than whites. Another reason often cited is economic, and it applies to large numbers of whites as

well. Hourly wage earners (unless they have a union contract or other agreement guaranteeing compensatory pay) and persons of low income generally are unable to give up the working time (and pay) that jury service entails. So they get excused if they can. Negroes in disproportionately large numbers, compared with whites, are hourly wage earners and low-income workers in the South. A respondent in Mississippi commented that most Negro hourly workers there could probably earn more serving on a federal jury.

* * * * * *

The broad findings of the study show that a Negro involved in federal court action in the South could go from the beginning of the case to the end without seeing any black faces unless they are in the court audience, or he happens to notice the man sweeping the floor.

The problem of the personnel of the courts seems easily and obviously remediable. More Negro appointments and hiring are needed. There are reports of political and other opposition when conscientious efforts are made to accomplish this. There are also reports of instances where Negroes turned down appointments or jobs. Negro attorneys are in short supply in the South, but the survey does not indicate by any means that their number or that of other qualified persons has been fully called upon.

The courts seem out of line with the fair employment hiring practices of federal agencies, not to mention the spirit and philosophy of the civil rights statute.

But the employment practices of the court system is not the only, or even the largest, issue. The responsibility for the appointment of federal judges and the U. S. attorneys is the

President's. At its 1964 Annual Meeting (November 20-21) the Southern Regional Council adopted and conveyed to the President a resolution which said in part:

> It is our strong conviction that only men of the highest professional competence and the fullest devotion to the declared principles of the Constitution should be charged with the judicial responsibility of enforcing federal laws in the South. It is our further conviction that no appointment contrary to these qualifications, however strongly urged by state or Congressional spokesmen, can satisfy the new politics of the South. In a situation where plain talk is desirable, we would report as plainly as we can that the progressive leadership of the South, both Negro and white, would find the appointment or promotion of any judge of well-authenticated segregationist views to be a severe blow to regional, national, and democratic interests.

The problem of jury service is more complex. If the impressions of respondents in this survey are correct, then a great many more Negroes need to be called and to serve on southern federal juries. The widespread reports of nonuse of low income and hourly income workers on southern juries raise questions beyond racial considerations. One may not only ask if it is possible under present circumstances to get a federal jury of peers for people who are not white, but also for persons who, regardless of race, are not middle-class.

Proposals have been made to select jury lists much as public opinion poll samples are chosen -- at random in such numbers from lists of all qualified persons so as to get a true cross-section of the community in terms of the various socio-economic factors, including race and income level. Some such fresh approach seems needed.

There is an urgency to this. The goal of nondiscriminatory selection of juries is to assure that only the facts and evidence of the case will affect outcome of a trial. It would be just as much a tragedy if public clamor and legal maneuvering over exclusion of Negroes from juries were to become a factor in the outcome of a trail as when this results from discriminatory bias in the composition of a jury.

Reform of the basic institutions of American society is compelled by the logic of the civil rights movement. What began as an effort to correct the most glaring inequities of racial discrimination requires that the general structure of inequity be overhauled, looking toward the ideal of liberty and justice for all.

BLACK BELT SCHOOLS:

Beyond Desegregation

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM
NO. 4

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

BLACK BELT SCHOOLS:

Beyond Desegregation

By

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THE AUTHORS are professional educators. Each was a faculty member at Emory University in the Division of Teacher Education when this report was prepared. Dr. Donald Ross Green and Dr. James A. Jordan, both associate professors of education, and Dr. W. J. Bridgeman, assistant professor of education, still teach at Emory, Atlanta, Ga. Dr. Clay V. Brittain, former assistant professor of education at Emory, recently moved to Washington, D. C., to work for the U.S. Office of Education. Their provocative findings and suggestions for improving education in rural schools go beyond the problems of consolidation and desegregation and make interesting reading.

Samuel L. Adams

Director of Research

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In the Spring of 1964 we spent a number of days visiting the school systems of a county in Georgia and a county in South Carolina. We wanted to look at examples of southern rural school systems. For many years the schools in the large cities of the nation have struggled with the educational deficiencies imposed on them by migrants from the rural South. We went to look at the roots of this problem. We went knowing then, as we know now, that large numbers of people from such areas grow up without an adequate education. We also knew before we started that school segregation did not help the situation; in fact, desegregation of the schools was in our minds as a certainly proper and a probably helpful step. Unquestionably what we saw in these two counties was influenced by our preconceptions.

Still, we were strongly impressed in two ways. First, in both school systems large numbers of intelligent, energetic, and sensitive people are performing remarkably well and in a professional fashion. We, therefore, do not believe that if one could put an appropriate number of the teachers and administrators drawn from one of our better suburban districts into these two systems, many of the school problems would thereby be solved. Secondly, the feature of life in these communities that struck me most forcefully was the dominant role played by race and segregation in the lives of all. Even the two of us raised in the South were impressed all over again with the salience of race in the thoughts, actions, and patterns of life of the citizens, white and Negro alike, in these two counties.

These two impressions have been the leading influences in what we see as the educational problems facing rural areas of this sort and what we think might be done about these problems. The first impression has led us to propose drastic changes in the arrangement of the school system. It seemed clear to us that, if people of the calibre we encountered in these county school systems are unable to do any better than they are doing, it is not possible to achieve the desired improvements in chil-

dren's learning by doing more adequately the same sort of things. It seemed evident to us that some basic changes in the system itself would be necessary to accomplish much. Our second strong impression suggested what the first step in this direction needs to be. We concluded that the starting point for improvement of education in such communities must be the complete elimination of segregation. It seems to us that these two basic propositions have not been fully faced by those concerned with education, either in communities of this sort or anywhere else in the country.

To be sure, the situation has changed dramatically since the Spring of 1964. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 mean that formal desegregation of school systems in counties of this sort is beginning to take place and that relatively large amounts of federal funds are now available to these systems. These are helpful steps, but by themselves they are not enough.

It is our purpose in this report to explain why they are not enough and especially why, after formal desegregation, ordinary school improvements are still likely to prove inadequate. To this end our discussion will include brief descriptions of the conditions of living and of education we found in the counties visited; these examples are offered in the hope that our discussion of the nature of the basic educational problem will be clearer. Finally, again using the two school systems for illustration, we shall offer some suggestions for changes in the standard pattern of schooling which we believe indicate the kind of alterations conditions in the rural South make necessary.

Inadequate education is a prominent feature of life for most people growing up in the rural South; so is poverty, so is segregation. We have asserted that the elimination of segregation is the first step toward making the education adequate. But this simple assertion does not dispose of the matter because segregation is not a simple matter; it is complicated, and it is a particularly difficult fact to come to terms with in education. Segregation doesn't just mean that white children go to "white" schools with white teachers (but Negro janitors), while Negro children go to "black" schools with Negro teachers (and no janitors). Segregation creeps into the fiber of the society and

culture within which education as a process takes place. There are many practices which could be cited as part of the general fact of segregation, but it isn't always clear just how these practices affect education—only that they do, directly or indirectly.

What does it mean for education when Negro adults, regardless of status and personal attainment, are all called by their first names by all the members of the white community they meet? What does it mean for education if there are no Negro doctors or Negro lawyers in a community on the one hand, and no white janitors or white maids on the other? What does it mean for education if life is so arranged that to the casual, uninformed visitor, the group which in fact constitutes the majority in a community appears to be a tiny and unimportant minority? What does it mean for education when the language used in all the books studied by a child is not the same as that used by anyone like him? What does it mean when all the pictures in the books, about both present and past times, are of members of another group?

To put it another way, education always takes place in a context. If a community being served by a school is largely lower middle class, then this fact tells something about the kinds of values and the kinds of expectations children bring to school with them. It tells something about the kinds of things that parents are likely to want for their children, and are likely to expect the school to provide. If 50% of a high school's graduates go on to college, then certain kinds of educational practices are obviously more appropriate than others. If 70% of the children who leave high school go into industrial jobs, then certain other kinds of practices are called for.

In rural southern communities, these ordinary difficulties are multiplied by the fact of segregation. One can expect some of the white students in the community to return as doctors or lawyers, and the like. But what of the Negro students? The manners and mores of the great middle class are perhaps obviously appropriate for the white students, but are they for the Negroes? Every student must be taught the responsibilities of good citizenship, such as the responsibility of voting, but are Negroes expected to vote? Whatever facet of the community

one chooses to study in order to relate it to educational practice, the picture is complicated by the fact of segregation, and if the full intellectual development of all children is the goal of education, then segregation is inappropriate. Segregation is corrosive of the basic processes that make it possible for education to take place.

For example, a child who asks questions about the society around him must be answered honestly, for his full intellectual growth. In fact a child needs the stimulation to ask such questions as well as honest answers to the questions to attain this growth. The answers one can give to a Negro child in a fully segregated society amount either to the assertion that he is inferior, or that he is being treated unjustly. A child who accepts the notion that he is inferior loses much of his drive to achieve. A child who believes he is being treated unjustly is angry and frustrated, so that while he will have strong drives, he will not learn to think well or clearly. Thus, either answer will arouse feelings that will thereafter interfere with intellectual growth. The remaining alternative, and probably the course adopted most often, is to prevent the children from asking questions. This, also, interferes with adequate education.

An analogous difficulty is created for the white child. In such communities he also is not encouraged to ask questions about segregation and certainly it must often happen that when he does the answers given are not accurate, although on occasion they may be honest as the teacher sees it. These conditions also are less than positive contributions to intellectual growth. However, for the white child, in contrast to the Negro, there is the encouragement and stimulation to intellectual growth that can come from the belief in one's superior ability to learn. Probably more serious are the distorted views of his responsibilities as a citizen that develop as he learns to ignore the incongruities between the practices of segregation and the statements about equality and freedom he is asked to learn.

In short, it is immediately, painfully, and unmistakably obvious that in southern rural communities Negroes are assigned an inferior role, and it follows directly that for Negro children especially, proper intellectual growth is impossible. Segregation is both the symbol of this situation and the means for its main-

tenance. Consequently, we do not believe a proper education for any child, white or Negro, can be provided in a segregated system.

But school desegregation is only one of the changes needed to eliminate segregation as an influence on education, and it is beyond the scope of this report (and our ability) to discuss the ways of accomplishing legal desegregation. Our suggestions are designed to help solve the educational problems that remain after this necessary condition to intellectual development has been established.

This does not mean that we shall avoid further consideration of the fact of segregation. As a pervasive and dominant feature of life, its role in education requires repeated attention. We shall assume, however, that the educational practices we are proposing will take place in school systems in which all concerned treat race as irrelevant to educational decisions. Recognizing that this assumption is currently contrary to fact let us turn to our second proposition. It is that legal desegregation is only the first step and that in rural Black Belt areas profound educational problems will remain. The nature of these problems can best be understood by looking more closely at the life of these areas.

CHAPTER II

Two Rural Counties

A. *Geography and Economics*

Burke County is just south of Augusta on the Savannah River. As counties go in Georgia, Burke is large; it is roughly triangular with each side extending for about 40 miles. While not flat, there are no large hills and most of the land is arable. There is one central town, Waynesboro, in which about one-fourth of the county's 20,000 residents live. The remaining three-fourths are spread throughout the county in such a way that there are few clusters of population sufficient to support schools. There are a half-dozen much smaller towns scattered around the county, several of them near the apexes of the

triangle; these towns are rapidly dying, and in some cases, are already too small to justify a school of their own.

This dispersion creates problems of several kinds. It complicates the sheer mechanical problem of getting children together in sufficient numbers for a sufficient length of time to have a full school day. It means that many children spend unreasonable lengths of time getting to and from school, and, for many of the children, that contact with other children outside their own families is largely limited to the chances schools (and buses) provide.

These facts are important because children probably do more to educate each other than schools as such do, which is one reason why it is difficult to raise the educational level of a community by "good" schools or lower it by "bad" schools. We do not mean that a group of children without a school would learn what they would in school. We mean that by acting as models for each other, by setting standards and by supporting or squelching each other's interests and expectations, the children in the classes of all but the most rare teachers set both the upper and lower limits of achievement. The most strenuous efforts of teachers, principals, and superintendents rarely alter these limits. For the most part, the time and effort spent going to and from schools is not a very constructive force in children's education. Long rides in crowded, noisy buses do not provide learning conditions conducive to academic progress. These particular educational problems are probably characteristic of most rural school systems, although they undoubtedly vary in degree.

The economic conditions in Burke County also create educational problems.[1] Historically, the county depended on agriculture (principally cotton) for its economic health, and agricultural activities are important sources of livelihood still, especially for Negroes. The county has a few small industries which do not depend upon agriculture. These industries have not greatly increased in number or size in recent years, and have not been able to counteract the problems created by the shrinking number of jobs in agriculture; they mostly employ only

[1]What follows describes the facts to be found in Tables 1, 2, and 3. For some, reading the tables will suffice.

whites, the group least in need of job opportunities. Cotton production was once an adequate basis for a plantation economy employing many people. Twenty-five years ago, farming alone employed more people than are in the total labor force today. But while there is still substantial cotton acreage, it has proved to be an increasingly inadequate source of income for the county.

The amount of land being farmed has declined a bit (10% since 1945), but the number of farms has declined even more (50% since 1945), because the size of farms has increased (84% since 1945). Burke County has always had some large plantations. It still does. But for a long time Burke also had many small farms, a number of which were owned by Negroes. The average size of farms is increasing partly because these Negro farmers are being put out of business. The declining number of Negro farm operators indicates that the Negro is among the first victims of the complex and mounting pressures on small farmers. Heavy machinery and technically trained personnel are increasingly necessary for successful farming. All of these phenomena, then, point to the same thing: a dramatic reduction in the need for unskilled farm labor, a fact which means in a place like Burke that there is no longer much need for Negro labor.

Table 1 shows these and other economic facts about Burke County. One obvious consequence of these conditions is widespread poverty, especially among Negroes. As shown in Table 2, the 1960 census data indicate the median family income of Burke Negroes was approximately $1,200 a year, less than half of the $3,000 per year now commonly cited as the minimum needed by the typical family in the United States. Only 11% of the Negro families in Burke County had in 1960 incomes of $3,000 or more per year, while two-thirds of the white families had incomes meeting or exceeding this minimum. In short, a large portion of Negroes in Burke County live in conditions of severe poverty and have little prospect of change as long as they remain in the county. There are also substantial numbers of whites who live in conditions of poverty, but their prospect of a better future is not quite so plainly unattainable.

It is not surprising that the Negro population in Burke has decreased more than 18% between 1950 and 1960, while the white population has remained fairly stable (see Table 3). Not too many years ago, Negroes made up more than 80% of the population in Burke County. Today, about two-thirds of the population is Negro, but among adults the ratio of whites to Negroes is beginning to approach 1 to 1. It should be noted that not only does this suggest that Negroes tend to have larger families than the white residents of the county, but it also reflects the fact that a great many Negro parents leave their children in the county while they go to cities to work. A crude survey taken in Edgefield County suggests that approximately 25% of the Negro children in the schools had one or both parents working and living somewhere else (usually in the North). While the parents migrate, they frequently let the county educate their children. Migration, then, relieves the county of less of the educational burden than the migration rate suggests.

Edgefield County is across the Savannah River in South Carolina about as far north of Augusta as Burke is south of Augusta. Like Burke, it is roughly triangular, but a bit smaller, with each side running roughly 30 rather than 40 miles. In one sense, it is even smaller than that size indicates, since much of the northern border of the county is part of Sumter National Forest, and is thinly populated. The county has three sizeable towns: Edgefield, Johnston, and Trenton. While Trenton is shrinking, both Edgefield and Johnston are reasonably vigorous communities more than holding their own in size (i.e. slight growth, as in Waynesboro). Another important difference is that while Edgefield was also once primarily a cotton producing county, it is now a peach producing area, and much of the land is in peach orchards. The agricultural problems of the county seem slightly less severe than those of Burke County, but a glance at Table 1 will show that the changes have been about the same with respect to number of farms, their size, and the role played by Negro operators. Exactly as in Burke, the number of farms has decreased dramatically while average size has increased, and it has been the Negro operator who has been

squeezed the most. In Edgefield as in Burke, agriculture is no longer the principal kind of employment.

Unlike Burke, however, employment opportunities for Negroes in industry have increased. The number of such jobs is still not large, but the difference in direction of change is probably one reason why Edgefield has lost less of its Negro population (see Tables 2 and 3).

Perhaps the most prominent difference is the use the citizens of Edgefield County make of employment opportunities outside the county. For example, a perceptible number of citizens of the community work at the Savannah River Project, a large nearby Atomic Energy Commission installation. Burke County, directly across the river from the project (but the nearest bridge is in Augusta), has few residents who work at the project, and has at least some prominent citizens who are pleased rather than irritated at this lack of involvement with the federal government. In Edgefield, both whites and Negroes find work outside the county, not only at the Savannah River Project but in Aiken, Augusta, and in the counties east and north of Edgefield. Nevertheless, while Negroes have not been totally excluded from industrial jobs in Edgefield, to date at least, industrial employment has not been a substantial solution to their problems. Income of the people in Edgefield, while a little better than in Burke, still puts a substantial number of whites and most of the Negroes in the poverty-stricken category. The median family income among Negroes in Edgefield, as Table 2 indicates, was approximately $1,600 a year. This is severe poverty. The consequences with respect to population have been much the same in Edgefield as in Burke, the Negro population having declined about 10% between 1950 and 1960. Furthermore, the white population declined by about 3% as well. Back in 1920, the Negroes were about three-quarters of the population in Edgefield County; now they are barely more than half. The rate of Negro emigration from Edgefield in proportion to the total population, however, has decreased in recent years, compared with the 1930's and 1940's.

In both Burke and Edgefield Counties, and in counties similar to them, unless there are dramatic changes in trends, large numbers of children will continue living and going to

school under conditions of severe poverty, with little prospect of bettering themselves in their home communities. Most of those who do succeed in getting educated will leave home. The prospects for those who stay are dim indeed among the Negroes. A fair number of the better educated and more successful white youths will also find it advantageous to leave these counties, as they, too, have been doing.

The consequences for education are many. These affect Negro and white students somewhat differently. If a Negro student and his parents are to see that education is a path to an adequate livelihood as an adult, they must recognize that the student is preparing to live somewhere else. In other words, they must have enough foresight and enough knowledge of the world to understand what is needed in other parts of the country. Generally speaking, such knowledge and foresight come through education. On the other hand, the white student, although he may also see greater opportunities outside of his county, can see that he probably can make an adequate living at home, provided he acquires an appropriate education. For whites, education provides immediate visible opportunities; for Negroes, education provides the only possible opportunity, but it is less visible. This lack of visibility is only one of the reasons why the educational efforts of the school systems are not very successful, and why segregation stymies educational progress.

One way of describing this situation is to say that for the Negro attempting to live in his home, neither education nor anything else leads anywhere. Essentially, it is a situation of "no hope." This problem's solution clearly involves recommendations that go far beyond the field of education.

There are no educational recommendations that will be sufficient even to attack the problems of "no hope" in education, because these problems stem from the function of education in a society. What good will imaginatively conceived vocational education programs be if there is no place in society for the use of skills developed? What good will supplementary educational services be if education itself fits an individual to live in a social, cultural, and economic milieu that simply does not exist? Educational recommendations cannot have their proper effect unless something is done to allow the *use* of edu-

cation by all members of society. In order for education to have its desired effect, the problem of giving hope to education must be addressed and solved *by the community*. Fundamentally, this means that the community must display to the school that educational accomplishment entitles one to social, cultural, and economic rewards. The rural communities of the Black Belt South do not do this, and until and unless they do, plans, energies, and money poured into their schools will do little to solve their basic educational problems.

This means that Negroes must be allowed to compete openly for jobs, and that there must be jobs; it means that cultural opportunities must be made available to all who want them and are ready to appreciate them, and that there must *be* cultural opportunities; it means that social interaction must become a function of natural factors such as temperament, education, concern, and interest. In sum there are no *educational* recommendations we can make that will restore hope to education; to alter the function of education for the Negro community means to make the good things of a free society available to all men.

B. *The School*

At first glance, the schools of Burke County appear to be much like those anywhere. The buildings and the classrooms, ranging from old to new, look much like those one would encounter anywhere in the United States. Of the roughly 7,000 children of school age in the county, about 4,500 Negro and 1,800 white are enrolled in the schools; apparently, some 700-800 children, mostly Negro, are not in school. The white population is served by three high schools and five elementary schools, while the Negro population is served by one high school and six elementary schools. Average daily attendance of students in the system is fair, but is higher among the white (88%) than among the Negro (78%) students. This difference is at least partly because some Negro children do not enter school in the fall until after crops are harvested. Both the curriculum and the general arrangements of the schools appear fairly typical of what one might find in any school.** The

**For a summary of educational statistics, see Table 4.

system is probably not unlike those in the rural South generally but, if anything, somewhat better than the average of these systems. In fact, given the basic conditions in which the system functions, it can be called a good system.

We have already described two of these conditions: the severe and widespread poverty and the low and decreasing density of population in most of the county. A third condition is partly but not entirely a consequence of the first. This is the fact that monies for school operations in Burke County are very nearly at the minimum the state permits. About 88% of these school funds come from the state (1963-64 data), and what little the county raises over and above that required by the state is spent for the teachers in unconsolidated white schools that the state will not support. In spite of the extensive poverty in the county, it could clearly spend more for education. Per pupil expenditures for the county in average daily attendance figures were slightly over $265 in 1963-64. The corresponding figures for Atlanta, for Georgia as a whole, and for the entire country were $380, $295, and $460, respectively.

The fourth and last condition is—as of 1964-65 at least—total segregation, the importance of which we have already discussed briefly. Actually, there are two parallel school systems with an entirely white superstructure. The parallelism is not perfect, since the Negro system is not only twice as large but is fully consolidated and in fairly new but poorly equipped buildings. The Negro high school is about as well equipped as the white high schools. Most of these structures were built shorly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The white schools are not fully consolidated, are only partly in modern buildings, but are, with the exception noted, somewhat better equipped and more adequately staffed (numerically, at least) than the Negro schools. Segregation is, of course, a universal fact of life in this county, and it should be noted that the discrepancies favoring the white schools over the Negro schools are far smaller than the discrepancies in almost all other aspects of life.

Within the limits of these conditions, it is fair to rate the school system a pretty good one. Despite its shortcomings, the physical facilities are not markedly poor for American schools

(although the libraries are); the paper qualifications of the school personnel are at the state average; and the children do somewhat better academically than some data on Georgia children indicate as state average. Table 5 shows some of these data in the form of average lag in grade placement scores of Georgia children relative to national norms. Burke County children appear to do a bit better than this; white high school children are close to the national norms, and it appears probable that the Negro children, though considerably lower than the national norm, are a bit above the state average for Negroes. Dropout rates and progress through school also meet state averages insofar as it is possible to get hard data on this matter; neither the state nor the county keeps records adequate for fully assessing this point. However, the age-grade enrollment figures shown in Table 6 seem to indicate that the rate at which children progress through the grades is much like that found elsewhere in the state. Finally, it should be carefully noted that the system has its quota of able, competent, and industrious school personnel; all things considered, perhaps more than its share in the Negro system.

Obviously, even within the social and economic framework given, improvements are possible. Consolidation could be completed; more local money could be found; libraries could be developed; and so on indefinitely. But the same sort of statement could be made about almost any school system. For those who like the status quo in the community and especially those interested in maintaining total segregation and minimum expenditure for school operation, the system is satisfactory. In the white community, such satisfaction is a common, perhaps dominant, feeling. There are, of course, some white citizens who want improvements in the white schools, but they do not appear to be an important segment of the community. Perhaps a few of these same people, but not many of them, are dissatisfied with the conditions in the Negro schools.

Among the Negro population, dissatisfaction with the schools is probably not common either. In fact, for large numbers of the Negroes in this county the schools are better than they really believe is necessary. While among the Negro school personnel there is some dissatisfaction with conditions, many

of them are pleased because conditions are vastly better than they were only a few short years ago. It would be difficult to maintain that any substantial proportion of the Negro community is unhappy with the schools, especially since it appears doubtful that there are many outside the professional personnel who are aware of the shortcomings that exist.

To repeat, within the framework of the basic conditions outlined, the school system is performing well and to the satisfaction of the people being served, and we suspect that few school systems working within familiar conditions do much better. Let us look more closely, however, at what this means. Taking the white schools first, although they serve a clientele well above the average of the county socially, economically, and intellectually, their students do not typically fall into an above-average group on a national basis. Only about 40% graduate from high school, and of these only two-thirds go to college; even this relatively privileged minority in the county, i.e., the white citizens, do not contribute their share of developed talent to the nation. Only so long as Burke County can maintain its relative isolation will this white system prove satisfactory even to the county itself.

Clearly, however, the white schools are not where the serious problems in the county's educational system lie, in any immediate sense. They are to be found instead in the Negro schools and in the Negro community. Problems here are very serious indeed. These schools, like most in Georgia, do far better than they did a few short years ago but, still, fewer than 40% of the students reach grade ten, and only about one in seven graduate from high school (see Table 6). When it is recognized that for these Negro children in Burke, as almost anywhere else in similar areas, a high school diploma represents, on the average, a level of academic and intellectual development far short of the typical tenth grade student in the United States (see Table 5) the seriousness of this problem can be seen. It appears probable that among the 400-450 Negro children of a given age in the county, fewer than 20 will ever develop intellectually and academically to a point where they might be called average in this nation. Of about 4,500 school children, 4,200 must be classified as academically retarded or

slow by the end of their school careers. This appalling fact is evidently characteristic of the rural South.

Although there are some differences, the similarities between Burke's schools and those of Edgefield are more marked than the differences. Those differences that exist are not large. The white schools in Edgefield County seem a little more open to the world, and somewhat more intellectually diverse and stimulating. Strom Thurmond High School in Edgefield is not only well equipped, but reflects an attempt to incorporate new ideas in school planning into its structure. The new Waynesboro High School in Burke County is much less well equipped, and does not show signs of such an attempt. Perhaps another symptom, or perhaps a cause, of this difference is the fact that the white high schools in Edgefield were recently consolidated in spite of an ancient football rivalry. The Negro schools are fully consolidated, a little less well equipped than the Negro schools in Burke County, and more than in Burke Negro schoolmen seemed committed to working within the current framework and to not attempting any serious alteration of the prospects of their students. To repeat, these differences are not large, and are, of course, mainly impressions. The accomplishments of both school systems are similar, whether one is talking about Negro children or white, and we believe that both of these school systems are at least as good as most similar rural systems. We must also emphasize that whatever criticism we might make of these schools—and obviously many are possible—the thing that sets them apart from others in this country is not their physical arrangements, their curricula, their books, or even the professional characteristics of their teachers. What is different is the product.

We suspect many people will find this assertion hard to accept, since it is part of the widely believed American educational mythology that all educational deficiencies can be attributed to poor teaching. This is false.* We are not claiming, of course, that these schools are staffed by the cream of the crop, and we do not deny that better teachers, better books, libraries, and other facilities might, here as everywhere else,

*For a discussion of this point see Green, D. R., *Educational Psychology*, Prentice-Hall, 1964.

improve matters—a little at least, and maybe even a lot. But we do not believe that achievement scores of the sort shown in Table 5 can be explained this way, if for no other reason than that these schools and these teachers are not very different from those to be found elsewhere. Many cities which pay high salaries and which have adequate equipment have whole schools of students who perform no better than these children, probably for many of the same reasons, most of which depend on who the children are. The reason is plain. As we noted earlier, education takes place in a cultural context. All over this country in communities in which children are "disadvantaged"—in city slums, on Indian reservations, among migrant workers—similar achievement scores are found. The currently popular term used to describe this phenomenon in educational circles is "cultural deprivation."

Giving it a name does not solve the problem or even explain its nature. The phenomenon has drawn a great deal of attention in recent years, focusing largely on the slums of large cities. But it is not just a problem of the cities. It is not just a problem of segregation or of poverty, and it can involve a majority of the children in a community. The serious and widespread deficiencies in the educational systems of the rural South cannot be readily solved within a standard framework. The schools of a county like Burke or Edgefield could be rather easily made to be like those of one of our "good" suburban systems in all respects but one, because they are not very different now. But they cannot be made "just like" because the students are different, they belong to a different culture, and the "standard" American school is ill-suited to their needs.

This matter has been the subject of some research, but much remains to be learned in spite of the recent attention it has been getting. Although current knowledge is largely derived from research among children in city slums, it provides some clues as to what kinds of educational procedure might be effective in a rural setting.

CHAPTER III

Cultural Deprivation*

Many children in the rural Black Belt, particularly Negro children, can be classified as "culturally deprived." We assert that it is for this reason that school is so relatively unsuccessful among these children.

What do we mean (and what do we not mean) when we say that some individual is "culturally deprived"? Broadly speaking, we mean that there have been omissions and deficiencies in the background of the individual so that in comparison with the "typical" individual in the culture under consideration he has had little opportunity to acquire the knowledge, skills, and abilities needed for successful functioning in society. In particular, then, we are asserting that the skills and abilities, the knowledge and information, and, to some extent, the values that the children of the very poor rural Southerner learn in their childhood at home, especially if they are Negro, do not provide an adequate foundation for their schooling.

Note that we are not saying that such children do not acquire any knowledge, ability, or values at home. However, there is no doubt that regardless of what these children do learn at home, they do not learn—or do not learn well—those things that the standard school procedures and patterns of organization make it necessary that children know in order to progress successfully in school.

In all groups to which the label "culturally deprived" has been applied, the children start school with marked language

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*The material of this section is our interpretation of the research on the topic of cultural deprivation. We have not cited this research directly but references to most of it can be found in one or more of the following:

Bloom, B. S., Davis, A., and Hess, R., *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation*. New York, 1965.

Green, D. R., *Educational Psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1964.

Passow, H. (ed.), *Education in Depressed Areas*. New York. 1963.

Reissman, F., *The Culturally Deprived Child*. New York, 1962.

For those interested in pursuing the language problem the following two references will be more helpful than the preceding four:

Bernstein, B., "Social Class and Linguistic Development: A Theory of Social Learning," in Halsey, A. H. *et al.* (eds.), *Education, Economy and Society*. Glencoe, Ill., 1961.

Loban, W. A., *The Language of Elementary School Children*. National Council of Teachers of English, 1963.

deficits. These deficiencies usually create difficulties in school work immediately, because language skills are needed for learning to read and most schools make reading the first and foremost order of business. The child who cannot succeed reasonably promptly in learning to read almost always faces continuous failure from that point on and may quite realistically lose hope of ever having any real school success even if he does gradually learn to read a bit.

The seriousness of the consequences of this language deficiency is much clearer than its exact nature. It has traditionally been assumed that lower class children—and, in fact, all those children rating low in language proficiency—have learning problems because they do not know enough words and thus lack the concepts needed. Such views have shaped the programs offered in most schools.

Educators have known for a long time that language facility is an important factor in academic success and programs to increase the vocabularies and language skills of children are part of the curricula of all schools. For example, direct vocabulary instruction, in which children compile lists of new words and look up their meanings, has been a technique used widely for many years. These traditional approaches are not, however, a hopeful line of attack, because, in spite of the effort and ingenuity that has been put into them, they have not done the job.

It now appears that vocabulary deficiencies may not be the root of the problem. In fact, culturally deprived children often use a rather large number of words accurately. To be sure, in comparison with the middle class children, those of the lower class are not nearly so familiar with the words normally used in the school, and it is true also that these children do not know much about many of the objects and paraphernalia of middle class life in America. Television is helping to change this. Because of this they have special problems in understanding many of the things talked about in their textbooks and in relating these things to their own lives. But it should be understood that this particular sort of problem is not so much a deficit as it is a difference. It is to be sure a difference that calls for action. A child can and should read about life in

other places and other cultures; but he ought to read and learn about his own as well, since that is his base of reality and the beginning of all thought. In short, this so-called deficit is in the school material and not in the child's mind.

In any case, the importance of sheer knowledge of words is not entirely clear since recent work in this area suggests that the difficulty is more subtle. It lies in the flexibility and skill children develop in their language usage. Culturally deprived children (or adults for that matter) use a language that at first blush is not very different from that of anybody else. But on closer examination it appears that they use relatively large numbers of standard expressions and cliches that fit the situation generally, but that lack precision and clarity. The symbolism used is descriptive, concrete, visual, and of a low order of generality. Nuances of feeling are expressed by non-verbal means. The language used in a given situation lacks both the variety and specificity to the situation one finds in the language of middle class children and it deals with abstract ideas relatively rarely. Although he often knows the words needed, the culturally deprived child will seldom use alternative ways of saying something even though such variations can be used to make meanings clear, to draw distinction, and to add emphasis. Instead the same standard phrasing is used over and over. In addition, hypotheses and conditional statements are infrequent, as are all indications of tentativeness and uncertainty.

It seems probable that these and related deficits carry over to listening as well as reading skills, thereby creating extra problems for these children everywhere they turn. Perhaps more than any other single thing, they need to learn to play with language meanings, to learn to get variety and nuance of meaning into their speech, to increase their appreciation and awareness of the value in the distinctions and refinements of meaning that shifts in word order and the addition of subordinate and qualifying expressions can bring. We are talking about communication and the expression of ideas, and, therefore, this training must involve speech in use, and it must be functional

*We hope very much that this notion will not be read as necessarily asking for more of the pedestrian "real life" material which seems to plague our school texts. Children find poetry, fantasy, and sheer word play (e.g., nonsense rhymes) intelligible and functional in their lives.

in the children's lives from the start;* for this it follows that practice in communicating and elaborating their own ideas, not those of others, comes first. Furthermore, this practice must be extensive in each of as many kinds and varieties of situations as possible if it is seriously to affect the thinking of children.

Conversations with adults aware of the possibilities of the language and concerned with helping the child learn to use it is, it seems, the most effective way for children to learn these language skills, at least until reading becomes a prominent part of the child's life (if it ever does), and perhaps still even then. Probably this training is most effective in the early pre-school years when basic language patterns are being established.

But use of language is not the only problem. Among others, all of which are very closely related to language, there is the apparently slower perceptual development of the disadvantaged child, i.e., his more restricted awareness of the perceptual discriminations possible among many sensory dimensions, such as size and volume. These children are not likely to be taught, or rewarded, at home for learning the appropriate quantitative discriminations among objects or to attach the proper descriptive labels to objects (e.g., "tall" rather than "big," and so on). Consequently, orderly development of abstract quantitative concepts is hindered.

Relative to middle class children, lower class children tend to be concrete minded; they are oriented toward objects and direct physical action, rather than toward abstractions and conceptual manipulation. They often continue more or less indefinitely to learn through motor or physical actions; that is, they tend to persist in a mode of thinking that depends on the manipulation of objects, whereas middle class children usually begin to shift to symbolic and verbal substitutes for action sometime between the ages of ten and fourteen.

Perhaps related to this is another intellectual difference which through its effect on motivation has far reaching educational consequences. Lower class children seem to have shorter attention spans, memory, and (therefore?) what may be called anticipation span; that is, they function more with reference to immediate than distant goals. For the middle class person, long range goals are usually fairly specific in character. In

contrast, in the lower class the future is regarded in more general and vague notions and for the most part is not considered as something one controls through present action. Hence, present behavior has a kind of rational relation to future goals for the middle class person which it does not have for those in the lower class. The middle class person anticipates within a broader time perspective.

That culturally deprived children do not see as clearly specific long range goals to which present behavior appears to be rationally connected helps cause what has been called the "deferred gratification pattern." They are not inclined to delay or renounce impulse gratification in favor of future gain. Future goals have a degree of reality for middle class children which they do not have for lower class children. Middle class children are exposed to more consistent patterns of rewards and punishments for impulse control and achievement. The adult models to which they are exposed day after day manifest a degree of self-discipline not generally seen in the adults with whom the lower class has close emotional ties.

Anxiety reduction is probably also a factor in the disadvantaged person's failure to manifest the deferred gratification pattern. Grinding poverty and the intense threat under which he, especially if Negro, lives is almost certain to evoke a high level of anxiety, the reduction of which is to some extent effected through impulse gratification.

Passivity in the lower class child, especially the Negro, is another facet of the motivational pattern related to achievement. One important manifestation of this passivity in the school is the child's failure to ask questions and seek clarification where it is needed. That these children should tend to be passive is not surprising. Their first hand experience most certainly does not teach them that the environment can be manipulated, controlled, and changed by anything they do. The Negro boy is likely to come to school having had no direct experience with a successful male model.

This whole pattern—the tendency to be passive, impulse-directed, and to lack motivation for achievement—is related to and perhaps rooted in the child's concepts of self. The most pernicious psychological consequence of a caste system must

surely be the tendency for individuals to accept as accurate for themselves the social definitions of inferiority inherent in the system.

For example, there are a number of studies which indicate (a) that Negroes from young childhood on tend toward low self-acceptance; (b) that Negro children of pre-school age express greater preference for white than Negro children; (c) that they are later than white children in acknowledging their racial identity; and (d) the result is that at an older age level Negro students tend to judge themselves inferior to white students even in the face of objective evidence tending to contradict such judgments.

Finally, we should add that the homes of these children do not help them do well in school for other reasons. The parents don't know how to teach their children how to learn. They tend to be particularly inept as teachers of their own children (again partly a language problem). Also the homes usually lack books and there are rarely places for students to read and study in peace and quiet.

In the face of all these severe problems, an ordinary school as typically constituted at present is fighting a losing battle. These schools are organized and run on the assumption that the child had been growing in the ordinary middle class home, and that he has had the years of direct individual training that this implies. Whenever this assumption is not justified the school tends to fail.

To succeed the school needs to provide substitutes for the experiences these children lack.

1. The children need extended contact with educated adults as early as possible in their lives; the school must provide many additional opportunities for these children to converse with each other, with older children, and with adults about all kinds of things. This experience should have a degree of direction and order and lead the child in the direction of the abstract.

2. The school must also provide the deprived children with more assistance in the important pre-adolescent years. First, they need help in learning to deal with problems using abstractions, both with words and with other sym-

bol systems; thus the school must do more than it now does to help the children shift to adult patterns of thinking. Second, the school must help the child develop long range goals. This means that he must see visible and believable steps along the way to these goals. If he is to remain in contact with his family without conflict, the older members of his family, older brothers and sisters as well as parents, must also come to believe in both the goodness and the real possibility of these goals. Third, the school must provide the child with solid evidence that effort, persistence, and seif-discipline in school tasks are expected and rewarded.

3. To inculcate these attitudes and to avoid misunderstanding and conflict means that the adolescents and adults in the community must also be drawn into these efforts sufficiently both to support and at least to some degree understand the school's objectives.

CHAPTER IV

Specific Suggestions For Education

We have tried to make clear that education takes place in a social context. What schools can accomplish is tightly limited by the environment within which those schools operate. Schools of a rural slum are not likely to produce persons able to be constructive members of a community unless the school gets into the children's home and neighborhood life. It follows that an educational program which offers full opportunities for intellectual growth to all children is not possible where economic and other forms of social advancement are racially segregated. This is categorically true, we believe, for the Negro children. It is true as well for the white children, though present arrangements are much less unsatisfactory for their intellectual growth.

Education can be more successful when schools are desegregated. But only partially so, because, again, education occurs in a context, and when life and opportunities outside the school are segregated, the best efforts of schoolmen to develop the talents of students will be handicapped severely.

Even were all segregation removed in Black Belt counties, their educational problems would still be immense, because of the economic and cultural lags burdening them. We have said, therefore, that improvement of the schools along standard lines is not the answer. If the states of Georgia and South Carolina (or the United States) were to pour unstinted resources into Burke and Edgefield schools, the educational results would not be greatly different, if the added resources only helped the counties do what they are now doing better.

We have said that basic transformations of the Black Belt schools are needed, by which we mean new practices aimed at compensating for the cultural handicaps brought by the children to the school-door. Given the economics of the Black Belt, even such basic transformations cannot be expected to overcome the handicaps imposed by the environment on the children —schools cannot do everything—but in time, perhaps, they could reverse the environmental conditions, and they can, in any event, truly educate a larger proportion of the children than they now manage.

What we are going to describe here, then, will be some specific possible ways of proceeding. We do not claim that our suggestions are the prescription, but rather that they are examples of the sorts of things that are needed. In some cases, other alternatives are both possible and practical. As indicative of the kind of changes which we believe could result in more successful education in the rural South, we would suggest:

1. Nursery-kindergarten units for children ages three through five;
2. The use of boarding units for children in the middle grades (four, five, and six);
3. The employment of senior high school students in the system, so that all students from the tenth grade up who want or are interested in work will have an opportunity to earn at least $50 a month as a part of their school program;
4. An intercounty and college (or university) cooperative program involving a coordinated plan of consolidation, joint purchasing, and joint inservice and preservice

teacher training programs in cooperation with the college.

Beyond these steps and out of them we would expect such things as expanded remedial reading and library services (e.g., a set of mobile reading clinics and mobile library-bookstores, selling paperback books at nominal cost, serving the associated counties), expanded guidance services, and various special education services using, in many cases, college personnel and facilities. One simple but essential step would be to insure that no child is inadequately fed (breakfast as well as free lunches should be offered) or clothed. We would also expect that Job Corps, Work Study, and Community Action Programs financed through the "poverty program" (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) would be inaugurated. Furthermore, the school buildings should be open twelve or more hours a day; libraries and supervised study halls should be available afternoons and evenings; evening adult education programs should be offered; extensive summer programs should be developed; and so on indefinitely. We shall not describe all of these steps. Instead, we shall elaborate only the four steps suggested above.

A. *The Nursery and Kindergarten Program*

There is a tendency in some quarters to hold out nursery schools as a panacea for cultural deprivation; they are not that. Nevertheless, where, as in the Black Belt, the problem is the lack of educational growth in the home, there is a pressing need to get the children as early as possible into organized learning opportunities and to establish school-parent relationships. We think there should be a pre-school program for these five year olds.

This program would be aimed specifically at those coming from the poorest homes. Day-care centers and nursery schools do not necessarily prove very beneficial to children, so the nature of the program is all-important. The kind we are envisaging might be like that described by Gray and Klaus.*

Their program centered first on attitudes toward achievement; trying to increase the child's achievement motivation, his

*Gray, S. W., and Klaus, R. A., *Early Training Project: Interim Report,* 1963.

ability to persist toward a goal and to delay gratification, and to arouse interest in school-type activities such as listening to stories and looking at books. Secondly, they attempted to improve aptitudes for achievement by developing the more simple and basic concepts needed in school work, increasing perceptual discrimination, and improving language usage.

Gray and Klaus worked on number and color concepts and concepts concerning objects of the world in which they live. In addition they stressed position words and action categories, such as walk, run, jump, and hop. They tried to increase the children's abilities to recognize forms, shapes, and patterns and to discriminate among sounds, tastes, odors, and textures. In language development their major efforts consisted of encouraging the children to talk and in placing them in situations where language was necessary. The central operating feature of the program was the procedure of reinforcement. They used both concrete reinforcement, such as candy, and social reinforcement in the form of physical contact with adults: petting, hugging, and so forth. Throughout their work, particularly at the beginning, they made efforts to make sure that reinforcement of the behavior they desired was as immediate and consistent as possible. Gradually they moved away from concrete reinforcement and made efforts to develop verbal rewards as reinforcers.

A program of this sort, to be effective, calls for trained teachers and for careful planning. But if the teachers running each class thoroughly understand what it is they are trying to do they can quite readily and easily make use of assistants who are much less well-trained; high school students—both male and female—provided they receive some training related to the program, could work successfully and helpfully, to both themselves and the pupils, in such a nursery school situation. We would propose that high school students be offered a course in child care, and training as part of this course work, and that for pay—say $10 per week—they spend two three-hour periods a week acting as assistants to the teachers.* These teachers should be part of the staff of the high school course.

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*Untrained adults might well be employed as aides also, and it should be evident that there are opportunities for tie-ins with adult education programs too.

A course of this sort is part of the curriculum of many high schools, but some preliminary training of all teachers would be desirable and probably easily arranged through the associated college.

Contact with parents is also essential, and one of the activities of the teachers should be to maintain it. Trained social workers should also be involved in this part of the program. Attendance of at least the three and four year olds should be a matter of parental choice. The regular teaching staff and the social workers should be the ones who reach the parents and persuade them to send their children to these schools. Having a pre-school program creates transportation problems both because of added numbers of children to carry and because these very young children should spend only three or four hours a day at school. These problems will be minimized, however, if the school system, instead of having large school buses, has a number of station wagons or smaller buses which carry maybe nine or ten children, and if carefully selected high school students be employed to drive them. For the system as a whole we would propose a large increase in the number of vehicles and a reduction in the size of their load so that the length of trips to and from school for most of the children in the system could be reduced. This would cost more money, but a fair portion of that money would go into the pockets of students in the system, and we believe that tangible economic rewards for staying in school are important for the same reasons that concrete reinforcement should be used initially in the pre-school classes.

We may finally note in passing that Gray and Klaus report gains in the I.Q.'s of the children with whom they dealt. Similar results have been obtained by a number of other researchers. But it is the nature of the program that counts, not the sheer existence of such schools. Nursery schools which are largely custodial institutions, in which the children play without a planned program of learning, do not serve any educational function and merely cost money.

B. *Boarding Units*

Our second suggestion is the establishment of boarding units connected with each of the elementary schools in the

county. Like the preceding suggestion, this is directed primarily to the poorest children, and again its use would be voluntary and it would be necessary to gain agreement from the parents. We are proposing that children in grades four, five, and six spend three months each year in one of these boarding units, whenever the parents will agree to this.

As in the previous suggestion the important element is what is done, not the mere existence of these boarding units. Most important would be the quality of the teachers. The chance of extensive, warm, personal contact with adults who represent middle class patterns of living, thinking, and values represents one of the principal reasons for these units, since realistic models of this sort, for many of the children of the rural South, are not handy. In addition there would be the opportunity to live in an organized, stable environment in which books, music, art, and conversation are standard and valued activities.* They also would have a chance to get some intensive tutoring during this time, and could be helped with their study habits. It would be expected that each group would take a number of trips, especially to cities, since that is where many of them will in due course live.

In fact, it might be well to plan a fourth quarter in grade seven, spent at a residential unit in a city. Perhaps some cities would be willing to develop exchange programs with counties, sending children to the boarding units in the county and accepting an equal number in a unit in the city for a quarter. Three months in a city school accompanied by a careful orientation to the city might add much to the perspective of these children about the need for education. The city children could probably profit at least as much from a period of time in a rural community.

We envisage these units as having about 21 children, seven to eight from each grade, with approximately equal numbers of boys and girls. A unit would be staffed by two regular teachers who carry a partial load in that school (e.g., share classes with an intern), one male and one female, plus

*At this point we would ask the reader to re-read what we have said about the instructional need to relate material to the children's own life. See above, page 3.

two intern teachers in training (one might have had some previous experience, while the other might be a beginner). In addition, from three to five high school students would be allotted to each unit each quarter to act as assistants before and after school. These students would not only be given room and board but also paid something — say $40 a month. The interns would also receive some pay, perhaps half-rate for the half-year that they would be expected to be in residence. In addition to the direct service that student assistants (drawn from the same cultural background) and interns would give, they would also provide the children with a sort of graduated series of models so that being like the — hopefully — admired and loved teacher might not seem so impossible; i.e., the children could see steps along the road and the possibility of variation. The regular school cafeteria could supply food but a dining room in the residence unit to be used for all three meals should be included in the plans. Mealtime is one of the periods of day when the kind of personal contact envisaged could be built.

The children would follow the regular school program by and large, would go home on weekends, and the teachers and interns would be expected to carry regular duties in the school. The teachers should receive a regular salary plus their room and board for these duties.* They should be required to go through a special training program offered by the associated college or university in order to hold these positions. This could lead to a hierarchy of teacher ranks justifying substantial salary differences, related to competence and responsibility rather than pure seniority and course credits. There is reason to believe that the position of teachers in these units would have substantial attraction to good young teachers and interns. Some of these interns could be in preservice training but it should also be possible to include an internship in these schools as a part of the advanced training of teachers with one or two years of experience. Further, it

*It is of interest to note that the notion of having such prerequisites attached to teachers' positions is actually traditional in counties like Burke, many of which used to maintain "teacherages" or teacher residences.

could result in drawing to such rural systems a quality of teacher that they have been having difficulty in finding at the present time.

There is substantial reason to believe that schools of this sort can have marked effects on students; but it is open to question whether or not the period of time suggested — three months for each of three or four years — would be adequate to accomplish these goals. However, it is believed that at the very least these schools would have positive effects on motivation of the youngsters and that they would go into junior high grades sufficiently interested in doing good work so that the school could hold them.

C. *Employment of Senior High School Students in the School*

The third proposal is that all interested students who are doing adequate work in the tenth grade and up have an opportunity to earn at least $10 a week as a part of their school program. By employing these students as assistants in the nursery school program, in the residential units, and as drivers, several hundred could be so employed. Other employment that would be both educational for them and a service to the school system surely could be found. It should be noted that by keeping these young people in school, competition with adults for jobs should be reduced. These activities can be of substantial educational value; in fact, the assistants in both the two programs suggested above could well turn out to be the chief beneficiaries of these programs if the school system and especially the teachers involved devote proper attention to helping these students understand what they are doing. The reason for paying the students, of course, is to provide an incentive for these adolescents to stay in school and to give them concrete representation of the fact that the community and society at large value their attendance in school. It should be noted that the school system should also have a fund to provide direct scholarship assistance to students who need it and, in special cases, without the associated duties. A school board should always remember that it costs parents money to send children to school, even though the schools do not charge tuition.

D. *Intercounty Cooperation*

Some problems of rural systems are simply a function of size: the system cannot justify the variety of specialized personnel and facilities that are practical in a large system where the cost can be spread over thousands of pupils. Segregation and the continued use of small, unconsolidated units obviously accentuate these problems but they will exist even if the schools are consolidated and integrated.

There should be, therefore, intercounty associations for the better coordination of school attendance areas. Once these associations are started, other cooperative ventures could develop, such as consolidated purchasing, intercounty technical service, and materials centers (audio-visual services, programmed materials, curriculum materials, professional publications, etc.). We are *not* talking about the consolidation of counties, but rather cooperative ventures.

Cogent reasons for intercounty consolidation and a statewide plan for it are embodied for Georgia in the recent "Peabody" report. It should be recalled, however, that children already spend more time in travel than is sound practice. Cooperation can solve this and will be needed for some children regardless of district size. School districts should not get so large and far away that the people in the district are not interested in them. The notion of local responsibility has merit because it is, potentially at least, a powerful educational force which can function to create a sense of belonging and identity in the students. This asset should not be discarded lightly.

An additional and possibly necessary feature of this intercounty cooperative association is the inclusion of a nearby teacher training institution, which probably would be necessary if the boarding units are to function in the manner we have described. What we are proposing here does not seem to us to exceed the institutional resources already available: in Georgia, for example, there are 10 public supported and 14 private colleges and universities now offering approved teacher training programs; in South Carolina, there are 4 and 13.

These colleges should establish teacher training programs analogous to the so-called internship master of arts in teaching programs now to be found at various universities around the country (e.g., Chicago, Emory, Harvard, Stanford, etc.), and some of their students should do their internship in the residential units of these counties. The colleges should also provide consultant services for the expanded remedial reading programs, guidance programs, and many other facets of both the regular and new programs. This arrangement would supply the interns and provide the school systems with a first chance at young beginning teachers as well as provide a way of obtaining special services to students and inservice training for teachers otherwise awkward to arrange. Large colleges might well become members of several such associations.

E. *Is It Practical?*

One immediate response to these recommendations will be assertions such as "Dreamwork," "Impractical," "It won't work," "You haven't considered. . . ," "Don't you realize that. . . ," and above all, "Too expensive." We believe these ideas *can* be made to work, and that the many difficulties we haven't discussed here (an endless number) *can* be solved, and that the product would justify the cost. This country could and should spend much more on the education of its children than is now the case. Furthermore, the cost of these proposals is high only relative to what a rural southern county now spends. It is probable that to do these things might cost twice what is now spent. Let us look at what it might cost in a county the size of Burke.

The nursery-kindergarten would add around $300 per pupil per year (early education is cheap, later on it is not) or about $250,000 a year. This figure is based on the assumption of roughly 800 pupils in a class of 20-25 students staffed by a senior teacher, a junior teacher (or a nonprofessional assistant), and two (or three) high school assistants. Each teacher would have two classes, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. This figure also is based on the assumption that present structures could be used with relatively small alterations and additions.

The boarding units might seem expensive at first glance but most of the salaries could be charged to the regular instructional budget. The staff would be carrying teaching loads in the school at about ¾ rate (two teachers and two interns carrying three classes). Consequently, the eight or nine boarding units a county the size of Burke might require would probably cost no more than $300,000 a year.

The student assistance program (beyond that accounted for in the two preceding items) would add another $300,000, assuming that about 800 students in senior high school would be earning about $10 a week. This totals $850,000. The consolidation and intercounty cooperation should at least break even since substantial efficiency would be gained.

To be cautious, and to allow for the additional steps we mentioned but have not detailed, add $250,000 more for a total of $1,100,000, a figure that is a bit under the 1964 school budget in Burke County. Since Burke spent about $265 per child in average daily attendance in 1963-64, and since we are hopefully adding about 25-30% to the average daily attendance count, the per pupil figure comes to around $400, an outrageously modest figure which is under the national median (because we are not proposing here to change the salary scale of the teachers, though probably we should).

"Where does this million plus come from?" First of all, through proper tax equalization measures and by raising assessments to a proper level (e.g., 50% of fair value), the county itself could raise much more. Furthermore, many features could be financed by state and federal funds now available; e.g., Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the National Defense Education Act, and above all, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The colleges' costs would partly be included in their regular budget since they now train teachers; furthermore, summer and in-service institutes (summer schools for children running on shortened days offer very good teacher training possibilities) can often be financed through federal programs. Additional state funds for cooperative undertakings should be forthcoming. It does not seem fanciful to us, therefore, to expect that federal funds would (and should) play a large

role in meeting this budget and that the state would add to the additional local effort. In short, we believe that suggestions as basic as ours could be adapted to most rural counties and could be financed if the community were really interested in its children's education. All of our recommendations are directed toward doing something about the problems of learning that children with certain kinds of backgrounds are likely to have. In the Black Belt South, most of these children are Negro, but that they are has nothing to do with the reasons for our recommendations.

The communities in the rural South must become genuine communities in which every person is a member with a stake in community growth and development. The educational problems of these communities ramify into the problems of the whole social and economic context. We have tried to suggest that the transformation of education in some sense calls for the transformation of a community. We think such a transformation can be brought about in the South only with the help of genuine local effort and concern. Our recommendations are based upon the belief that sound educational decisions must be directed toward bringing about the maximum development of all the children in a community and upon the belief that the maximum growth and enrichment of a community cannot be achieved unless every member of the community has, and can be led to see that he has, a real stake in the outcome of community affairs.

TABLE 1
FARMS AND JOBS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES — 1940-1960

	BURKE COUNTY, GEORGIA							EDGEFIELD COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA						
	1940	1945	1950	1954	1960	1950 to 1960 Percent Change	First Date to 1960 Percent Change	1940	1945	1950	1954	1960	1950 to 1960 Percent Change	First Date to 1960 Percent Change
FARMING														
Number of Farms		2362	2159	1654	1176	—45	—50		2311	1966	1688	1076	—45	—53
Average Farm Size (Acres)		156	196	254	287	+46	+84		96	106	105	160	+51	+67
Farm Acreage (in thousands)														
Operated by whites			305	331	276	—10				154	139	152	— 1	
Operated by Negroes			119	69	61	—48				55	38	20	—64	
TOTAL		362	423	420	337	—20	—10		223	209	177	173	—17	—22
LABOR FORCE														
Employed:														
In Agriculture														
White			746		455	—39				632		340	—46	
Negro			4105		1892	—54				1802		1086	—40	
TOTAL	7105		4851		2347	—52	—67	3766		2434		1426	—41	—62
In Manufacturing, Mining and Construction														
White			527		856	+62				1039		1079	+ 4	
Negro			679		444	—35				572		865	+51	
TOTAL	623		1206		1300	+ 8	+108	695		1611		1944	+12	+180
In Other Occupations														
White			1110		1243	+12				936		1291	+40	
Negro			1124		1330	+18				718		938	+31	
TOTAL	2193		2234		2573	+15	+17	1290		1654		2229	+35	+73
Complete Labor Force														
White	2368		2432		2653	+ 9	+12	2411		2649		2744	+ 4	+14
Negro	8161		6031		3878	—36	—52	3792		3133		2964	— 5	—22
GRAND TOTAL	10529		8463		6531	—23	—38	6203		5782		5708	— 1	— 8

TABLE 2

1960 FAMILY INCOME

Percentage With Incomes		Burke White	Burke Negro	Burke Total	Edgefield White	Edgefield Negro	Edgefield Total
Under	$ 1,000	9	43	29	8	31	19
Between	$1,000 - 2,000	11	33	24	12	34	23
Between	$2,000 - 3,000	16	13	14	9	18	13
Between	$3,000 - 10,000	58	11	31	65	17	41
Over	10,000	6	0	2	5	—	3
Median		$3,900	1,202	1,855	4,250	1,557	2,595

TABLE 3

POPULATION TRENDS IN BURKE AND EDGEFIELD COUNTIES

1930 - 1960

Group	Burke 1930	Burke 1940	Burke 1950	Burke 1960	Burke 1950 to 1960 Percent Change	Burke 1940 to 1950 Percent Change	Edgefield 1930	Edgefield 1940	Edgefield 1950	Edgefield 1960	Edgefield 1950 to 1960 Percent Change	Edgefield 1940 to 1950 Percent Change
WHITE:												
School Aged Children (5-14)	1581	1321	1327	1453	+ 9	+10	1771	1249	1175	1338	+14	+ 7
Adults (21 & up)	3485	3865	4053	4123	+ 2	+ 7	3705	3930	4190	4103	— 2	+ 4
Total Whites (all ages)	6524	6654	6724	6911			7055	6594	6660	6581		
NEGRO:												
School Aged Children	5978	4584	4329	4052	— 7	—12	3739	3025	2752	2764	+ 0	— 9
Adults	10825	10184	8055	5988	—26	—41	4966	5014	4312	3754	—13	—25
Total Negroes (all ages)	22698	19866	16734	13685			12271	11300	9931	9154		

TABLE 4
THE BURKE COUNTY AND EDGEFIELD COUNTY SCHOOLS[1]

	Burke County			Edgefield County		
	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment						
Elementary[2]	1150	3316	4466	1078	2085	3163
Secondary	638	1187	1825	391	794	1185
Total	1788	4503	6291	1469	2879	4348
Average Daily Attendance (ADA)						
Elementary[2]	1002	2527	3529	998	1753	2751
Secondary	568	970	1538	358	670	1028
Total	1570	3497	5067	1356	2423	3779
ADA/Enrollment						
Elementary	87	76	79	93	84	87
Secondary	89	82	84	92	92	87
Total	88	78	81	92	84	84
Schools						
Elementary	5	6	11	3	3	6
Secondary	3	1	4	1	1	2
Total	8	7	15	4	4	8
Teachers						
Elementary[2]	48	94	142	39	51	90
Secondary	30	43	73	22	33	55
Total[3]	80	138	218	61	84	145
Pupils in ADA per teacher						
Elementary	21	27	25	26	34	31
Secondary	19	23	21	16	20	19
Total	20	25	23	22	29	26
Finances						
Expenditures for instruction		$ 1,036,854			$ 615,647	
Locally raised funds[4] (in ADA)		159,777			152,030	
Per pupil expenditure for[5] instruction		205			163	

NOTES TO TABLE 4:

[1] Data are for 1963-64 for Burke County, and for 1962-63 for Edgefield County.

[2] Elementary schools in Burke vary in the number of grades in the school, but all figures are for grades 1-7 inclusive for Burke County, and grades 1-8 in Edgefield.

[3] Includes non-teaching principals.

[4] Almost all of the remainder is from the state; federal funds are not important in the budgets of these systems, especially in Burke County.

[5] The difference between the counties largely represents two factors: teacher-pupil ratios and its teacher scales, for the periods considered. It may be noted that Georgia has one scale whereas S. C. has scales that depend on scores on the National Teacher Exam, a test emphasizing verbal facility. Negro teachers tend to score low on this test.

TABLE 5

READING VOCABULARY AND READING COMPREHENSION SCORES OF WHITE AND NEGRO STUDENTS IN GEORGIA[1]

	White		Negro		White-Negro Differences	
Grades	Vocab.	Comp.	Vocab.	Comp.	Vocab.	Comp.
4	+ 3	+ 1	— 8	—12	11	13
6	+ 2	— 3	—22	—23	24	20
9	— 6	— 8	—37	—34	31	26
12	—15	—22	—51	—53	36	31

Adapted from B. Cooper, "An Analysis of the Reading Achievement of White and Negro Pupils in Certain Public Schools of Georgia." **School Review,** 1964, Vol. 78, pp. 452-471.

[1]Mean deviations in grade equivalent scores from national median.

TABLE 6[1]

AGE-GRADE ENROLLMENT BY RACE IN BURKE COUNTY, 1962-1963

Grade	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Over 18	Totals by Grade	Percentage[2] in grade over age for grade	Number Making Regular Progress	Percentage[3] Making Regular Progress
WHITE																			
1	42	108	6													171	4	150	94
2	1	20	102	18	5	1										156	15	123	77
3			38	92	23	2										169	15	130	81
4				36	90	18	4	2								159	15	126	79
5					35	95	18	6	4	2						172	17	130	81
6						33	102	23	9	8						184	22	135	84
7							18	96	25	18	2	1				165	28	114	71
8							1	22	81	16	18	6	2			151	28	104	65
9									30	83	19	4	2			142	18	113	71
10										26	86	24	4	1		144	20	112	70
11											31	45	17	5		100	22	76	48
12												17	38	12	1	68	19	55	34
Total by age	43	128	146	146	153	149	143	149	149	153	156	97	63	18	1	1782		1368	81 Av.
NEGRO																			
1	112	283	131	18	13	4	5									550	31	395	92
2		80	211	93	41	18	4	4								461	35	291	68
3			75	232	89	53	19	11	6	5	1					502	37	307	72
4				53	204	103	49	32	16	13	1					486	44	257	60
5					69	189	97	71	36	19	2	1	1			498	46	258	60
6						53	156	104	58	42	17	2	2			449	50	309	72
7						1	40	150	90	71	38	15	4	1		417	53	191	44
8							1	46	130	84	67	28	14	3	2	376	53	177	41
9									32	107	90	42	27	8	1	315	53	139	32
10									2	25	109	59	30	11	4	342	30	136	32
11											16	48	46	31	17	158	59	64	15
12											1	19	31	27	11	89	43	51	12
Total by age	112	363	417	396	416	422	371	418	370	366	343	274	155	81	35	4593		2575	56 Av.

[1] The figures in the body of the table indicate the number of children of a given age (column heading) in a given grade (row heading). Thus, for example, of 155 white children age 14, 83 and 26 were in grades 9 and 10 respectively. The remaining 44 were over age for grade being in grades 5, 6, 7, and 8.

[2] Includes transfer and others not listed in age-grade roster.

[3] Based on assumption of 160 white and 430 Negro children in each age group.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1965

JANUARY 1966

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, AND STAFF

1965

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VICE PRESIDENTS

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Rufus E. Clement*

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SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

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*ex-officio members of the Executive Committee

STAFF

Executive Director - Leslie W. Dunbar (resigned, September 30)
Paul Anthony (began appointment October 1)

Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Alexander

Director of Field Activities - Paul Anthony (through September 30)
J. Edwin Stanfield (January 1, 1966)

Editor, New South - Margaret Long

Director of Information - Pat Watters

Staff Economist - Lloyd J. Elliott

Assistant to the Director - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. (leave of absence beginning May 3)

Director of Research - Samuel L. Adams (began appointment July 1)

Director, Labor Education - Emory F. Via (began appointment September 1)

Director, Community Organization - Al Ulmer (began appointment October 11)

Director, Urban Planning - Moreland Smith, FAIA (began appointment November 1)

Director, Voter Education Project - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. (began appointment December 1)

Executive Assistant - Edwyn Lewis, Jr. (began appointment December 1)

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1965

It can be said -- with only slight exaggeration -- that 1965 was a year of maturing for the South.

With the possible exception of Alabama, those in the region who made the important traditional decisions generally showed awareness of the desirability of at least a semblance of stability and progress in race relations.

The tragedy of Watts was treated with smugness in some quarters. After all, it occurred in the "North." Generally, though, it was treated with concern. Frequently there arose the question, "Can it happen here?" Here in Atlanta, in Charlotte, in Richmond, in Memphis? More often than not there was the enlightened answer, "It can."

During the past year, the people of the region attempted to digest the results of two important new developments: the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the execution of the War on Poverty. Neither was a very satisfying experience. Both have created new promise and new disillusionment, new participants and new critics. They were, however, uniquely important for they have dominated the human relations movement as well as a number of other fields of interest and will continue to do so during 1966.

A year earlier, during the summer of 1964, the Civil Rights Act was ushered in optimistically with

widespread, though far from complete, voluntary compliance with Title VI on public accommodations. Nothing else was to go as well.

The region has been little touched with the employment provisions of the Act and the new role of the federal government in the non-discriminatory expenditure of federal funds has been disappointing at best. This is especially true in the field of education.

To an unprecedented degree, Negro parents in rural and small town areas attempted to enroll their children in formerly white schools. The results were dismal. There were, and continue to be, considerable violence and reprisal. The statistics reflect the lack of progress. The least state, Alabama, now has approximately 800 or 0.25% of the Negro pupils attending formerly white schools. The highest, Texas, has an estimated 75,340 or 20% of Negro pupils in desegregated situations. The region-wide total is 5.23% of Negro pupils in desegregated schools. This is the result after eleven years of implementation of the Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954.

Given these facts it is understandable that Negro parents are bitterly disillusioned with the contrast between the unprecedented national promise and the execution of the law by the U. S. Office of Education and other federal agencies. In varying degrees this

disappointment and a growing cynicism are a reaction to all of the role of the federal government in race related matters in the region. This includes, among others, economics and jobs, urban renewal, law enforcement and voter registration. The lack of faith in the established institutions of the society and the growing lack of respect for the federal establishment have serious consequences and the trend must be reversed by legitimate changes in policy and program.

Somewhat the same conclusions can be reached about the War on Poverty. There were many inexcusable mistakes which need no further documentation here. There is one, the most significant, which deserves mention. It is the mistake of overpromising. Even given the wisest leadership and the soundest of plans, there was an obvious limit to what could be accomplished quickly. Yet from the highest offices in the land have come ringing promises about jobs, training, housing, health care and all the rest. Through the media, especially television, these promises have been heard by the most disadvantaged people in the region. To a surprising degree these promises were believed and embraced. It has been a cruel process. Some, relatively few, have not had this experience. They have been helped. Many of those untouched by the programs have surrendered further to apathy and hopelessness. Others have

transferred their disillusionment to an anger destructive to the individual and dangerous for the society.

Yet, while the grounds for legitimate criticism are staggering, no one expects pure progress on an ideal schedule. It must, therefore, be noted positively that these programs and involvements of the federal government, and innumerable other events and forces, have contributed substantially to the region and are largely responsible for the region's somewhat changed self. We have benefitted considerably and at the close of the year the South was a healthier place than it had been twelve months before.

Were it not for the ever present tragedy of the remaining injustice, it could be argued that the criticisms were so valid and the indignation was so strong only because the times hold such promise and the region's new awareness was so improved. In 1965 the region's standards for itself were higher.

The year ended with an important question still unanswered. Given the commendable new awareness and the higher standards, were these conditions yet of sufficient quality and depth to meet the old need and the new promise? We will know much of the answer in 1966.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Council Affairs

This report cannot be given without first noting the most significant event to affect the Council during 1965. That was, of course, the resignation of Leslie W. Dunbar, who left the agency on September 30 to become the Executive Director of the Field Foundation. To say the least, this man's contributions to the Council were great. He directed, and in some instances produced, the most important research of the organization. Perhaps even more importantly, he set the tone and the direction of the Council during the difficult period of what has been at least the gradual, and revolutionary, shift from the old South to the new.

At the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council, held in Atlanta on November 15 and 16, 1965, the Members of the Council passed the following resolution which we think appropriate to include here:

> "The Southern Regional Council at its 22nd Annual Meeting expresses its respect and appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar as its executive director from 1961 to 1965, and as a member of its staff from 1959.
>
> "By his qualities of intellect, of eloquence, of practical skills in the guidance of human

affairs, and of humane appreciation for people, Dr. Dunbar has made a lasting impression for the good on the present reality of the South, and has strengthened our hope for the attainment of the goals of equality and excellence.

"We remember (and will keep trying to justify) the strength of his belief in all the people of the South, and his confidence in the ability of all of us to achieve a people's highest potential.

"Leslie Dunbar is a man in a time of 'image making' who creates immediately the impression that here is an honest and honorable man, with a great depth of integrity, an integrity tempered by a gentleness of manner and spirit. Much of the success of his work with us is attributable to the mark of his personality, the impact of this 'image' of his on the South and the nation.

"But more important is the fact known to us who know him that the impression he makes is not merely 'an image,' but is the very substance of this most remarkable man with whom we worked and with whom we are still associated in mutual concerns and beliefs, and whom we

hold in affection and respect.

"We have been honored by our association with him."

* * *

At the Annual Meeting the Members of the Council heard the recommendation of the Nominating Committee that Mr. John H. Wheeler be re-elected President. This recommendation was unanimously -- and enthusiastically -- adopted. At the first meeting in January, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler was re-elected Chairman of the Executive Committee. Thus, the two senior policy posts continue to be occupied by men both named Wheeler and both from the state of North Carolina. We are extremely fortunate to have Mr. John H. Wheeler, President of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, and Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler, physician of Charlotte, in these positions.

Elected as Vice-Presidents for the coming year were Miss Josephine Wilkins and Dr. Rufus Clement of Atlanta, Dr. Stephen J. Wright of Nashville and Mr. Paul Christopher of Knoxville. Mr. Joseph F. Haas of Atlanta was re-elected Counsel. We are fortunate, too, to have the guidance of these people who have served the Council long and well.

There were two changes in the membership of the Executive Committee. Mr. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls, North Carolina, a former President of SRC and for

some years a Vice-President, was elected to the Committee. Mrs. J. N. Rayzor of Houston, Texas, informed us she could no longer serve on the Executive Committee. Mrs. Martin Harvey of Jackson, Mississippi, was elected to fill that vacancy. Re-elected to the Executive Committee were: James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina; Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, Louisiana; C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; McNeill Smith, Greensboro, North Carolina; H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Florida; and, Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Virginia.

The officers of the Council also serve on the Executive Committee.

During the year the Council lost the leadership of three members because they moved from the region. They were: Mr. Patrick J. Owens, formerly of Little Rock, who moved to Detroit to become Editor of the Detroit Free Press; Professor James Silver, formerly of Oxford, Mississippi, who has become Professor of History at Notre Dame University; and The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, formerly of Houston, who became Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church with headquarters in New York City.

To fill these vacancies Mr. Henry Lehmann, a businessman of Ormond Beach, Florida, was elected to the Class of 1966 and Dr. A. D. Beittel, whose term expired in 1965, was re-elected to the Class of 1968.

New members elected to the Class of 1969 were: J. William Becker, Little Rock, Arkansas; Donald Hollowell, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Barbara Jordan, Houston, Texas; William H. Maness, Jacksonville, Florida; Hollis F. Price, Memphis, Tennessee; Claude Ramsey, Jackson, Mississippi; and Mrs. Martha Ragland, Nashville, Tennessee.

On the recommendation of the Executive Committee the Council elected two Life Fellows: Miss Lillian Smith of Clayton, Georgia, and Mr. Paul E. Green of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Perhaps no two persons have contributed more to the Council's areas of concern and we welcome these two distinguished people and warmly anticipate their fellowship and guidance.

Council Members are being involved in the affairs of the organization to an unprecedented degree. The Executive Committee continues the primary responsibility for all Council affairs and is dependent on the work of the Personnel and Finance Committees. In 1964 the Development Committee was organized primarily for the purpose of seeking financial support from within the region. This is a new area for the Council and it will be extremely difficult for this Committee to meet its goals. However, under the chairmanship of Miss Josephine Wilkins, a commendable job has been done during 1965. With our substantial growth in that area, a Special Projects

Advisory Committee has been formed under the Chairmanship of Dr. Charles G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute. This Committee has had two meetings and is making a considerable contribution to the development of these programs. The new Voter Education Project has a special advisory committee and a special committee has been formed to consider the future relationships among the state councils on human relations and between them and the Council. We hope during 1966 to involve a number of other Members in specific subject areas. The membership of the Council represents one of the strongest collections of talent, as well as concern, in the region and we would like to take maximum advantage of that talent.

The Department of Field Activities

The programs and growth of the state councils on human relations were again during 1965 the major concern of this department. This effort to establish a genuine community-by-community interracial movement throughout the region has gone through lean, hard years and -- for all the progress and growth -- is still in its infancy in most states.

We have not been fully aware, I think, of the significance of the tremendous difficulties in developing this program. It is so much easier to identify a single issue, study it, take action on it, and clarify

it in the mind of the public than it is to establish in a community a council of local people to be concerned day-by-day with the problems which affect them and the programs which will join them.

Part of the problem of these councils has been that the idea was too right too soon. These groups advocated the simple but vital idea that people must join together to understand each other and to seek a resolution to their problems. In time it became responsible and respectable for many people to say this. But, in some instances, by that time those who had said these things first had "lost their effectiveness."

Another serious problem has been that membership and staff were interested in "doing something," not in building organizations. To a point this is commendable as well as understandable. You don't find and enlist dedicated people and then expect their primary interest to be the seemingly bureaucratic one of raising funds and recruiting members. Yet, the council movement will not succeed unless it has a base of strength in local funds and membership. During the past several years SRC has emphasized this point and it is generally being accepted by the state councils.

Perhaps the most serious problem of all, and related to the above, is the one of southern philanthrophy. We do not have in the region a tradition of adequately

supporting financially the causes we endorse or even of understanding that we must support them first if we expect anyone else to do so. This, too, is changing, but it is a painful and slow process.

For all the serious problems, it was a good year for the state councils. Eight of these groups have been staffed regularly since 1954-1955; they are Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas. One, Mississippi, began a staffed operation last January after having been driven out of existence in 1957. Louisiana remains unstaffed, though we hope to see this corrected in 1966. Texas has no state-wide organization, but has a vigorous and highly effective Houston Council. At the height of their strength during 1965, these groups employed 22 professional workers, achieved by the end of the year a membership of approximately 12,000 and raised within their states more than $100,000. A total of approximately $300,000 was spent by them during the year.

Among the significant program highlights were the nine Head Start programs with 26 centers sponsored by four state councils and one local council in communities that otherwise would not have had this resource for pre-school children; these were in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina and Houston, Texas.

In many areas Head Starts, as well as a number of other federally funded programs, were supported and assisted by councils though not sponsored by them.

All of the councils were active early in the year and through the summer in the area of school integration. This activity concerned itself especially with reaching Negro parents and informing them of pertinent rules and regulations and thereafter, where they wished, in assisting children who sought transfer to formerly white schools. Several of the councils held statewide or area conferences for this purpose. In late summer and thereafter this interest all too often had to shift to helping victims of intimidation and violence who had taken advantage of the opportunities theoretically available to them. This was especially true of the Georgia and Alabama Councils.

As indicated by the introduction to this report, major programs for all the councils related to the new national legislation and the organization of the war on poverty. We saw clear indications during the year past that none of these laws or programs can be effective unless private agencies form at least an informal partnership with public agencies and publicly funded programs. Assisting, supporting, interpreting, recruiting for, and monitoring the federal programs and agencies were a major contribution of the councils during 1965.

For some years SRC has contributed, through its grants-in-aid program, slightly more than $50,000 per year in support of the state council programs. While valuable, this assistance has been inadequate and was being annually reduced for each council as other needs had to be considered. For instance, in 1965 the Mississippi Council was reorganized and had to be supported along with the rest. In December we received word from the Ford Foundation of a grant of $100,000 per year for three years in support of the SRC grants-in-aid program for the state councils. These funds are for the purpose of upgrading and increasing the number of staff persons in the state councils and will be a tremendous help.

In cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund we began in 1965 the Rural Advancement Program. This was an effort to place with several of the state councils an additional staff person to concentrate on programs with persons in rural and small town areas. We were, by the end of the year, able to provide the complete costs of such programs in four states: South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama.

In memory of that outstanding man, the Council in 1964 initiated the George S. Mitchell Award. This was designated to be given annually to the state council which had the highest percentage increase in membership. In 1965 the Alabama Council won this award and the

accompanying gift of $1,000. To win the award this council had grown from a membership of 400 at the beginning of 1965 to more than 1,200 by November of the year. (They also raised more than $20,000 from within the state of Alabama during the year.) It was a remarkable record, but no more than indicative of the soundness of the program of that group.

On November 15 Mrs. Alice Mitchell came to Atlanta to present the award named for her husband. Mrs. Mitchell's presentation was perhaps the finest moment of the 1965 Annual Meeting.

Partially because of the record cited above, J. Edwin Stanfield, director of the Alabama Council, has been appointed the new director of field activities for SRC and came to that post in January 1966.

In 1965 the Council was again asked to serve as secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference, the informal gathering quarterly of more than forty agencies and groups concerned with race relations in the region. We are anxious to continue this service for we feel that an exchange of information and cooperation among the various agencies is now more important than ever.

The Council's director of women's work, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, continued in her own inimitable way. The SRC-sponsored region-wide meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned was held in Atlanta on November 3 and 4. From that meeting came special concern with southern justice

and the operation of the courts. Recalling a highly successful effort of almost twenty years ago, the ladies of this meeting again requested that teams of women regularly visit every courthouse in the region as quiet observers to remind the court officials of citizens' interest in justice. Shortly we shall attempt to call a meeting of the leadership of a number of national women's organizations to seek their cooperation in this program.

For the second year we have cooperated with the program of Books for Equal Education. This is co-sponsored by the National Student Association and the U. S. Youth Council. During the summer we offered office space and secretarial help to this sound project which collected and distributed approximately 300,000 books mostly for Negro college libraries, community centers, freedom schools, and the like.

During the spring and summer, in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee we developed a program to reach a maximum number of parents, especially in rural and small town areas, to inform them of the situation related to school desegregation in September. The core of this program was a packet of factual materials and guides to community organization, pupil recruitment, transfer procedures and proper complaint channels. Approximately 1,400 of these packets were mailed to persons in more than 280 communities. These

mailings were followed by other materials and staff assistance was provided where requested and when possible. The response to this effort was far greater than we had anticipated and proved what we had long suspected: Negro parents in rural and small town areas, including those who are poorly educated and in vulnerable economic situations, are anxious that their children have the best possible education and will go to great lengths to get their children into the best schools available if allowed to do so.

We have cooperated with, offered some office services to, and co-sponsored two publications with the new southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union. Late in the year we agreed to work closely with a new program being developed by the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. By the end of the year we had under serious consideration joint programs with the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee. We continue our cooperation and interest in the southern program of the National Student Association, the student councils on human relations and other student groups. Reluctantly, because of the demands of other program commitments which we have made, we declined an invitation of the Peace Corps to conduct one or more training programs for overseas volunteers.

Research and Information

These two "departments" are reported on under one title because we hope to make a single unit of them. The Council began with an information section. When resources permitted, a research division was added. Both have grown considerably. Since these two interests overlap, and in large measure complement each other, we hope to bring them under one heading operationally as well as in title. In fact, there is need for an identifiable Center for Research and Information of the Council. We will pursue this during 1966 but it will require thoughtful planning as well as additional resources.

The Southern Regional Council is many things. It is, above all else, a recorder of facts and an interpreter of events. Repeatedly we have seen the importance and the influence of these functions. We must do whatever is necessary to continue these functions, and to preserve the integrity of this part of our operation.

In terms of staff, research and information are now our largest operation. Including the immediately related project service personnel there are now ten persons working in this section. This is almost one-third of our total staff. The senior person in this group with responsibility for the overall operation is Pat Watters, director of information.

Another senior person in the division, editor Margaret Long, is about to embark on one of the more exciting efforts yet envisioned by the Council. She will be, in effect, a "writer in residence" with time and an opportunity to make maximum use of her unique skills. Equally important, she will have the responsibility of working with and encouraging new talent in the fields of fiction and non-fiction, poetry and music.

In mid-year, Samuel L. Adams came with us as director of research. Mr. Adams, formerly a reporter on the St. Petersburg Times, was a 1965 nominee for the Pulitzer Prize and a runner-up for the Lane Bryant Award for excellence in journalism.

In January the Council published Federal Anti-Poverty Programs, a brief description of the specifics of the new programs, designed for wide distribution. This was followed in March by a second publication on this subject, New Federal Programs in the South.

In April the Council published, in cooperation with the southern office of the American Civil Liberties Union, Racial Desegregation in the Southern Federal Courts. This special report documented the overwhelming whiteness of the personnel of these courts.

In May the Council issued one of its most significant publications. This was Encounter with the Future, by Pat Watters. This study, based on some months

of preparation, attempted to delve into one of the most complex areas of concern: the role of the young civil rights workers, their motives, their accomplishments and the effects on them of their experiences. Pat Watters wrote, we believe, objectively and compassionately. The reactions were astounding. SNCC concurred in the accuracy of the report's conclusions; Lillian Smith called it "beautiful." Charles Silberman referred to it as "a tremendous contribution." Seldom have we grappled with such a difficult subject -- or a more essential one -- and seldom have we made such an impact.

At the fall meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference the Council was asked to do research in and publish a report on what had happened in school desegregation in September. The result was the special report, September, 1965 School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law, released in October. Although the U. S. Office of Education and the Southern Education Reporting Service shared information with us, we found it extremely difficult to determine statistically what had taken place. The report, when released, did, however, contain the most reliable information available. This information was substantially more correct than that issued earlier by the Office of Education and helped to dispel the then widespread opinion that school desegregation was proceeding with marked new success.

By October there was concern over the acquittal of several persons accused of murdering civil rights workers and a growing demand that something be done to correct this. Much of this demand was being voiced in terms of a special law to protect these workers. We felt that whatever corrective measures were called for, there was a need to understand that all Negroes and most of the South's poor were frequently discriminated against in the courts. The issue was, we felt, not protection for a special group, but for all persons discriminated against. In cooperation with the southern office of ACLU, the Council issued the report, Southern Justice: An Indictment, a documentation of the problem with a special emphasis on jury reform. We believe the report was effective. This report and the earlier one on discrimination in federal courts were perhaps the most complete and definitive reporting on one of the year's most crucial problems. It was only after the second SRC publication and a good six months after the first that the national press became aware that justice was a new and pressing concern of the civil rights movement.

October was a productive month. The third publication issued during that month was The Migrant Farmer: A Psychiatric Study, by M. Robert Coles, M.D. For two years this brilliant psychiatrist worked with us, largely

conducting research on the effects of school desegregation on the children involved. We are pleased that Dr. Coles has continued to serve as a consultant since going to Harvard and feel that in this publication he added a new dimension to the concerns with migrant workers.

In December, a study two years in preparation was issued. This was Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation. This study, prepared by Dr. Ross Green and three of his colleagues at the Emory University School of Education, was our first major effort to probe the problems involved in providing quality education for the region's children. A major foundation has invited us to explore with them how the recommendations of this report can be implemented.

We are pleased with our continuing opportunities for close cooperation and consultation with the representatives of the press and other media and with the growing opportunities to deal with persons in these professions within the region. For example, the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times reprinted in full our report on Southern Justice..., as did several newspapers outside the region. We are complimented when some of the southern press report objectively our fact-finding in news columns and then take occasion on the editorial page to differ with our conclusions. (The Columbia /S.C./ Record referred to us editorially as "sedate

and witless," but devoted considerable space to our report on school desegregation -- and did not dispute the facts in that report.) We think these relationships are of the utmost importance and that any disagreements lead to honest and healthy dialogue.

Throughout this report there are many references to our interest in the appropriate programs of the federal government. Much of this interest falls, of course, on our information and research departments. One unique problem arising from this interest bears mention here. To an unfortunate degree commentary on a particular federal program, or the intricacies of that program, is all too often seen as a partisan endorsement of or criticism of an individual or an administration. We would like to believe that the objective of achieving a just and abundant society is not a partisan matter. Certainly our continuing cooperation with these efforts and our comments on them will be conducted in that belief.

At its October meeting, the Executive Committee approved a major policy change in our publications programs. Since its beginning, SRC has published the monthly magazine New South. This publication will now be on a quarterly basis with the winter issue to appear in mid-February. We feel this magazine, of approximately 100 pages per issue, will give us an opportunity for greater diversity and cover more fully some of the subject

areas undertaken. During the first issue we will publish articles by Robert Coles, Vincent Harding, Margaret Long, Robert Sherrill. We will have included excerpts from the new edition of James Silver's Mississippi, The Closed Society, and a reprint of one of the lectures in the William Cook Lecture Series of Leslie W. Dunbar at the University of Michigan. Articles will be included that will be reprinted for considerably wider distribution than that of the magazine's distribution. With the new format there will be experimentation in theme issues dealing with urban planning, regional economics, school desegregation, voting, and other pertinent subject areas. We are excited about the potentials of the New South.

As the year ended, certain conclusions were reached about our research and information functions. In general, policy emphasis will continue on serving efficiently and fully the information needs of individuals, from college professors to newspaper reporters to students doing term papers. Sizeable increases in number and varieties of publications published by the Council are anticipated. This reflects in part expansion of program, in part the growing demand for materials that people can work with -- how-to-do-it pamphlets, descriptions of governmental processes, and the like. At the same time, there will be no let-up in the effort to provide information and

opinion about events and issues as the need arises.

The need is clear for continued emphasis in research and publications on the areas of past concern: education, justice, housing, government, poverty, jobs, voting. New resources will allow us to address ourselves to these needs. What will likely be more innovative this year will be an intensification of treatment, a seeing of the problems in new dimensions. Community action, for example, seems to be an approach that will be applicable to nearly all of these areas of concern. The role of planning is another new part of the program. Beyond these things which can be anticipated, a first principle will continue to be alertness for the unexpected, and flexibility to be able to handle it adequately, including awareness of opportunity to treat problems before they become critical.

In an exploratory vein, there will be attention to the possibility of developing material in media not previously used by SRC, including movies and recordings. This may be a necessity as more and more local groups come into being with a need for these resources. There will be attention also to the possibilities of constructive service to the South in encouraging and collecting creative work in the area and folklore of the area.

Efforts will be made to compile information and recollections of the founders and movers of SRC and others for SRC archives and otherwise to improve condition, cataloguing and availability of the archives. The Atlanta University Library staff will cooperate in this undertaking.

New and Expanded Programs

In October, the Ford Foundation made a substantial grant to the Council. This support and that of other foundations will enable us to considerably expand several of our programs and to institute others.

These programs fall under three general headings: Governmental Programs, Special Studies, and Technical Assistance. The interests of the several projects overlap considerably and we hope to achieve a high degree of cooperation among them. In brief description they are:

(1) Governmental Programs:

A. Urban Planning Project. This project will attempt, with both short term and long term programs and goals, to slow the trend toward establishing ghettos and to develop positive programs to reverse that trend. Major emphasis will be on offering technical assistance to urban planners and other public officials. (This is already being done in one city in Florida.) We shall attempt also to offer assistance to the appropriate departments of the federal government and to study, analyze, and interpret the role of these departments. Special attention will be given to the regional and state offices of these departments. Consultative services will be available to local groups who wish to develop an interest in this area and to those who

wish to stabilize a changing neighborhood or those who want to begin the process of neighborhood integration. Programs concerned with neighborhood improvement will also be assisted. An incidental but important part of this project will be to work with schools of architecture and urban planning in curriculum development to see that planners now being trained will have a better understanding of the necessary technical and social aspects of adequate urban planning.

To direct this project we have been fortunate to secure Mr. Moreland Smith, the distinguished architect formerly of Montgomery, Alabama. Mr. Smith has been at work since November and the progress to date is most encouraging.

B. Fair Employment and Anti-Poverty Programs. Emphasis here will be on offering assistance to and analyzing the effectiveness of all appropriate federal programs, especially those concerned with employment and poverty. An effort will be made to develop greater community interest in these programs. In cooperation with

several of the other projects considerable materials will be prepared to reach those for whom the federal programs are intended. We hope to encourage the federal agencies to prepare much more of this material themselves and to allow SRC and other private agencies to concentrate on the distribution of it. Consultants will be available to assist local groups in organizing and seeking federal assistance. Some attention too will be given to the role of state and local governments. A project director has not been secured for this program.

C. School Integration. We shall continue our interest in public school integration with emphasis on research in developing more adequate programs to bring about this essential change. Consultants will be available to assist parents and local groups who wish to contribute to this process. At this point it is generally premature for an agency like the Council, but we do anticipate a gradual shift in interest from the mechanics of school

desegregation to the broad area of achieving quality education for the region's children. Responsibility for this program rests with several departments, primarily field and research. There is no program director.

2. Special Studies:

A. Welfare Programs. It is generally agreed by everyone, including those who administer them, that our welfare programs do not work. We shall attempt to conduct research for the purpose of developing sound ideas for more effective welfare programs. Consultants will be available to work with public officials and to work with local groups who wish to assist in this program in their communities.

B. Rehabilitation of Criminals and Penal Administration. In the fall we had a tentative agreement with Mr. George Randall, then Director of Prisons for North Carolina, to direct this project. Mr. Randall, whose accomplishments in this area are outstanding, was to serve as a full-time consultant to officials in other states. Subsequently, the state of Oregon lured

Mr. Randall and it was a real loss to SRC and to the region. (As we told Mr. Randall, any state enlightened enough to employ him did not need his services.) We continue to look for a director of this project, but the results to date are not encouraging. It may, therefore, be necessary to redesign the project. Whether or not this is done, the project will provide consultants to persons in public and private life concerned with these subjects and research will be conducted.

C. Technological Unemployment. This is a research program designed to go beyond further documentation of the fact that automation is creating unemployment. As a first step we hope to determine more accurately than heretofore has been done the true number of unemployed and the location and characteristics of these persons. If we are able to do this we believe it will provide us and others with information essential for sound programs.

3. Technical Assistance:

A. Project in Community Organization.

There are now springing up in the region innumerable self-help programs. These range from city slum improvement efforts to agricultural co-operatives. We hope to learn as much as we can of these programs and to make this information available to others. Technical consultants will be available. (We have just been asked to provide a specialist in vegetable marketing, and could use immediately a candle maker, a home construction specialist and innumerable others.) We hope, too, to experiment with the idea of using persons from slums or tenant farms who have participated in sound programs as consultants to others in like circumstances. How-to-do-it materials will be prepared, efforts will be made to put private groups in touch with appropriate federal programs, and in some instances we shall attempt to assist groups in developing their programs to the point where they qualify for federal assistance.

In this project, as with the Voter Education Project, considerable experimentation will

be done in the use of college students during the school year as well as in the summer.

Thus far we have learned enough to become concerned about the development of many of these programs without sufficient knowledge or resources. The idea of the all-embracing magic of co-operatives has spread to an alarming degree and raises the possibility of serious disillusionment. As a result of this, one of our first publications will suggest some of the limitations of co-operatives, point out some of the essential requirements for successful efforts and identify situations to be avoided.

Many of these interests will be developed in cooperation with the Rural Advancement Project staff of the four state councils, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama.

Al Ulmer, formerly of the field department, is director of this project. We find that his Peace Corps experience in Nigeria, his work on a Kibbutz in Israel,

and his year-long private work in one of Atlanta's slums have provided him with a uniquely valuable background for this assignment.

B. Labor Education Program. This program is conducted in cooperation with the National Institute of Labor Education of American University. The primary focus of the labor program is on work with intermediate union leadership in the South on problems of racial relations and the contemporary South. "Intermediate leadership" will be broadly defined to embrace at least top local union leadership up to and including full-time union staff.
The methods of the labor program will be largely educational. In the first instance this will mean developing two-to-five-day programs devoted to regional problems with a primary emphasis on matters pertaining to civil rights and race relations. In other instances, SRC staff will be involved in programs concerned with other issues sponsored by unions or other groups in which it was thought wise to include some human relations material.

On occasion, the labor program will experiment with other ways for reaching unionists. For example, it is frequently more effective to deal with race relations problems within the normal framework of the union's operation. So, if the consideration of such matters can be included in stewards' training or union administration classes, so much the better.

The program will continue to perform a liaison function between human relations agencies and unions. It will serve in a consultant capacity to individuals and organizations where this is seen to be mutually desirable. The program will seek to develop and distribute materials pertaining to the Council's areas of interest which will be useable within the labor movement.

The program works cooperatively with the state AFL-CIO bodies in the South and with the national AFL-CIO departments of Civil Rights and Education. Similarly, the program will cooperate with the national unions represented in the region which have education or civil rights programs.

To direct this program we have been fortunate to secure Dr. Emory F. Via, on leave from the University of Wisconsin. It is very good to have back this valuable man who worked with us in the late '50's.

C. The Voter Education Project. This project is essentially a continuation of the Council's earlier program of voter education. However, a number of changes have been made, reflecting the new situations and the new needs of the voters and potential voters of the region. For instance, a much greater emphasis will be placed on citizenship education. We have no illusions of the difficulty of providing programs of sound non-partisan, civic education. But we believe such programs are necessary and we shall attempt to develop them. Many of these programs will be conducted in the larger cities where voter registration is relatively high. Frequently they will be conducted along with programs of voter registration and community organization.

In the rural and small town areas emphasis will probably continue to be on voter registration, though here too we find a

substantial need for organization and citizenship training. To the extent that violence and reprisals continue to be used as means to prevent the participation of Negroes in the political process this is especially true.

We plan to offer a number of "work scholarships" to students during the summer and during the school year for work with local groups. We hope in this way to tap the energy and resources of these young people and to offer encouragement and training for their continued participation in these vital areas of citizenship.

There are plans to utilize southern campuses for workshops and to prepare voter education materials on private and federal betterment efforts where feasible. Our research effort will document techniques, develop needed materials, encourage effective reporting by participants, and interpret events through frequent publications.

We have assurances of cooperation in implementing these programs, from the five major civil rights agencies and

expressions of serious interest from many local organizations. Since grants of funds and personnel assignments will be arranged directly with these groups, we require only a core of staff -- project director, secretary, fiscal officer, research aide, and for the foreseeable future, a field director. Resources which cut across special interest boundaries are provided the project by an Advisory Committee, which held its first meeting December 30, 1965.

Only a portion of the funds needed for this project are currently available. However, we hope to secure and invest more than $300,000 in this program during the year.

Vernon E. Jordan, formerly assistant to the director, is director of this project. In July Mr. Jordan took a leave of absence to serve as a special consultant in the regional Office of Economic Opportunity. It is good to have him back and to have his considerable talents available for this important work.

This opportunity to expand the Council's programs and to develop new ones is, to us, both exciting and

significant. It has long been a dream of our founders and Members that the Council be a repository of skills needed for the region's development. We are now approaching the realization of that dream and the timing is appropriate.

For a number of years this was not possible because the resources were not available. Such resources as there were had to be used to meet the most immediate situations. This has not been unfortunate. The Council has made a considerable contribution. It has grown painfully and slowly but in the process we have grown in influence and gained invaluable experience.

During the past months I have given considerable thought to these matters, what the Council is and what this position of director is.

In the case of the Council, I recently attempted to describe the organization to one of our supporters. In that description was the following:

"We must hasten to add, as we always must in accounts of this nature, that the Southern Regional Council has no illusions of its power or ability to change the region. At best we can look for opportunities that are promising, needs that are pressing, new developments that require interpretation, or situations which hang in delicate balance. We can only hope that such resources

as we can bring to bear will make a difference. These skills and this realistic appraisal of limitations may be the reason the Council is unique, as we think it is. The Council is a strange agency, neither completely academic research-oriented in nature, nor action-oriented in the usual sense of that term. It is an agency, born out of the particular southern mind, which is designed in the best judgment of those who direct it to meet the particular southern need. This, in the sense of building a society as well as in the sense of correcting old evils, leads to the merging of specialized skills, interests, and resources..."

So I see the Southern Regional Council.

My understanding of the position of the executive director is considerably less clear. Certainly it is, more than ever before, an administrative one. During the past months, in staff, programs and budget, we have literally exploded. It is not easy, in this field, to spend a great deal of money with wisdom and maximum efficiency. It is extremely difficult to find a large number of new staff persons, to incorporate them into the organization and to make the best use of their talents. We have had a great deal of this to accomplish in a very short time. I can report to you in all honesty that the beginnings of this undertaking have not been disappointing. But, I have no illusions that it is only a beginning.

There is yet much to be done before we can be comfortable with these magnificent new resources and opportunities.

We must be careful too, no matter what resources we find, to keep our lean look and to depend on the Council's traditional ingenuity. It may be heresy to make this observation, but I firmly believe we are blessed by having no endowment. It is good that the Council and staff are regularly submitted to scrutiny and evaluation not only by the Members of the Council but by outside observers as well. We are an institution, but we became a valuable one because of this leanness and this ingenuity and a good measure of brilliance on the part of those who have led the organization. It would be fatal to get to the point where these characteristics were not essential to survival.

In the concluding paragraph of my report to you at the Annual Meeting I attempted to say this to you in the following way: "We have come too far now -- late as it is -- and too many have done too much -- to fail at this point. We have many opportunities -- some of them as a direct result of having succeeded in doing what we tried to do. We have gone through lean, hard years. Now, neither we the Council nor we the South can let progress and opportunity defeat us when adversity could not."

Finally, this position of Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council -- whatever else -- is a

magnificent one for any person who loves this region and has a concern for its development. This is true for many of our positions at SRC and I, and we all, pledge to you the most productive year we are capable of providing.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

A GUIDE FOR HOME BUYERS

A HOME OF OUR OWN

Urban Planning Project Publication No. 2

A HOME OF OUR OWN

Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St.,
N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. Nov. 1966

INTRODUCTION

To the average family, buying a house is the most important business transaction it will ever undertake. Yet few of us have a clear understanding of all that is involved in the process. For how large a loan should one obligate oneself? What neighborhood considerations should one take into account in looking for a house; what structural considerations in the house itself? What is the meaning of such terms as equity, title deed, mortgage? This pamphlet, prepared by Mrs. Jerry Dell Gimarc of the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project, attempts to answer fully, and yet in language comprehensible to the lay reader, these and many other questions related to the buying of a house.

In presenting this information we have chosen a fictionalized account of the "adventures" of a Negro family considering home ownership for the first time. The course the Walters take is the same that any buyer must pursue. The definitions of terms and the check list for deciding on a good house are the same for anyone looking for a house in any neighborhood or city. There is special emphasis on the problems and complications which may face a Negro family who find *their* house outside traditionally Negro neighborhoods. At the end of the pamphlet is a list of other booklets and materials which may be helpful and of interest to the prospective house buyer.

This pamphlet is a work book. The reader will notice that various check lists are provided throughout the text. The boxes in the left hand margins should be checked as each step is completed. The pamphlet is designed to be used, marked on, and made valuable as your own house-buying guide.

1 WHY NOT BUY?

One evening after the dinner dishes were put away and the three children tucked into bed, Sue turned to Joe and asked, "Why can't we buy a house of our own?" Joe hesitated, for he had heard this question before, then replied, "Perhaps we could." And so began a long search as the Walters looked carefully at their desires, financial capability, future plans and willingness to undertake the responsibilities and costs of home ownership.

First, they wrote down the reasons why they wanted to buy.

☐ 1. MORE LIVING SPACE FOR THE MONEY THEY WERE SPENDING ON RENT. They had three growing children, and the family was probably not complete. The Walters lived in a small six-apartment unit in a two bedroom apartment; they were already feeling crowded, but apartments with enough space cost more than they could pay.

☐ 2. They wanted more PRIVACY. Their landlord, who lived nearby, dropped by too often to "look around," and the people in the other part of the apartment building were too near.

☐ 3. Sue wanted a GARDEN of her own. She could have used some ground where they were, but it didn't seem worthwhile to invest in plantings for someone else's property.

☐ 4. The Walters liked their town and intended to remain there. A house of their own would give the children a sense of STABILITY or PERMANENCY. Sue and Joe wanted to be part of a community where they felt they *belonged!*

☐ 5. Two of the children were already in school, but the neighborhood school was overcrowded and did not offer as much individual attention to the pupils as the Walters had hoped. In another neighborhood they believed they would find BETTER SCHOOLS.

☐ 6. Although the thought of the house as a "home" was uppermost in their minds, the Walters also considered the purchase as a

sort of enforced savings, for they would be slowly building up EQUITY, or redeemable value, in the property as they paid for it over the years.

☐ 7. In the not too distant future Joe hoped to own his own small business, a garage, where he would be his own boss. He realized that the purchase of a house, with prompt and regular payments, would give him a good CREDIT RATING. When he was ready to establish his garage, he would have less trouble borrowing the money for his business.

Then the Walters made a list of the reasons why they should not buy.

☐ 1. They wanted to remain in their town, but it was quite possible that they might move out of the state in the next five years. If so, could they SELL the house quickly? If not, then they might own a house in one city and be living in another state!

☐ 2. They would have to take CARE OF THE HOUSE themselves if they owned it; would have to see about repairs, repainting, pay real estate and other taxes.

☐ 3. They would have to BUDGET carefully, making sure part of their *weekly* income was put aside to pay for monthly house notes. This might be difficult for a while until they got used to planning for bills and expenses on a monthly and sometimes a yearly basis.

Sue and Joe considered and reviewed the lists carefully. The list *for* buying was much longer and weightier than the one against, but they were concerned that they really might not be able to *afford* buying. They did not want to go beyond their means and fail to meet their payments. They decided they would take a careful look at their present income and expenditures to see how much they could spend on shelter. They had heard several simple formulas about how much a family could or should spend for (1) monthly house notes: 25 or 30% of the effective monthly income (the income for a month less deducted federal and state taxes, social security and retirement fund) or (2) total price: two and a half times the family yearly income. But the Walters wanted more than these simple formulas; they wanted to look closer at their own spending. To do this they made a list of their income, living expenses and obligations and gave as true a picture as they could from the records they had of the real expenditures they made for each item and of the income they could count on.

INCOME (Monthly)

Joe's Take Home Pay	$ _____
Any other steady income*	$ _____
TOTAL INCOME	$ _____

*Sue worked occasionally in a department store, but since her job wasn't steady and since she had small children at home and was still of childbearing age they did not count any income from her.

LIVING EXPENSES (Besides Housing)

Food (per month)	$ _____
Clothing (per month)	$ _____
Education (money required by children for school fees)	$ _____
Medical and dental (budgeted)	$ _____
Automobile (or other transportation) - operating expenses, repairs	$ _____
Recreation & entertainment (books, hobby supplies, newspapers, magazines, sports events, movies, etc.)	$ _____
Miscellaneous (dues to organizations, charitable contributions, church)	$ _____
Savings (as a regular item)	$ _____
Taxes (besides those deducted, such as ad valorem or property tax on autos)	$ _____
TOTAL	$ _____

FIXED OBLIGATIONS (Monthly)

Installment payments (on car, furniture, appliances, etc.)	$ _____
Other debts, payments (personal loans, debts, etc.)	$ _____
Insurance premiums (auto, theft or life - any premium not already deducted from check)	$ _____
State income tax (if not deducted)	$ _____
Retirement fund or health insurance (if not deducted)	$ _____
Miscellaneous (support of parents, alimony, child support, etc.)	$ _____
TOTAL	$ _____

To figure monthly expenses from weekly figures, Sue and Joe multiplied the weekly figure by fifty-two (for the number of weeks in a year) and divided by twelve (for the number of months).

$$\text{Monthly} = \frac{\text{weekly x 52}}{12}$$

Sue and Joe added their fixed obligations to their living expenses and got a total which was their total monthly expenditures besides housing expenses. They subtracted this total from their total income. *The difference was what they had per month for housing expenses.*

TOTAL MONTHLY EXPENSES (besides housing)		$————
FIXED MONTHLY OBLIGATIONS	+	$————
TOTAL MONTHLY EXPENDITURES		$————
TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME		$————
TOTAL MONTHLY EXPENDITURES	—	$————
HOUSING MONEY PER MONTH		$————

The housing money had to include:
MORTGAGE LOAN — Principal and interest
Plus Mortgage Insurance Premium (if FHA loan)
Hazard Insurance Premium
Taxes and any special assessments
Estimated maintenance and repairs
Estimated utilities — heat, light, water, air conditioning

Sue and Joe decided that in the next week they would learn what all the words meant — mortgage, interest, principal, equity, and so on.

They learned these definitions:

☐ 1. LOAN — the money they would have to borrow to buy a house; the money lent them either by a lending institution alone or lent by a lending institution and secured (underwritten) by the Veterans Administration or Federal Housing Administration for buying a house.

☐ 2. INTEREST — the fee they would have to pay the lending institution for the loan; the amount of money they would be charged for using the money borrowed. The interest was usually given as a per cent, like 5½% or 6%, and meant they must pay that per cent each year for the amount of money borrowed for the number of years borrowed.

☐ 3. PRINCIPAL — the sum borrowed. When the borrower repays the loan, he pays each month a certain amount for the interest on the money lent and the rest on the principal, or the money

borrowed. (Some payments also include small amounts for taxes and insurance.) At first, most of the monthly payment is taken up by the interest on the loan and only a small amount goes to pay back the money borrowed. The amount each month which must go to interest declines over the years of the loan as the principal is repaid. Each month a little more of the monthly payment is applied to pay the principal, and the owner's equity thus increases.

☐ 4. DOWN PAYMENT — the money given as partial payment for the house at the time of purchase.

☐ 5. MORTGAGE — agreement for a long-term loan where the lender has a claim on the property as security for the money he has lent and may foreclose, or take back the property, if the borrower does not pay the amount borrowed according to a time schedule.

☐ 6. EQUITY — the actual dollars and cents value that an owner has in his home — in effect, his investment — once all fees and charges against his property have been paid.

☐ 7. TITLE DEED — legal document stating that a piece of property belongs to the owner and was transferred to him from the previous owner with no legitimate claim remaining unsatisfied. When real estate is sold an investigation of the records must be made to show that the seller really owns the property, that it is without debts or ownership claims on the property.

☐ 8. TITLE INSURANCE — insurance to make sure that the lender does not lose money if the title to a property is defective. This insurance provides funds to defend the insured title against any claims (such as a forged deed or an undisclosed heir) and to pay the insured party (the lender, and at a small additional cost the buyer, can also be covered) against loss. This insurance cost is paid *only once,* at the time of sale, and is a per cent of the sales price.

☐ 9. HAZARD INSURANCE — insurance against fire, wind storm and other specified natural hazards. This is usually part of the payment to the lender each month.

☐ 10. TAXES AND SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS — property owners must pay real estate taxes which are based on the appraised value of the property. These taxes pay for schools, civic improvements, parks, etc. Usually, they, too, are part of the monthly payment to the lender. He charges the borrower part of the tax month by month, accumulates it, then pays the tax on the property for the borrower when it falls due.

☐ 11. CLOSING COSTS — these are a number of items which are charged to the buyer at the time of purchase. Often they are unexpected, and they must be paid for in *cash.* They include the cost of title insurance and the amount of hazard insurance premium due for the remainder of the year, the amount of real estate tax due for the remainder of the year, recording fees which are charged by state and and sometimes city offices to record the change of ownership, recording tax fees for states which require revenue stamps (tax stamps) to be placed on the documents filed. Besides these charges are the fees the lending institution may demand for the services of experts used to check items for borrower before he is lent money — title search or the check to see that the title to the property is in good order, property survey or the check on the dimensions of the property the lender may lend his money on, appraisal of the value of the property

to guide the lender in deciding how much to lend, personal credit report on the borrower to see if he is a good credit risk, has a steady job and pays his debts. A fee for the outside lawyer who is attending to the seller's interest may be charged to the buyer. The buyer's own lawyer's bill is in addition and does not usually appear at closing.

The Walters were staggered by all the complicated terms, but gradually, after studying them for a while, they began to feel more comfortable with the definitions. One thing they were terribly curious about was how much the closing costs would be since they had to be paid for in CASH at the time the mortgage agreement was signed, and this was in addition to the CASH required for the down payment. They found these costs depended on the property and its locality but that the CLOSING COSTS are a per cent of the cost of the house. They usually range between 3 to 5 per cent. This varies according to the location of the house and the custom of the neighborhood. Who pays the costs *can* be negotiated. The seller may agree to pay some of them. The terms of payment *can* be established prior to the closing of the sale. The buyer's lawyer should check these terms and costs to get the best possible terms for his client.

After considerable discussion Sue and Joe thought they would be able to buy if they could find a modestly priced house and get a good loan. They had saved $1,500.00 which they could use for down payment and closing costs. Now they began to find out the difference between the three types of loans — conventional, FHA, and VA.

CONVENTIONAL LOANS — two-party loans between the borrower and lender. The "security" the borrower offers is the house he is buying and his own value as a credit risk, as a person who can and will repay the money lent. Usually the terms of a conventional loan are more conservative than for FHA or VA. This means that these loans require a larger down payment, sometimes a higher interest rate, and often are for shorter terms than in the other two classes. Conventional loans have more flexible terms. For people who are able to make a down payment of several thousand dollars they are easier to get. These loans are obtainable through banks, savings and loan associations, insurance companies and mortgage bankers. FHA and VA loans may also be obtained at the same places.

FHA LOANS — a three-party agreement. Besides the borrower and lender (as with a conventional loan) the Federal Housing Administration, a government agency, is involved. The FHA tells the lender that in addition to the borrower's credit rating and house it will offer further security for the loan by insuring the lender against the loss he might incur if the borrower does not live up to the loan agreement.

The borrower, however, is charged ½ of 1% more for this insurance. This money goes into a common pool to pay the losses when borrowers default. This additional security often enables the borrower to get a larger loan than he could ordinarily. At present the borrower, if approved, could get a loan for all but three per cent of the total price of the house. This means that up to a $15,000 loan, a borrower might have to pay only 3% as down payment. And in some cases the time allowed for repayment may be up to 40 years. The rate of interest which can be charged for the loan is usually smaller than for a conventional loan. A family, then, with little ready cash could buy a house under this type of loan.

VA LOANS — also a three-party agreement. This time the Veterans Administration guarantees repayment of part (60%) of the loan up to a maximum of $7,500.00. This extra guarantee means as with FHA that the lender may be willing to lend more than he would for a conventional loan. Also, the VA requires no down payment, if this is satisfactory with the lender. But not everyone can qualify for a VA loan. One must have served in the U. S. Armed Forces during World War II, the Korean War, or since January, 1955.

The FHA-insured or VA-guaranteed loans must be applied for at the time of application for a loan from a lending institution. FHA and VA do not lend money directly (there are some exceptions for VA), but they do guarantee loans from lending institutions under the special conditions mentioned above. The borrower fills out an FHA or VA application form when he applies for a loan. These applications are usually available at the lending institutions. (For comparison of the different types of loans, see the chart at the back of the book.)

The Walters studied their finances and the possibilities of getting a satisfactory loan and decided they would be able to afford to buy without undue stress on their present budget. Although they were paying a good deal for shelter, they felt that with their small regular savings for emergencies they could accept the responsibility of home ownership and long-term debt with little likelihood of defaulting or being unable to make payments, and they knew they would keep *their* house in good condition, well-maintained at all times. They had talked to enough FHA people and loan people to know that if they couldn't make payments and their house was repossessed they would find it very difficult to get a loan *ever* again. This then was a serious step for them, but one they felt was reasonable and justified.

But now that they had decided they would buy if they could find a house which suited them they began to wonder how to locate "their" house and how to tell if it were a good buy when they found a place which appealed to them.

2 | THE SEARCH

Early the next Sunday morning Sue and Joe grabbed the paper, got out a map of town, found pencil and paper and began looking through the classified section for "Houses for Sale." They decided they would become acquainted with what was available in all sections of the city for several weeks, go through some of the houses, drive by others, so they would get used to "looking." They read the ads and prices, checked the locations on the map, bundled the children into the car and set off.

They first wanted to look at the location of the houses. Joe had made up a check list of things the location of "their" house must have and Sue had added a few items of her own. They drove and looked and checked— "a" for excellent, "b" for good, "c" for fair and "d" for bad — each location according to these needs:

☐ 1. NEIGHBORHOOD

What did the other houses look like, were they nicely kept, was the house they were interested in the best of the group or one of the less impressive in the area? (They had read that it was better to buy a less expensive house in a good neighborhood than the best house in a poorer neighborhood, at least as far as resale value was concerned.)

☐ 2. NEARNESS TO WORK AND GOOD TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

Sue sometimes needed the Walters' car to run errands; Joe didn't want to live on the other side of town from the large repair shop where he was depended on as foreman mechanic. He wanted to be able to reach his job by public transportation without spending several hours going back and forth.

- Was there a bus running near-by?
- What was its schedule?
- Would it take Sue to town quickly and conveniently at non-rush hours?

☐ 3. GOOD SCHOOLS

To both the Walters it was very important to know where the nearest grade school was and what sort of program it had.

- Was it overcrowded?

- Were its teachers well-qualified and interested in their teaching and their pupils (according to other parents in the neighborhood)?
- How far away was the high school and what sort of place was it? (After all, the children grew so fast.)
- Could the children walk to school without crossing streets with heavy traffic?

☐ 4. CHURCH
Sue wanted to make sure a church of their denomination was near so that the family could be involved in weekday activities as well as Sunday services.

☐ 5. CONVENIENTLY LOCATED SHOPPING AREAS
Sue would prefer being able to walk to local stores. Until they could afford a washing machine she would have to take the clothes to the laundromat. Was there one nearby?

☐ 6. RECREATION AREAS
The children would soon need a park or playground for games and activities.
- Were there any in the area?
- Could they be reached by the children without danger from heavily trafficked streets?
- Were these areas well lighted in the evenings and properly cared for by the city?

☐ 7. AWAY FROM HEAVILY TRAVELED STREETS
- Was the house protected from the noise and dust created by heavy traffic?
- Could the children walk to their activities without undue danger?

Sue and Joe found houses in several neighborhoods which got many more "a's" than "b's" and no "d's" at all. The following weeks were devoted to intensified examination of the houses offered for sale in the classified section of the paper. The Walters also contacted a real estate agent, told him their problems, price range and approximate neighborhood. They looked at many houses and from their experiences drew up yet another checklist to mark "a," "b," "c," and "d" for houses.

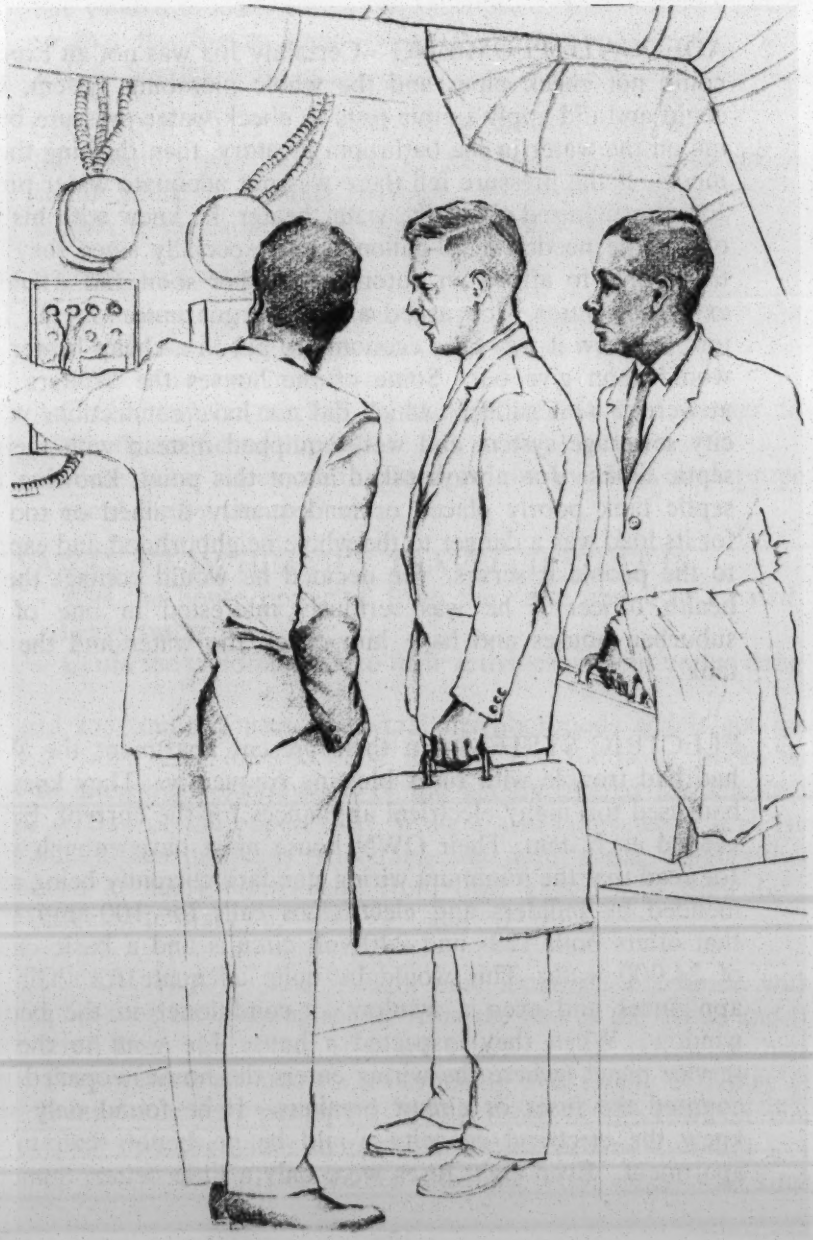
☐ 1. FLOOR PLAN—The Walters were looking for a house with a quiet area for sleeping set off from the rest of the house and buffered from the noises of other activities (by closets or halls). They wanted an area for entertaining and family activities (the living room and perhaps a dining room or den) which would allow these activities to proceed undisturbed by constant traffic to other rooms. They wanted adequate work space—the kitchen

and a place for Joe to work on cars and keep his tools screened and private from the street and neighbors. They could find how well a house took care of these needs by drawing a floor plan and marking off the different areas in different colors. This showed easily how one area related to another and which areas overlapped. Sue and Joe wanted to make sure that the bathroom (or rooms) and kitchen could be reached from other rooms without going through bedrooms (a continuing disturbance in their present apartment).

☐ 2. ADEQUATE PLUMBING—Certainly Joe was not an expert and could not check pipes and the whole plumbing system, but he could and did apply simple tests to check water pressure by turning on the water in the bathroom lavatory, then flushing the commode. If the pressure fell there was not adequate water pressure. Joe also inquired about the water heater; he knew with his family of five he needed a 50-gallon tank, especially since they hoped to be able to afford an automatic washer soon and would need extra hot water. Joe asked about the guarantee on the heater, too; he knew it was false economy to put in a cheap heater which would soon give out. Some of the houses the Walters looked at were in new suburbs which did not have connections with the city sewerage system and were equipped instead with their own septic tanks. Joe always asked about this point, knowing that a septic tank poorly placed or inadequately drained or too small for its load was a danger to the whole neighborhood and especially to the people it serves. He decided he would contact the local health officer if he was seriously interested in one of these suburban houses and have him check the water and the septic tank.

☐ 3. ELECTRIC SYSTEM—In their present apartment the Walters had had trouble with fuses blowing frequently. They knew they had used too many electrical appliances for the current, but they needed each item. Their OWN house must have enough wiring. Joe read that the minimum wiring standard currently being recommended by builders and electricians calls for 100-amp service that offers both 129- and 240-volt circuits and a basic capacity of 24,000 watts. This would be quite adequate for their small appliances and even a window air-conditioner in the bedroom window. When they inspected a house Joe went to the main service panel (where the wiring enters the house), opened it and counted the fuses or circuit breakers. If he found only six he knew the electrical capacity would be no better than in their apartment. Even eight fuses were only a little better. Sometimes

the capacity rating was written on the panel. Joe decided he would call an electric utility representative or an electrician to check the capacity for him when they thought they had found THEIR house. While Joe was looking at the fuse box Sue was counting the electrical outlets in each room. One, she knew from experience, was not enough. It was dangerous as well as inconvenient to string extension cords all over the room from the one plug. In their dining room it was even worse because appliances had to be plugged into extension cords hanging from the light socket.



Two outlets would be an absolute minimum in each room and four should be the norm. Joe pointed out that increased outlets only was no relief from blown fuses without increased amperage (current). Joe hoped the house they chose would have an outdoor self-grounding electrical outlet for power tools, one that was covered to protect it from weather and children. He liked to work outside, doing odd jobs and working on cars; an outside plug would be a real convenience.

☐ 4. SOUND ROOF—Although Joe was not a roofing expert, he could and did look for ordinary signs of wear. Dry, cracked asphalt on the roof meant a new roof would be required soon. He also checked the flashing (metal strip around the chimney and at the place where different roof planes meet such as at the junction of roof and gable) to see whether it was visible and in good repair. Joe knew that most roof leaks occur at the flashing points when the flashing is not tight. Joe looked for rain gutters and down spouts and their condition. At the point where the down spout lets water out to the ground the best provision is a gutter which directs the water into the street, but the minimum is a splash block or concrete scoop which splashes the water off and away from the house. Letting the water run along the ground with no other provision for drainage meant erosion in the yard or standing puddles to breed mosquitoes and undermine the foundation of the house.

☐ 5. PROPER DRAINAGE OF LAND—Joe knew from experience that lowlying land, improperly drained, caused disagreeable consequences for the houses located on it. Besides the mosquitoes and probable termites there was constant mud (which the children played in and Sue scrubbed up). Grass and flowers wouldn't grow well. And the water against the house kept the wood damp; damp wood rotted. Joe was so concerned that the house they bought have proper drainage he made a point of checking the land around houses they were interested in after the rains. Joe did not accept the assurances of house owners or real estate agents.

☐ 6. DRY BASEMENT—In a few houses the Walters were shown basements. This was not common construction, but they could see some advantages for it. It could be used for storage, for a children's playroom, and it would be cool and comfortable in the summer. They checked the walls for tell-tale signs of moisture and checked the walls again after a rain. They asked neighbors if they had had trouble with their basements. And finally they looked carefully, inside and out, to see whether there were any

high water marks. Sue remembered faintly that she had read of water backing up from a creek into one residential section of the town; was this the one?

☐ 7. SOUND FLOORS—In the rooms with wooden floors Sue and Joe walked carefully all around, looking for boards which seemed loose, looking for signs of moisture and heavy wear, trying to determine the slant (an indication of the settling of the house), trying to feel for soft spots in the floor which might indicate a bad brace. They attempted the same survey on the floors covered in vinyl tile, noting especially any places where the tile was loose or where the adhesive oozed through. Then they stepped back to see if the different flooring materials created a harmonious effect with each floor flowing into the next rather than every room having a different floor.

☐ 8. CONVENIENT ARRANGEMENT OF THE KITCHEN—While Joe looked over the roof and basement, Sue cast a critical eye over the kitchen since that was where she would be spending a great deal of her time. She wanted a place which would be large enough for the family to have room to eat in and one where she could look out the windows and keep an eye on the children playing. She looked to see if there were plenty of cabinets and if she could reach them without climbing on the kitchen stool each time she needed a muffin tin. Sue played cook in the kitchens of the houses they were interested in, trying out the "work triangle" or the path from sink to stove to refrigerator and back. She tried how the refrigerator door would fit, opened cabinets and drawers to see how much they interfered with one another. And she looked for adequate ventilation. She knew an open window simply didn't function well enough to take away cooking odors and heat. She had vowed that in her new house she would have an exhaust fan in her kitchen. Finally she made an especially careful check for electrical outlets. She liked to play the radio while she worked in the kitchen and it would be an inconvenience if she had to unplug it every time she used the toaster, or the electric iron.

☐ 9. ROOM FOR FUTURE GROWTH—Sue and Joe together stood back from the houses they were considering and thought where they might add another bedroom in five years or so, or possibly a large family room. They wanted their house to be able to grow with them as their family increased and as the children's demands for space increased with age. The Walters realized that what seemed enough land was not always the deciding factor for there were ordinances and zoning laws which restricted building

which was too close to the street or too close to the property line. They decided they must find out about these laws for any house they thought they might buy.

After five weeks of looking at houses, Sue and Joe became very observant "lookers" and the children bored travelers. The family almost despaired of finding a suitable place already built. Sue and Joe began investigating building their house themselves. Their first question was where to find the sort of plans they might like. They discovered they had several courses.

1. ARCHITECT — His plans would be drawn up to fit their own unique needs as they explained them to him. This would take some time and a specific understanding of their needs and desires themselves plus the ability to express them specifically to the architect. The architect would continue submitting plans until all changes had been made and the plans accepted. This was time consuming for architect and client. They found that architects ordinarily would not take jobs for houses on budgets as limited as theirs. The architect must spend many hours drawing the plans, and he is paid a per cent, 8% to 15%, of the total cost of the house. Since they wanted to spend about $10,000 to $12,000 on the house it was uneconomical for an architect to take the job.

2. STOCK PLANS—These are plans drawn up by an architect and mass produced and distributed. They are available through government agencies, home and garden magazines, building material supply houses, lending institutions, builders' magazines, department stores, furniture stores and home plan services. The Walters looked through several plan books and found a plan they liked. They considered sending off for it. The cost of one set of drawings was $30 to $35. The drawings consisted of a set of blueprints, four to eight sheets showing the floor plan, foundation plan, all four elevations, the roof and wall framing schemes and various construction details. Generally included with the blueprints are a list of specifications (telling how deep to make the foundation piers, temperature when pouring concrete, etc.), a list of materials needed, and directions on doing the actual work. Sometimes there is also a blank contract which could be used for the agreement between builder and contractor. As Sue and Joe studied further the possibility of building they were a little hesitant because they felt they knew so little about it. They learned, for instance, that the lot they bought must be perfectly level if ready-made plans were used; if it were not there might be complications when alter-

ing the foundation plans. They were afraid to pick the plan and the contractor and then oversee the construction. They wanted to be able to look at the house as a finished product before buying.

3. READY-BUILT HOUSE — A friend suggested that one alternative might be to buy in a subdivision where the builder was showing model homes. Here the Walters could look at a house *like* the one which would be built for them. The friend cautioned them, however, that when looking at the model, they should look beyond the glamour, find out how much space they really had, how many of the fancy appliances and light fixtures came

with the house and which were extras—and besides that, if they were truly interested, get all the specifications down in writing. He also advised them to inspect the building lot rather than picking it blindly off a subdivision map. They began to look at the builders' homes and seriously considered buying one of them.

While looking at these homes they found that this particular subdivision was financed by FHA and that both FHA and VA required builders to conform to certain standard specifications before they would insure the builder's loan. During construction of these houses FHA or VA officials make inspections to see that they are built according to plans filed with FHA or VA and according to the government specifications. This doesn't mean that the federal government is guaranteeing that the home will be satisfactory in every way, but only that it must conform to *minimum* building requirements. The owner's main reliance must be on the reputation and integrity of the builder chosen to build the house.

3 | CLOSING THE DEAL

Three more months of looking passed before the Walters found THEIR house. At least they *thought* it was the perfect house for their family; it seemed to pass all the tests they had created for judging houses. But they wondered if perhaps they were compromising or lowering their standards because they were tired of looking. Before making their final decision, before putting up "EARNEST MONEY" (the payment which said, "Hold the house for me till I see if I can get a loan"), *they wisely decided to contract for a lawyer*. They had never before needed any legal help, and they were wary of being tricked by an unscrupulous lawyer. They had heard stories about such people. In the neighborhood where they were living they knew there was a Legal Aid Office, so they went to it. Since their income was above the level which would allow them to be eligible for free service, the Legal Aid Office could not help them itself. It could and did, however, give them a list of names of reputable attorneys who would be willing to advise them for a reasonable fee. The Legal Aid Office told them that they were very wise in requesting this advice now. Their office had many clients who came in for help *AFTER* they had signed a contract —at a point when Legal Aid could be of no help since the agreement was already signed. Sue and Joe found a pleasant and patient attorney who told them that he would be happy to help them with the technicalities of home purchase. They arranged in advance what his fee would be, and the lawyer agreed to payments spread over three months.

Sue and Joe followed these precautions before deciding on their home:

☐ 1. LAWYER—They retained (or hired) an attorney to look after their interests. The lawyer made his own title search to double check the one made by the lending institution. He looked over the Walters' preliminary purchase agreement to buy the property, making sure that there was a clause which said their money would be returned in case they could not get the necessary loan. He drafted their loan note and mortgage since it was not done by the lender, but he would have examined the mortgage had it been drafted by the lender. And on the final day of the signing of the mortgage papers, he attended the meetings as the buyer's representative and read and approved all documents before the Walters signed. The cost of such services depends on the locality;

sometimes it is 1% of the total sale price. Joe wisely inquired first so that he would be prepared for this bill which was separate from the bill presented at closing of the transaction.

☐ 2. TITLE SEARCH — The examination of records and documents concerning previous ownership to make certain that the title (or deed of ownership) to the property does not have any debts against it. This is ordinarily part of the fee presented by the lending institution at closing and a necessary prelude to obtaining the title insurance which is usually required by the lender. The cost ranges between $50.00 to $100.00 and may be listed as part of the cost of the title insurance.

☐ 3. TITLE INSURANCE — The Walters knew they would have to pay a certain amount for insurance to protect the lender from loss should the title to the property prove defective because of a prior claim even after the most careful search. As they inquired about this insurance they realized that *their* part of the equity (that portion of the property they paid for through down payment and later increased by paying on the loan) would not be insured in this insurance. If a claim were brought, and the court did not rule in their favor, they would lose all they had invested. The Walters also found that it did not cost much more to buy additional insurance with the same company to cover their own equity. The insurance, which is paid only once and is part of the closing costs or lender's fees, usually runs several hundred dollars.

☐ 4. PROPERTY SURVEY — Ordinarily this is a part of the requirements of the lender and is billed to the borrower as part of his costs at closing. The land surveyor checks the boundary lines of the property to make sure they coincide with the description on the deed. He also determines whether the buildings are set back from the street and property lines the distance required by community law. The lender will insist that this be done before agreeing to lend the money, and Joe wanted to be sure that the land and house he intended to buy was the property which belonged with the contract. Survey fees range from $30 to $75.

☐ 5. APPRAISER — If the loan is FHA or VA underwritten, then government appraisers will look at the property and decide what is a fair evaluation of the property's worth. By law these valuations must be made known to the purchaser. Conventional lenders also have the property appraised and its value as a long-term investment determined. The amount they lend will depend on this appraisal and their limitation by law of per-cent-of-value (such as 80% of evaluation for a $15,000 home). These appraisals are not made known to the borrower-buyer although the fee for the ap-

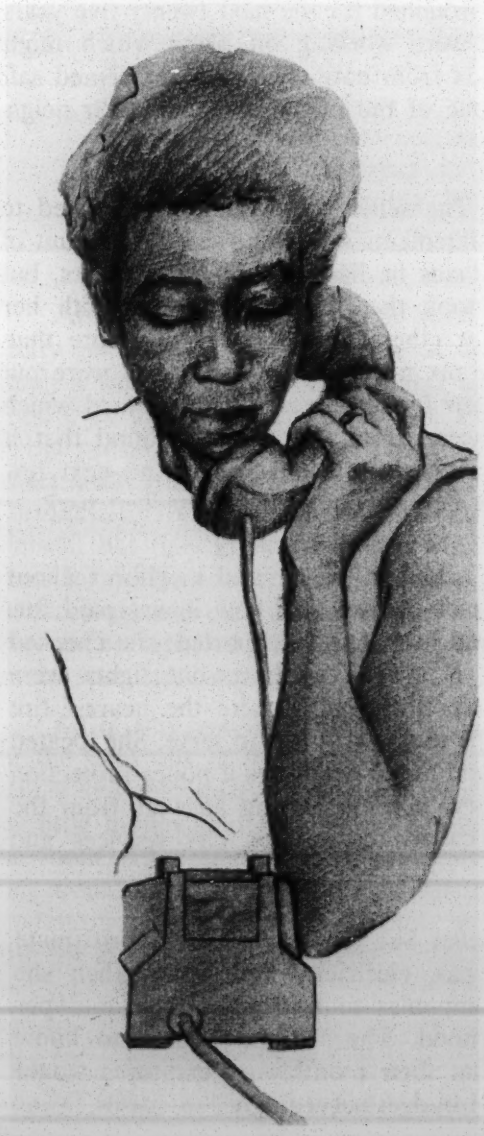
praisal is generally part of the closing costs. The FHA appraisal fee is paid by the seller. For a conventional loan, the charge, if any, is usually part of a general "lending charge." It may be that a first-time buyer like the Walters—or even an often-time buyer—may want to hire his own appraiser from a private firm to look over the property, inside and out. The appraiser considers neighborhood stability, analyzes the present housing market by checking the price of houses sold in the area recently after inspecting them and comparing them with the house the buyer is interested in and the price he is being asked for it. Sue and Joe felt that it would be money well spent to hire an appraiser. They found that for a detailed analysis the price range would probably be $75 to $100 and for a less detailed study about $30. The man they hired was an experienced appraiser who belonged to the Society of Residential Appraisers; he was also a member of the Appraisal Institute. They made certain that he was a member of these organizations; the Walters had been told that such men were usually reasonable and well-trained professionals who knew their business. They found out about these organizations by asking questions of real estate agents and at a near-by consumer education facility.

☐ 6. EXPERT'S ADVICE — Joe was still concerned about aspects of the house which required an expert's eye to evaluate. How sound was it structurally? Was the roof in good condition? What was the state of the plumbing and electrical wiring? He learned that an architect might be able to answer these questions. Joe's attorney suggested he ask the local branch of the American Institute of Architects, the Chamber of Commerce or various lending institutions to recommend architects to make this survey. He was able to locate a willing and well-thought-of architect who agreed to the fee of $15.00 per hour for his inspection. The architect looked at the exterior and landscaping as well as basic construction (foundation, beams, roof supports, flooring, windows, doors, insulation, wiring, plumbing and floor plan). Joe could have engaged for a small fee separate roof, electrical and flooring experts to do the same sort of job the architect did. He decided on the architect for his own convenience. Although Joe's lawyer said that the payment of the fees was negotiable with the seller, Joe said and his lawyer agreed that it was better to have the experts on the buyer's payroll where their opinions would not be influenced by another's interest.

☐ 7. TERMITE INSPECTION — To make sure that the house was free from termites the Walters contacted an exterminating company which gave the house a free inspection. It was agreed that

if termites were found the seller would pay the exterminating fee, which generally amounted to several hundred dollars, and contract for permanent bonding. The permanent bond meant the exterminating company would check for termites each year for a small continuing fee.

While the Walters were paying for advice from various people with specific training, they had set up for themselves a check list to make their own inquiries about their possible future home and its neighborhood.



☐ 1. ZONING — Sue was concerned about the zoning regulations for the neighborhood, whether they allowed for industrial sites, businesses and construction of multi-family dwellings. Besides that she wanted to know for herself how far back from the street property had to be set, whether it would be possible for Joe to have an office or small workshop at home when the time came for setting up his own business, and what, if any, other restrictions were on the use of the property. To find out about zoning, Sue first had to get the "legal description" of the property which means the *lot number and addition.* She finally found that she could get this "legal description" either from a copy of the tax receipt (which the seller had) or by calling the local auditor's office or city engineer and giving him the street address of the house they wanted to buy. Once she had the "legal description," Sue called the city zoning office (or planning commission) which gave her the regulations applicable to the property the Walters were considering buying. Sue also asked in the neighborhood whether these zoning regulations were strictly enforced or whether

people with political influence could obtain special exceptions. She was glad to find that the property was protected by uniform application of the regulations.

☐ 2. FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION — With "legal description" in hand Sue went to the local planning commission and asked about future highway construction in that area. She inquired further about city plans for urban renewal areas, municipal facility construction, school construction and university expansion, anything which might affect the neighborhood where they wanted to buy. Although the planning commission couldn't guarantee that the neighborhood would be untouched for the next twenty-five years, Sue could see that they were working on plans which might take effect five or ten years from now. Their house seemed safe for the next ten years; none of the plans related to their neighborhood.

☐ 3. PROPERTY TAXES — The seller was willing when asked to show the Walters his tax statements which showed the amount of city and county property taxes he had paid in recent years, but to check once more Sue took the "legal description" with her and went to the tax *offices* (there turned out to be more than one). She asked about the tax rate, what use the taxes were put to in that area and what new facilities were being planned which would require new tax levies. From this trip she found that it would be likely that property taxes would rise in the next few years to pay for building a new school with an attached park.

☐ 4. CITY SERVICES — Sue asked the seller and neighbors about how efficient the garbage pick-up was and how it was paid for, about the sewage service and how it was supported; she checked street lights and inquired if broken or burnt-out lights were quickly repaired or replaced. She found where the nearest fire station was and how large the area was it had to serve. She located the nearest police precinct and asked neighbors if police protection were routine and satisfactory. After collecting answers from the seller and neighbors Sue called the various city services and inquired directly.

☐ 5. UTILITIES — From the seller Sue found what the approximate bills were per month for gas, electricity and water; then she checked with the utility companies to find what their rate per unit was for that neighborhood. The Walters wanted to know as definitely as possible what their monthly expenditures would be for utilities so they could budget accordingly.

☐ 6. INSURANCE — Joe knew that the lender required "hazard insurance," and he was curious about the rates for this insurance from various companies. The lender had suggested that the insurance be bought from a certain company, apparently an affiliated company, but Joe decided he would see if he could get the same coverage elsewhere for less. This was his privilege. Joe also wanted his own equity in the house covered and not just that part of the value of the house which was the lender's. Joe found that different locations meant different insurance rates—that the distance from the house to the nearest fire hydrant, the location and service area of the nearest fire station, and the construction of the house (frame, brick or stone) along with other factors all had a part in determining this rate. Joe also found that with just a little added to the monthly premiums for hazard insurance he could have a "homeowner's policy" which included not only fire and wind insurance but also insurance on personal belongings and insurance to cover liability for injuries others might suffer while on the Walters' property. Joe was still able to have the insurance premium prepaid as part of the monthly note on the house.

After checking off all these questions, Sue and Joe felt they had a pretty good idea of the true state of the house they wanted to buy, how much it would cost to live there and what might happen to the neighborhood over the next ten years or so. Finally they took a good *hard* look at the prospects of continued maintenance. They knew they would have to set aside a little each month for the maintenance jobs when they came. Fortunately, Joe was handy with tools and could do many repair jobs himself, but they knew the house would have to be repainted every few years for the house was frame, not brick. The yard needed some additional landscaping, and they would have to buy gardening tools. The roof would have to be replaced within the next ten years, and parts of the interior would soon need repainting.

All of this would not be cheap. And they had no intention of falling for the sales talk of the bogus repairmen who tricked people out of their money and sometimes their homes by pretending they would make repairs for little money and long terms but actually doing no work and taking the money. Joe said when they needed help on repairs for the house they would go to an old and established firm—after they had checked its reputation and called to see if there were any complaints filed against it with the Better Business Bureau.

With that last thought about the responsibilities for maintenance the Walters were ready to go ahead with the sale. They signed the preliminary sales papers and made their partial down payment (the "earnest money" which would be applied to the full down payment once the loan

was approved) AFTER THEIR ATTORNEY HAD LOOKED OVER THE PAPERS. They applied for and secured an FHA-insured loan; they could not afford a very large down payment.

On the big day for the final settlement, the seller and his attorney met with the Walters and their attorney and the lender. The Walters' attorney read over the mortgage agreement and loan note and advised them to sign both. This done, the lender handed the seller a large check. Then a list of closing costs was presented to the Walters which included:

— fee for recording the deed
— fee for registering the title
— fee for recording the mortgage
— real estate transfer tax
— part of real estate tax remaining for the rest of the year (if prepaid by the seller)
— part of insurance payments for the remainder of the year (if prepaid by the seller)
— gas or water bills (that part, if any, prepaid by the seller)
— title insurance (includes charge for title search; the premium is paid only once)
— mortgage service charge (charge to pay for such expenses as inspections, preparing loan papers, lender's attorney's services, photographs, notary fees, processing fees, commission and such overhead as stationery and postage); usually 1% to 2½% of the sum borrowed
— property survey (to determine lot lines and usually required by lender)
— credit report (required by lender with charge passed on to borrower; cost about $10.00 for long-term residents of a town).

In total the closing costs for the Walters were about $500.00. They paid them along with the rest of the down payment from their savings and were told that the house would be theirs—in only 25 more years!

That evening the Walters celebrated with just the family. They had worked hard to select a house which would serve their needs, retain its value over the years of the loan and afterwards, grow with the family and be sound and comfortable and pretty. They had found such a house, they believed, and now it was theirs. Certainly, they knew they would have to be responsible, keep the house well painted and repaired, make their monthly payments on time. All this would mean careful budgeting. But they had considered the disadvantages and demands in advance and were willing to devote the time, thought and money required of home owners for the sake of a better home.

4 | BREAKING BARRIERS

After the Walters were settled in their new home they were considered local experts on house buying among their old friends. When asked for advice, when friends wondered if they should expect any trouble if they bought or built in a neighborhood of another race, Sue and Joe gave them some suggestions. They understood the problems since they, too, were Negroes.

1. Although there is not a national fair housing law which requires that a seller not discriminate against a prospective buyer because of race or color, creed or national origin, there are some houses which *must* be sold on a non-discriminatory basis. These houses are those which have received FHA or VA assistance in construction (one-or two-family dwellings which have been occupied by the owner are not under this ruling) or those which have FHA or VA financing. The FHA or VA repossessed houses are often good buys. Anyone interested can obtain a list of properties acquired by FHA for resale in their state by contacting their state FHA office. For VA repossessed houses the buyer must contact a real estate agent to learn which properties are available.

2. Sometimes builders and sellers try to impose a "color tax" on non-white buyers. Checking to determine the truth of suspected discriminatory treatment could be organized through the state Council on Human Relations or the nearest Urban League office. After an interested Negro couple looked at a house, learned whether it was for sale, what price was asked, what financing terms were suggested by the seller, they would turn this information over to their white checking couple. This couple would give information very similar to that given by the Negro couple as to number in family, job, length of time working, financing needs, housing requirements, age, etc. The white couple, giving the seller this similar information, would then find out if the house were for sale, the price, financing, etc. If the answers varied considerably for the two couples, then their careful documentation of the questions, answers and treatment might constitute a strong

case to prove that discrimination existed or that a "color tax" (higher price for the Negro prospective buyer) was being exacted. This information would only be useful directly for that property which is under the President's Executive Order 11063 forbidding discrimination in government aided or financed housing.

3. If the seller or builder or lender is seen to be discriminating where there is a legal basis to sustain a complaint, those being discriminated against should write the regional VA or FHA office, the national VA or FHA office, the regional U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and the state Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Any results follow long delays and continued prodding by the aggrieved party; even if no action is taken in time to assure that the minority group buyer is able to buy the property against which the complaint was filed, the complaint will probably make it easier for a Negro to buy similar property next time.

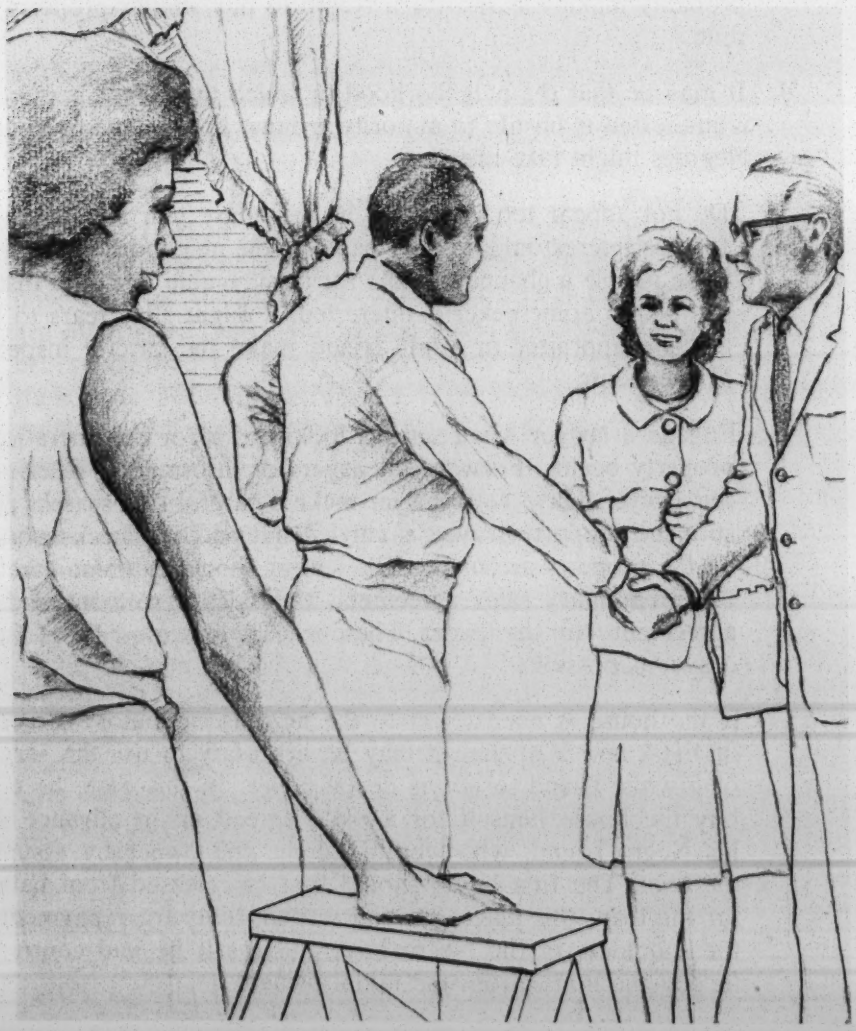
4. It may be that the neighborhood in which the Negro homeseeker is interested is hostile to minority groups. If so, some precautions Negroes might take are:

A. Do not appear too interested in the house you are looking at. Intense interest might cause panic in the neighborhood and give these people a chance to unite for disagreeable hostility. Instead, if a Negro homeseeker is interested, it might allay fears to have a white appraiser or white friend make the careful inspection of the house.

B. Engage a lawyer when serious looking and/or consideration of property begins. Forward all papers or information received to this lawyer. Have your lawyer make a careful title search; make sure the property survey is carried out and all checks possible on the property are made. The lawyer should examine carefully the preliminary sales agreement, the sales agreement and the agreement with the lender. These transactions must be as tightly drawn as possible.

C. If the house is not subject to the non-discriminatory directives of FHA and VA, then it may be necessary to use the services of a white friend to act as decoy buyer. In this case, he could buy the house himself for a price agreed on in advance with his Negro friend, who would become the owner by assuming the loan. The first buyer should first be released from liability for the loan; this places the full responsibility for repayment on the shoulders of the Negro buyer just as if he had contracted to buy the house from the initial owner.

D. Once the house is purchased and it appears that there is hostility in the neighborhood, notify the local law enforcement officials of any fears so that they may provide protection of property and person. In areas where the local police have not given equal protection to Negroes, then it would be wise to notify the nearest state and federal officials. It is unlikely that these officers will provide actual protection, but they would be alerted to the possibility of violence. Although violence is less likely now than in the past, even in the South, the new Negro resident in a predominantly white neighborhood should be prepared for its eventuality. Besides law enforcement authorities the new home-owner should contact the nearest Council on Human Relations or similar group and clergymen in the new neighborhood. The clergy especially could be of great help in reducing tension.



E. On moving day, use a moving van if at all possible. It costs more than the move-it-yourself method, but movers can move the new family much quicker, and the van out front gives a look of stability and ordinariness to the operation. The first job inside the house should be to put up some kind of curtain over the windows to cut out curious neighborhood watchfulness. Once this is done, continue the unpacking operations quietly and proceed with ordinary activities, staying indoors if possible.

F. In the following weeks, entertain a minimum of visitors. Give the neighbors time to get used to the new family. White friends, clergy or white members of the local Council on Human Relations (bringing their children along to play) should call and be seen going in and out of the house. This could do much to relieve neighbors' fears and establish a pattern of behavior for the neighborhood.

Sue and Joe were glad to make these suggestions. They were not meant to alarm their friends or discourage them from moving into a neighborhood of another race. The Walters felt that they had a right to live where they could find the best housing for the money they could spend, in a neighborhood which best fitted their needs. If the neighborhood happened to be white, they knew difficulties could arise, and they thought ahead about how to cope with them.

HERE'S HOW HOME LOANS COMPARE

	FHA LOANS	VA LOANS	CONVENTIONAL LOANS
What's the interest rate?	Currently 5¾%. With the ½% premium for FHA insurance, you pay an effective rate of 6¼%. On loans of $8,000 or less, there may be a service charge, too, up to ½%.	Currently 5¾%.	Varies with lenders, locality and time. Also may vary by type of property and size of your down payment. Rates are in the 6½% minimum range.
How long to repay?	10, 15, 20, 25, 30 or 35 years, but no longer than three-fourths of FHA's estimate of the remaining economic life of the structure.	Up to 30 years, but no longer than the estimated economic life of the structure.	Generally 20 to 30 years, but sometimes under 15 years.
What's the most you can borrow?	On a home you live in yourself, $30,000.	No limit as such. But you cannot pay more than VA estimate of "reasonable value."	No dollar limits. But there are percent-of-value limits. See below.
How much of house value can you borrow?	For a house okayed by FHA before construction or one completed longer than one year: 97% of $15,000 plus 90% of the next $5,000, plus 75% of value over $20,000. For other houses, use 90% of the first $20,000 plus 75% of value above $20,000.	VA allows 100% loans. Actually, how much you can get depends on how much a lender will risk on the strength of VA's maximum guarantee of $7,500.	Depends on the lender. Usual limits: Insurance companies 66⅔%-75% Savings & loan associations 80%-90% Most banks 75%
How big a down payment?	For homes valued $8,400 to $10,000, at least $300 down. For those valued $11,700 to $13,300, at least $400 down. Others more.	May be nothing but closing costs.	Difference between maximum loans as above and purchase price.
Prepay (paying the loan ahead of schedule) without penalty?	Yes, up to 15% in any one year.	Yes.	Some restrictions on prepayment likely.
Put a second mortgage with it?	No.	No.	Yes.

FHA AND VA REPOSSESSED HOUSES

Repossessed houses are those houses which have been foreclosed (or taken back) by the lender because the borrower has failed to repay the loan (or money borrowed). FHA and VA loans mean the federal government backs up the loan and assures the lender repayment. After the government's obligation to the lender is satisfied by paying off the loan, the government (the Federal Housing Administration or the Veterans Administration) takes possession of the house and resells it. VA and FHA repossessed houses come under President Kennedy's Executive Order 11063 forbidding discrimination in the sale and rental of houses. Much of this property is well built and can be purchased for a reasonable price.

FHA REPOSSESSIONS: When the FHA repossesses a house, it takes a number of steps which eventually lead to the house's resale:

1. The repossessed house is APPRAISED and a reasonable selling price is fixed. The appraiser tells FHA what repairs, if any, need to be made to make it conform to FHA standards.
2. These repairs are made.
3. If there are many repossessed properties in an area, a MANAGEMENT BROKER is hired. This man (or firm of real estate agents) supervises the repairs and keeps the house in shape while it is on the market.
4. After the house is fully repaired, it is publically advertised for sale (in Atlanta, Georgia, in the Sunday *Journal-Constitution*) and listed in the monthly FHA-ACQUIRED PROPERTIES mailing list. (This list may be obtained by writing the nearest state FHA office and requesting it.)
5. Only after public notice is given can the property be shown or sold.*

Interested persons must deal through a real estate agent or the management broker. This agent or broker contacts the state FHA office to make the offer to buy. In cases where there is a management broker, the real estate agent must contact him and deal through him.

After the public listing in the paper, offers may be presented to the FHA office. Usually several offers are received at the same time. When

*The management broker knows in advance which houses are FHA repossessions and what progress has been made on repairs. He has the key to the house. Sometimes he shows the house prematurely before the public listing, which is contrary to FHA policy. With the management broker's advantage of prior knowledge of property and approximate time of its sale, his clients are often able to have their bids in first. This means that the Negro buyer may have to contend with double discrimination if the agent of his choice is not the management broker.

this occurs the FHA decides which offer to consider first by seeing which ones show a willingness to buy the house at the FHA-appraised price and for the necessary down payment (usually 3% of the sales price). If the offers all indicate willingness to accept the appraised price and submit the necessary down payment and are accompanied by an appropriate earnest money deposit in the form of a certified or cashiers check made payable to the FHA, then the order of the offers is decided by lot. Only after drawing for order of consideration does the FHA run a credit check on the applicants.

FINANCING for FHA-acquired properties may be any one of three ways:

1. Purchaser pays all cash.
2. Purchaser obtains a conventional loan.
3. If private financing is unavailable under the first two means, then the FHA may accept a mortgage given by the purchaser.

VA REPOSSESSED HOUSES are handled in approximately the same way as the FHA repossessions.

The houses are appraised before foreclosure and a fair market value is assigned to the property. Repairs are made if necessary, but the houses can be bought "as is." If they are bought "as is" then the prospective buyer may, with VA approval, occupy the house for rent during the closing of the sale. The houses must be bought through management brokers; a buyer's broker must place his offer for the property through the management broker if there is one. The management broker cannot sell the house until the price has been established and the list of available properties with price and minimum down payment sent to all real estate agents requesting it. (The list is not ordinarily available to private individuals.) After this list is published, offers may be submitted to the VA (through the management broker), and all offers submitted during the first 48 hours are considered as having arrived at the same time. The VA then considers the offers in order of being most advantageous for the government; that is, which offer is willing to make the largest down payment, requires the shortest repayment time and is the best credit risk. Offers are considered in order of their risk, with minimum risk being considered first. In all cases, a veteran's offer comes first. After the first 48 hours, offers are considered in the order they are received.

If a prospective Negro home buyer is interested in the FHA-repossessed properties and he feels that he is being discriminated against by the real estate agents in the area or by the management broker, he may make a complaint to the FHA field office. "Discrimination" could be refusal to show an FHA-acquired house, or refusal to sell such a house. Proof of discrimination may come through the use of "checkers" or white "buyers" who go to the same real estate agent who has told a Negro buyer that no FHA-acquired property is available. If the checkers are told that

repossessed property is indeed on the market, that woud constitute discrimination. Another proof of discrimination would be if a real estate agent told a Negro buyer that the FHA-acquired house he was interested in had an "offer in process." The Negro buyer could check with the FHA field office to see if for that property an offer *was* in process. If it were not and the real estate agent had lied, then that would be proof that the agent was discriminating. The complaint of discrimination should be backed with as much evidence as possible, something more than just a "feeling." To prove discrimination is often difficult; it requires a knowledge of real estate practices and legal rights which the layman often does not have. The home buyer could turn for help in building his case to his local Legal Aid Society, NAACP chapter, Urban League office or Council on Human Relations. (See page 42 for addresses).

Researchers who worked on this pamphlet found it very difficult to extract from FHA a written description of complaint procedures in cases of alleged discrimination. The VA could not provide any such written description at all. FHA procedures apparently have not been given wide distribution and anyone asking the agency is likely to be given the impression that the procedure is, at best, vaguely defined, involving only that a written complaint be submitted to the local field office.

In reality, Executive Order 11063, sections 51601-51612 (which outline these procedures) is very specific. These sections provide, in part, that: (1) all complaints be submitted in writing by the individual or an officer of the organization on whose behalf it is filed, using FHA form 797 where possible; (2) that the responsibility for processing the complaint rests with the Insuring Office Director having jurisdiction over the housing involved; (3) that FHA must make every effort to properly dispose of the complaint within 30 days and that when more time is needed preliminary reports should be submitted giving reasons for the delay and establishing a new terminal day; (4) that no public statement be made concerning the details of a complaint pending a final decision on its merits; (5) that acknowledgement of the complaint be made by the Insuring Office Director within two working days of its receipt; (6) that the alleged violator after first being informed of the complaint against him, also be notified not to take any action that would cause the housing accommodations which are the subject of the complaint to become unavailable to the complainant until the matter is properly settled; (7) that where the Director has found evidence of discrimination no further FHA applications of the violator be accepted for processing and any applications that he has in process shall be discontinued until either (A) the discriminatory practice has been eliminated and satisfactory assurances of future compliance have been received or (b) the findings of discrimination are reversed by the commissioner.

Complaint procedures through the VA—as already stated—were not available in written form. Through conversations with VA spokesmen,

however, the process seems essentially to amount to this: If real estate agents in the area and the management broker will not show to a prospective Negro buyer the VA-acquired properties, then that buyer may appeal directly to the VA which may then sell the house to him without dealing through the broker. The complaint should be submitted to the local VA office in writing together with all other documents to prove the discriminatory act.

Both FHA and VA indicate that they have had few complaints; both were extremely cautious in discussing their procedures. Whatever the reason for such an attitude, this much is certain: complaint procedures should be adequately defined by both agencies and should be readily available at all local and field offices. In filing a complaint with either agency it would be advisable to send a copy to the regional U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and the state Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Redress for complaints in any event will probably be slow and reluctant. But if rights under the President's Executive Order are not used then they are really meaningless. And unless those who have been discriminated against are willing to file a complaint and to carry it through with persistence there likely will never be adequate complaint procedures.

PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER 11063

On November 20, 1962, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 11063 which forbids housing discrimination in federally aided housing programs. The housing affected by the order is that:

1. owned or operated by the federal government (homes repossessed under FHA or VA programs fall in this group);
2. provided in whole or in part with the aid of federal loans, grants, advances or contributions;
3. provided in whole or in part by loans insured, guaranteed or otherwise secured by the credit of the federal government (all homes financed through the Federal Housing Administration or the Veterans Administration);
4. provided by the development or redevelopment of real property made available by a state or local public agency through federal financial assistance for slum clearance and urban renewal.

The order applies to all housing and related facilities provided with federal assistance made available *after November 20, 1962*. It also applies to all housing that is owned or operated by the federal government, no matter when provided (such as FHA and VA foreclosures). The order also covers all housing owned or operated by the Defense Department, as well as any housing that is financed with the aid of FHA mortgage insurance for defense personnel.

BUILDERS AND DEVELOPERS OF NEW HOUSING PRODUCED UNDER THE FEDERAL LOAN INSURANCE (FHA) OR GUARANTEE PROGRAM (VA) ARE PROHIBITED FROM DISCRIMINATING in the sale or rental of this housing if their applications for government assistance were filed after November 20, 1962, the time of the executive order.

HOME FINANCING INSTITUTIONS ARE PROHIBITED FROM DISCRIMINATING on the basis of race, color, creed or national origin in their lending practices with respect to housing loans which are insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the federal government as the result of applications filed after November 20, 1962.

AN INDIVIDUAL HOMEOWNER SELLING HIS OWN HOME IS NOT COVERED BY THIS ORDER. The Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration have exempted owner-occupants of one- or two-family houses from the regulations issued by these agencies to implement the executive order. Lenders, however, doing business under FHA or VA programs may not refuse a loan to a qualified buyer in such cases because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

CLOSING COSTS: Charges to the buyer presented at the time of purchase. The charges are usually unexpected, and they must be paid for at the time of purchase in *CASH*. They include the cost of title insurance and the amount of hazard insurance due for the remainder of the year (if prepaid by previous owner), the amount of real estate tax due for the rest of the year, recording fees charged by state and sometimes city offices to record the change of ownership, recording tax fees for states which require revenue stamps (tax stamps) to be attached to the documents filed. Besides these charges are the fees the lending institution may pass on to the borrower for the services of experts used to check the investment value of the property and the position of the borrower before making a loan (title search or the check to see that the title to the property is in good order; property survey or the check on the dimensions of the property; appraisal of the value of the property to guide the lender in deciding how much to lend; personal credit report on the borrower to see if he is a good credit risk, has a steady job and pays his debts). A fee for the outside lawyer who is attending to the seller's interest may be charged to the buyer. In FHA loans closing costs also include a discount percentage which is, in effect, a service fee paid the lending institution for handling the loan. The items charged to the buyer at closing are negotiable. Sometimes the seller may pay part of them. In all cases the buyer can find out a few days in advance the approximate sum necessary for these costs by telephoning the lender or the real estate agent or by having the buyer's lawyer do so.

DOWN PAYMENT: The money given as partial payment for the house at the time of purchase.

EARNEST MONEY: The money given by a possible buyer to the seller to show that he intends to buy the house. With this money as promise to buy, the seller holds the house for the buyer while he is arranging for a loan. Usually in a preliminary sales agreement (have a lawyer check this agreement before signing), the possible buyer has his earnest money returned if he is not able to get the necessary loan.

EQUITY: The actual dollars and cents value that an owner has in his home; in effect, his investment once all fees and charges against his property have been paid.

HAZARD INSURANCE: Insurance against fire, windstorm and other specified natural hazards. This insurance is required by the lender and is usually part of the payment each month to the lender.

INTEREST: The fee paid lending institution for the loan; the amount of money the lender charges the borrower for the use of the lender's

money. Interest is usually given as a per cent. The borrower must pay that per cent per year for the money not repaid the lender.

LOAN: The money borrowed to buy a house; the money lent either by a lending institution (such as a bank) alone or lent by a lending institution and backed by the Veterans Administration or Federal Housing Administration for buying a house.

Conventional Loan: Two-party loans between the borrower and lender. The loan is "secured" or backed by the value of the house being bought and by the credit evaluation on the borrower. This credit evaluation depends on the borrower's job, salary and prospects of remaining at the job and his record in paying past debts.

FHA Loans: Three-party loans where the Federal Housing Administration is involved as well as the lender and borrower. The FHA insures the lender against loss if the borrower fails to repay the loan. For this insurance the borrower pays ½ of 1% of the total loan. This money goes into a common pool to pay the losses when borrowers default.

VA Loans: Three-party agreement where the Veterans Administration guarantees repayment of part (60%) of the loan up to a maximum of $7500.00.

MORTGAGE: Agreement for a long-term loan where the lender has a claim on the property as security for the money he has lent and may foreclose or take back the property if the borrower does not pay the amount borrowed according to a time schedule.

MORTGAGEE: Another name for the lender.

MORTGAGOR: Another name for the borrower.

PRINCIPAL: The sum borrowed. When the borrower repays the loan, he pays each month a certain amount for interest on the money lent and for insurance and taxes; the rest of the payment is paid on the principal or the money borrowed.

TITLE: The right to exclusive or sole ownership.

TITLE DEED: Legal document stating that a piece of property belongs to the owner and was transferred to him from the previous owner with no legitimate claim remaining unsatisfied.

TITLE INSURANCE: Insurance to make sure that the lender experiences no loss if the title to a property has earlier claims to it. This insurance provides funds to defend the insured title against any claims (such as a forged deed or an undisclosed heir) and to compensate the insured party against loss. The buyer, for a small additional fee, may cover his own equity with title insurance. The insurance is paid *only once*, at the time of sale, and is a per cent of sales price.

TITLE SEARCH: The examination of records and documents concerning previous ownership to make certain that the title (or deed of ownership) to the property has no claims or debts against it.

HELPFUL ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

General discussion as to how to determine a good house and a good value:

"Buying a House—Is the Price Right?," *Changing Times,* Vol. 18, November, 1964, pp. 30 - 32. This article points out ways to try to determine whether or not a house's price represents "true market value"; it suggests that if the prospective buyer hasn't the time himself for determining the value then he should hire a professional appraiser.

"How to Take the Questions out of Buying or Selling a House," *Better Homes and Gardens,* Vol. 41, March, 1963, pp. 117 - 120. Discusses with detail the problems of home financing, finding a good location, checking construction, determining the condition of the house and true market value and how to make an offer.

Before You Buy A House by Robert A. Marshall, *Changing Times.* Published by Kiplinger Washington Editors, Inc., 1729 H Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
This 96 page paperback booklet discusses in detail and in an interesting manner the many questions a buyer has when deciding on a new home. It helps the buyer select a house which suits him and explains in simple but precise language the intricacies of financing. Although it was published in 1964, very little of the material is dated. It would be $1.95 well spent by any serious home buyer.

Discussion of specific topics related to homes, sound efficient construction and lasting beauty and comfort:

Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 20402.
"Homes: Construction, Maintenance, Community Development," a bibliography of government pamphlets available on the home. This bibliography lists pamphlets on such topics as better lawns, plumbing, interior decoration, floors, roofing and termites. Prices for the pamphlets range from $3.00 to 5¢ with most available at a cost of 40¢ to 5¢.

Consumers All: The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1965. Each year the Agriculture Department publishes this practical book of facts dealing with every part of the home and home management. It discusses how to landscape a garden, select a good fabric for curtains or protect a house from decay and termite damage. The cost of this

512 book is $2.75 and may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 20402. The local library in a town will probably have a copy.

Plumbing-Heating-Cooling Information Bureau, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60601. Information on the above topics.

Agricultural Information Office, College Station, Texas 77840. Safety information on the home.

Small Homes Council-Building Research Council, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801. Basic facts on equipment and materials and advice to the buyer on what to look for to suit his needs.

Money Management Institute, Household Finance Corporation, Prudential Plaza, Chicago, Illinois 60601. Information on how to select furniture and appliances to get the best service for the money.

American Home Lighting Institute, 360 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60601. Gives basic requirements and plans for lighting a home adequately.

Information on Veterans Administration or Federal Housing Administration loans may be obtained from these two agencies:

Veterans Administration, Washington, D. C. 20420
"To the Home-Buying Veteran: A Guide for Veterans Planning to Buy or Build Homes with a GI Loan," pamphlet # VA 26-6 Revised.
"Questions and Answers on Guaranteed and Direct Loans for Veterans," pamphlet # 26-4 Revised.
"Pointers for the Veteran Homeowner: A Guide for Veterans Whose Home Mortgage is Guaranteed or Insured under the GI Bill," pamphlet # VA 26-5 Revised.

Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C. 20411
"FHA Financing for Home Purchases and Home Improvements," Pamphlet # FHA 428.
"FHA Home Mortgage Insurance," pamphlet # FHA 208.
"An FHA 'Quick Guide' to Buying a Home," pamphlet # FHA 428-A.
"Loan Closing Costs on Single-Family Homes."

HELPFUL ORGANIZATIONS

State Councils on Human Relations
For the address of the Council in your state, write Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Write Jacques Wilmore, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mid-South Field Office, 167 North Main Street, Memphis, Tenn. 31803, for contact in your state Advisory Committee.

National Urban League
The Southern Regional Office of the Urban League, 78 Marietta St., N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303, will send you the address of the local Urban League nearest you.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
The address of your state NAACP may be obtained from the Southeastern Regional National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 859½ Hunter St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

Veterans Administration Loan Guaranty Division
S. E. Regional Office: 449 W. Peachtree Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

Federal Housing Administration
Home office: Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C. 20425.

Urban America
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

American Civil Liberties Union
S. E. Regional Office: 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. (ACLU's program centers around legal services and lawsuits.)

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Southern Field Office: 1046 Baronne St., New Orleans, La.

Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith
Southeastern Regional Office: 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office: 1818 S. Main St., Highpoint, N. C.

American Jewish Committee
Southeastern Regional Office: 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

DUAL JUSTICE IN THE COURTS--
UNCONCERNED COMMUNITY

Justice is turned back,
and righteousness stands afar off;
for truth has fallen in the public squares,
and uprightness cannot enter . . .
The Lord saw it, and it displeased Him
that there was no justice. Isaiah 59:15-15

"Dual justice takes many forms, some merely disgusting and others so quietly terrifying that they balk the scrutiny of rational men."

The answer — A concerned community
The ultimate responsibility is with the people.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

1966

From the discussion groups of the 1965 workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, came an urgent request that the Fellowship of the Concerned launch a campaign of women visiting the courts -- showing their interest and concern in what is happening.

What has been done thus far:

1. The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council gave the program their hearty approval.

2. The State Councils on Human Relations will be partners with us in this program.

3. A call went out to the presidents of national women's organizations asking them to come to Atlanta for two day's of discussion. The response was most gratifying.

The morning session of the first day was spent listening to a group of lawyers discussing for us the problems we had to meet and answering their questions. The remainder of the time was in the hands of these national women who divided themselves into several committees.

Mrs. Stuart Sinclair, President, United Church Women, National Council of Churches

Miss Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women

Mrs. Max Goldstein, National Board, National Council of Jewish Women

Mrs. George Gunning, National Board, National Council of Catholic Women

Mrs. A. L. Cram, Jr., Vice President, National Board Y.W.C.A.

Mrs. Michael Shapiro, First Vice President, B'nai B'rith Women

Mrs. George E. Kimball, Vice President, Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation

Mrs. Benjamin Mays, Representing Woman's Missionary Council, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Mrs. O. Ivan Cole, President, International Christian Women's Fellowship, Disciples of Christ

Mrs. Rose Anna Nelson, First Vice President, Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

Miss Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary, Board of Woman's Work, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S.

Mrs. Niles C. Clark, Representing Woman's Society of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church

Mrs. Edward M. Brown, Representing Council of Lay Life and Work, United Church of Christ.

The following is their report:

A. Issued the following statement.

> "We, as members of national women's organizations, believe that the freedom, dignity, and security of the individual are basic to American democracy.
>
> "Since it is the nature of women to be a civilizing influence we are particularly concerned about the treatment of people in our democracy today.
>
> "As women citizens of this nation we feel a moral responsibility for the administration of justice in the courts.
>
> "This requires knowledge, personal commitment, and united action."

B. Directed the Southern Regional Council to prepare material on the discrimination in jury selection and the dual justice in the courts -- one for Negroes, one for whites.

C. Asked that workshops on the courts be held in each of our eleven Southern States -- and that visits to the courts be made beforehand in preparation for the state workshops. (One of the lawyers who spoke to the group said, "If women would visit the courts regularly it would revolutionize the courts.")

(Please study the attached "Observer Guidelines" prepared for us by Mrs. William Wood, First Vice President, League of Women Voters of the United States.)

WORKSHOP ON COURTS

Prepared by Mrs. Wm. Wood, Vice President,
League of Women Voters of the United States

Observers Program

Some selective process should be used in recruiting observers. Personal appearance and demeanor are important. Those willing to participate should --

1) Conduct themselves in a polite, well-mannered way.

2) Be willing to sit through proceedings and refrain from making remarks or engaging in conversation with those nearby while the Court is in session.

3) Act like a fair-minded person.

It is wise for observers to work in teams of two. This makes it possible to check with one another when any report is written.

When observing in the Courts the following should be kept in mind:

1) Trials are open. However, any judge has power to exclude the public and to have part of the hearing in private.

2) Know the procedures in the Court to be visited. Attorneys can be helpful in briefings on this.

3) Know the Court schedule -- what cases are coming up, the time the Court opens, etc.

4) Many Courtrooms have limited space. Get there in time to get a seat near the front so you can hear. Do not expect special favors in having a seat saved. If offered, do not accept a Judge's invitation to sit on the bench.

5) Areas of interest:
   a. Judge's demeanor toward the person before the Court.
   b. Bail.
   c. Legal Counsel.
   d. Jury selection.
   e. Sentencing, fines, etc.

6) Observe several times with the same judge presiding.

7) Observe procedures under more than one judge.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE:

THE PROBLEM

Much has been written on the South's dual system of justice -- one brand for the white man -- yet another for the Negro. Legislation is even now being debated which hopefully will bring about change. But it will take more than new laws to rectify the abuses of generations. The vigilance of dedicated citizens willing to spend time and patience sitting in courtrooms and observing, willing to inquire, to ask the hard questions about long established procedures can be quietly effective. A coalition of women's organizations acting on local levels can fill this need. When lynch law was prevalent in the South, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was formed and over the years contributed hugely toward eliminating mob rule in the South. The same spirit of that earlier organization is now needed as the South faces up to the new challenge of Jim Crow justice.

Let's look just briefly at the overall situation, for basic to any meaningful action is an understanding of the directions one is trying to move.

The double standard of justice in the South is most obvious in the record on civil rights cases.

From 1960 through mid-1965 at least twenty-six Negroes and white civil rights workers were slain. Only one assailant was sentenced -- to ten years in prison.

Toward the end of 1965, however, the three men accused of murdering Mrs. Viola Liuzzo were convicted of "conspiracy to violate her civil rights" and were sentenced. This was after one of them had been acquitted of the charge of murder. The next day Damon Strange was convicted of manslaughter in a night-rider slaying in Anniston, Alabama.

If the double standard of justice were limited to civil rights cases, one might find reason for optimism -- however slight -- in these recent convictions. But the problem goes much deeper.

The double standard of justice looms constantly over the daily life of every Negro in the South. In ordinary contacts with police, in traffic courts, in civil procedures, and in criminal cases the dual standard is a standing abuse to all Negroes.

Capital Cases

Despite the fact that more than half of all convicted rapists are white, 87 per cent of all the persons executed for rape between 1930 and 1963 were Negroes convicted and sentenced by southern courts.

Between 1930 and 1961, 34 people were executed for the capital offense of night-time burglary. Twenty-nine of them were Negroes and all but one were put to death in a southern or border state.

Studies have shown that a Negro murderer is likely to get the maximum penalty if his victim is a white person, while

southern courts are inclined to be lenient if the victim is another Negro. A white person is more likely to receive the maximum penalty for killing another white person than for killing a Negro.

Minor Offenses

Negroes suffer from what has been described as "cash register justice." Suppose a judge gives two men, one a Negro and one white, the same sentence for drunk driving: $150 fine or twelve months in jail. If the Negro is a laborer at $1.25 per hour (when he can find work) and the white man earns $250 a week, the sentence is not really the same because a fine of three days' pay for the white man is an impossible sum for the Negro.

To be sure, "cash register justice" victimizes the poor of both races, but the Negro, being poorest, suffers most frequently. In a 12-month period ending in June of 1962, 2,341 persons served terms in Georgia's state prison system for their inability to pay small fines. Seventy-five per cent of these were Negroes.

The same result is obtained in the setting of bail: the impoverished sometimes must await trial in jail because they cannot raise the amount which allows the well-off offender to be free.

Experts in criminal correction have long argued that an effort should be made to determine the offender's ability to

pay before imposing the penalty. So far the argument has had little effect in the South.

Legal Counsel

An indigent Negro accused of a major crime often must accept a court-appointed white attorney who has little enthusiasm for his case. But even if they have money, Negroes may find it difficult to get an attorney, and in the Deep South, white attorneys are reluctant to accept controversial cases. To do so can cost an attorney his practice and may even result in ostracism by his community. There have been several examples of this in recent years.

Jury Selection

A southern Negro charged with a crime has little chance of being tried by "a jury of his peers." Actually, methods of jury selection work against poor whites as much as against Negroes, and they are unjust in other parts of the United States as in the South. But the record of southern juries in racial cases is a striking and depressing result of the pre-judicial systems of jury selection which prevail.

All-White Justice

Exclusion from juries is not the only way in which Negroes are denied participation in the administration of justice. Only recently have southern cities and states hired a token number of Negro police officers; often their duties are almost entirely confined to Negro neighborhoods.

Very few officers of the southern courts are Negroes. This is as true of southern federal courts as of state and municipal courts. A recent report of the Southern Regional Council included the following statistics:

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICERS AND PERSONNEL
IN SOUTHERN FEDERAL COURTS

	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO
Circuit Court Judges	12*	12	0
District Court Judges	65	65	0
Referees in Bankruptcy	55	55	0
U. S. Commissioners	253	253	0
U. S. Clerks	28	28	0
Deputy U.S. Clerks	321	321	0
U. S. Attorneys	29	29	0
Assistant U.S. Attorneys	158	153	5
Jury Commissioners	109	109	0
U. S. Marshals	29	29	0
Deputy U. S. Marshals	165	156	9
Secretarial and Clerical	364	**	**

*This is the number of judges of southern residence now serving on the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Circuits. The numbers respectively are three, seven, one, and one.

**Exact number of Negroes not ascertainable. The number from observation is quite small.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Jury Selection

In a suit attacking the jury system of Jefferson County, Alabama, Charles Morgan, attorney-at-law, noted that selection techniques "differ from state to state and within states from court to court. The federal system differs from state systems. Qualifications differ from state to state. Federal qualifications differ from state qualifications." Some jury commissioners, Morgan pointed out, compile jury lists from telephone books; others use city directories, voter registration lists, the rolls of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, church membership lists, lists of school teachers, automobile owners, American Legion members, property tax payers. The result of such methods is that no real balance of the population is achieved. Jury lists become heavily laden with middle and upper class citizens. The poor, both Negro and white, are automatically excluded and since residential segregation is a fact of life in the South, jury commissioners can even effectively screen out middle class Negroes by close scrunity of their addresses.

The first step in a program of reform should be for local groups to determine how jury panels are chosen in their particular localities. But it isn't enough simply to pressure for change. An alternative should be presented. How can a true cross-section of the population be achieved, as called for in the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966? Mr. Morgan advances a surer means than is

currently in practice. This is the so-called Kraft method and is, in effect, the methods of opinion research analysts. (John F. Kraft, from whom the name is taken, is president of an opinion and market research firm. He has worked for many years both in the Elmo Roper firm and in the Lou Harris firm.) To select jury panels under this system would be a simple matter of choosing at random a specified number of residential blocks in a given city and from every fifth household making a random selection of citizens eligible to serve on juries -- men and women over 21, upper income and lower income people, white and Negroes. The whole focus of the approach, Mr. Kraft explains, "would be to remove human discretion from scientific sampling, to remove the possibility of bias in selecting the sample."

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Courtroom Practice -- What Can Be Done

The county courthouse in the South is the last remaining stronghold of publicly sanctioned segregation. Not even the federal government has yet penetrated it. Beyond calling for elimination of discriminatory jury selection methods in state courts, the proposed Civil Rights Bill will not greatly affect accepted practices and procedures at the county courthouse. It will, apparently, be only through local citizen action that change can be brought about. This could be a long and frustrating process. The South has demonstrated its unwillingness to abandon segregation voluntarily and those who take upon themselves the task of reform should be prepared to face a good deal of resistance -- as well as local hostility directed against them. Yet the effort must be made. And it may well be that church women can here be more effective than the more direct action groups. Courts are peculiarly sensitive to any act that might remotely be interpreted as contemptuous. The authority of county judges in contempt cases is very broad. However, local women's organizations, sitting quietly in a courtroom, observing what goes on and later working for reform through community action could hardly be felonious.

Points that observers should be alert for are, of course, evidences of segregation. Such evidence probably won't be hard to find. Negroes may, as a matter of course, automatically sit

on the back row or in the gallery or they may be directed to sit in segregated seats by the court. Water fountains in some county courthouses may still be segregated as may restrooms.

Negroes in southern courts traditionally have been denied normal courtesy titles. Few southern judges or lawyers address Negro witnesses by any other than first names. Listings of witnesses in records of trial sometimes do not include "Mr." or "Mrs." titles for Negroes. Negro attorneys are frequently addressed as "Colonel," "Captain," "Preacher," by the court to avoid the use of "Mister."

Another project of the group could be analysis of cases where a Negro and a white man are accused of comparable crimes. The group could sit in on the entire proceedings first of one and then the other. Notes could be kept on how both proceedings were handled, with special attention to the court's attitude toward the defendant, the comparative energies of white defense attorneys on their client's behalf, interrogation of Negro and white witnesses -- and jury panel selection. If both defendants were convicted, a comparison could also be made of the sentences given; follow-through could be made of jail and prison conditions.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

The Various Courts

Normally one thinks of only two types of courts -- state and federal. While this is, of course, basically the case, state courts are broken down into many categories.

Descriptive names vary from state to state but basically a state court system works this way. Superior courts (or district courts, circuit courts -- depending on the title used within the states) normally will have original and concurrent jurisdiction in all civil and criminal causes -- with the exception of administration of estates which would be under the jurisdiction of probate or ordinary courts. In some states superior courts also have jurisdiction in equity cases (those where injunctive relief is sought) while other states have separate equity (or chancery) courts. Divorce cases and cases involving titles to real estate will also normally fall under the jurisdiction of superior courts -- though some states again have separate court divisions for handling such cases.

Subordinate to the superior courts are the various municipal and county courts which have been created to take the heavy burden of minor civil and criminal cases from the higher court. Some of these include: police or recorder's courts used primarily for the disposition of minor offenses -- such as traffic violations -- and the binding over of greater offenders to higher courts; criminal courts which will handle misdemeanors; county civil courts which will have jurisdiction over civil cases where the sum involved is comparatively small. This sum may vary from state to state, but rarely is over $500.

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

The Rights of Individuals in the Hands of Police

Negro distrust of white policemen is widespread both in rural areas and in the cities; both North and South. Such suspicion is not unjustified. For too long the white policeman has been the secular arm of segregation and racial discrimination and his methods have been no credit to his community or to his profession. Despite efforts of progressive city and county administrations in recent years to eliminate not only police brutality but police violation of individual and human rights, a great deal more effort needs to be made. Citizens groups thus should familiarize themselves with the rights of individuals in the hands of police. The following is a summation of those rights: (Source: Criminal Law and Punishment, P. J. FitzGerald, Oxford University Press, 1962; pp. 175-180.)

1. Search and entry -- no one must submit to being searched unless he is a suspect who has been arrested.
2. Arrest -- police cannot detain a subject for questioning without a warrant;
   Police cannot make an arrest without a warrant unless he reasonably suspects a felony having been committed;
   Arresting officer must bring an accused person (if arrested without a warrant) before a judge as soon as possible. Superior officer in charge must inquire into case and may release the accused on bail if the case is not serious. He must release him if accused does not come before a judge within 24 hours;
   When brought before a judge, the prisoner has

the right to demand bail; if refused, he can appeal to higher court. Bail must not be excessive;

The remedy for a person wrongfully detained is to apply for a writ of Habeus Corpus to a judge, requiring accuser and accused to go before a judge where cause of arrest is to be stated. If court is not satisfied that a valid reason exists for detaining the accused, the prisoner is to be instantly released.

A decision of the U. S. Supreme Court handed down June 13, 1966, directly affects the rights of individuals in the hands of police. The ruling holds:

1) that an individual must be warned prior to questioning that he has the right to remain silent;
2) that he must be warned that any statement he makes may be used against him in court;
3) that officials must inform him of his right to have legal counsel present at the time he is questioned;
4) that he must be told by authorities that if he does not have money enough to employ an attorney, he has the right to have one appointed by the court to represent him; to consult with him before making any statement; and to have him present while he is making a statement;
5) that if an accused person requests legal representation no questions will be asked him until an attorney is present.

TITLE I - FEDERAL JURIES

From the proposed

"Civil Rights Act of 1966"

The present statutes reflect the will of Congress that federal juries be composed of a cross-section of the community. But these laws do not provide sufficient guidance to jury commissions across the nation as to how they shall carry out this Congressional purpose. The result has been the use of varying sources of names of prospective jurors, differing systems of selection and diverse tests of qualification. While this uncertain system appears not to have operated unconstitutionally, in some districts Negro representation on juries has been substantially less than the proportion of Negroes in the community, and other classes have sometimes been inadequately represented on juries. In any event, the system used in many districts is an imperfect means of insuring that the will of Congress is carried out, and carried out uniformly.

Title I of the "Civil Rights Act of 1966" is drawn to eliminate uncertainty and make clear beyond dispute that each judicial district or division is fulfilling its constitutional and statutory obligations in selection and assignment of jurors. It sets forth the sources from which potential jurors are to be drawn and the procedures to be followed in selecting jurors and testing their qualifications.

Title I declares it to be the policy of the United States that all qualified persons shall have the opportunity to serve on grand and petit juries in federal courts and shall have an obligation to serve when summoned. It prohibits discrimination in the selection of federal jurors on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status.

The bill requires that the names of prospective jurors be taken at random from the voter registration rolls, which are defined to include lists of eligible voters prepared by federal examiners under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The voter rolls are considered to be the best universally available source of names substantially reflecting a full and fair cross-section of the community. Where, however, the judicial council of the circuit determines that use of the voter rolls as the exclusive source of names would not be consistent with the prohibition of discriminatory selection, the council would be required to prescribe other sources of names in addition to the voter rolls. It is anticipated that it will be necessary to prescribe additional sources of names for use in some districts where Negroes are at present not fairly represented on the voting rolls.

The qualifications for jury service prescribed by existing law are retained, but it is provided that all persons found in accordance with objective criteria to possess such qualifications are to be

deemed qualified as jurors. Under the present law, the statutory qualifications may have been regarded as establishing the minimum to be required, leaving the courts and jury commissions free to impose more stringent qualifications. The bill makes clear that the qualifications set a ceiling, that requirments beyond those listed may not be imposed.

Title I also provides a ready means for challenging jury selection in criminal and civil cases on grounds that the procedures established by the bill have not been followed. This challenge procedure is made available prospectively, and should be a major guarantee of the equal rights which are the objective of the legislation.

TITLE II - STATE JURIES

Title II of the "Civil Rights Act of 1966" is based on the power of Congress to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment by "appropriate legislation" and is designed to eliminate unconstitutional discrimination in the selection of grand and petit juries in State courts. This title provides that no persons shall be denied the right to serve on State juries on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status. In areas in which such discrimination is not practiced, existing jury selection procedures would not be upset. Where discrimination still exists, this title provides the means to eliminate it.

Title II has two principal features. First, it authorizes the Attorney General to bring civil actions in the federal courts for injunctive relief against discriminatory practices in State court jury selection. Under existing law, the Attorney General has no authority to initiate jury discrimination suits but may only intervene (under Title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) in private suits. The authority vested in him by this title would be similar to the authority the Attorney General now has to seek injunctions against discrimination in voting, public accommodations and employment and, under Title III of this bill, against discrimination in public schools and facilities.

Upon a finding of discrimination, the court is expressly authorized to grant specified kinds of effective relief, including a decree which would, (1) prohibit the use of any qualification or ground of exclusion, exemption or excuse which has been administered in a discriminatory manner or which lends itself to such abuse; (2) require the use of objective criteria in determining qualifications, exclusion, exemptions, or excuses; (3) require maintenance of such records as may be necessary to show, in the future, whether discrimination is being practiced; and (4) appoint a master to perform the duties of the State jury officials. In addition, the court may grant other appropriate relief under general equitable principles.

The second principal feature of this title deals with the need for disclosure and development of information relevant to the question whether discrimination results from the system for selecting jurors. This objective is accomplished by a challenge procedure which may be used by the Attorney General in a suit under this title, private litigants residing in the area who seek to enforce the prohibition against discrimination by a civil action under 42 U.S.C. 1983, or a defendant in a criminal case or convicted person attacking collaterally a criminal conviction.

Upon the filing of an allegation of discrimination, appropriate State officials are required to furnish a "written statement of jury selection information." This statement is to describe in detail the procedures followed by the State jury officials in selecting jurors--including the sources of names of prospective jurors, the criteria used in determining qualifications for jury service, and the methods used for summoning jurors and assigning them to jury panels. The complaining party may cross-examine jury officials and introduce any other relevant evidence that may be available in support of the challenge. If, at that point, there is some evidence of discrimination, the complaining party is given access to any other relevant records of jury selection which are not otherwise publicly available and these may be introduced in support of the challenge. If the court then determines that there is probable cause to believe that discrimination has occurred, it is the responsibility of the State to produce additional evidence demonstrating that the alleged discrimination did not occur.

This provision meets twin considerations. It affords interested parties and the court access to the relevant records of jury selection needed to permit a fair determination whether discrimination has occurred or may occur. In addition, it assures that records may be kept confidential except as necessary to the court proceeding. Use of this challenge procedure in collateral attacks upon criminal convictions is available only with respect to judgments of conviction entered after the effective date of the title.

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"That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

—Lord Alfred Tennyson

"We would remind ourselves that the future of our nation rests upon the character, the vision, the high principle of our people. Democracy, brotherhood, human rights—these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all."

—"To Secure These Rights"
The Report of the President's
Committee on Civil Rights

AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE CONTINUING CRISIS: AN ASSESSMENT OF NEW RACIAL TENSIONS IN THE SOUTH

The Southern Regional Council
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Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
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May, 1966

INTRODUCTION

IN 1960, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, the Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee, and the Department of Racial and Cultural Affairs, National Council of the Churches of Christ, published a report on five years of violent reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court school decision, "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis." Since then, the Council and others have continued to record and report this most disgraceful aspect of the South's struggle to overcome its worst mistakes. With the same sense of sadness and urgency, this report continues the story—with its warning to the nation that violence has not abated, and that the miracle of non-retaliation from Negroes cannot be expected to continue.

Assistance of the American Friends Service Committee in preparation of research materials for this report is acknowledged. Research and writing of the project was by Mrs. Glenda Bartley of the Southern Regional Council research staff.

The following paragraph from the 1960 report is fully applicable to the situation six years later:

> *Finally, this is not a comprehensive survey of southern reactions . . . It describes only their angry, violent side. Another accounting could be given of patience, responsibility, courage, and good will by both Negroes and whites. Though this aspect of the South is not in view in the report, it is an authentic and undimmed face of the South, to which each of the sponsoring agencies has paid tribute more than once. But we feel an obligation to call attention to the dangers posed by the record that follows—dangers for which all of us, through silence or inaction, must share the responsibility.*

PART I

The South's Temper, 1964-1966

The South's Temper, 1964-1966

As Negro children began what some newspapers termed "massive" integration of southern public schools in September, 1965, the nation was surprised that Southerners accepted the change in a peaceful manner. The truth is that conditions in the South were neither integrated nor peaceful. Between five and six per cent of the region's 3,014,025 Negro school-age children attended classes with whites, and often these children and their parents paid a very high price for the experience. Men and women who were already desperately poor were evicted from sharecropper's cabins or tenant farms. Many without the training for good jobs lost the meager ones they had held for years. Some were beaten and shot at. Others saw their children abused and imprisoned. Yet the headlines continued to reassure the nation that "School Integration Continues to Spread Quietly Across the South."

There are several reasons for the nation's misunderstanding of the South's condition.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 indicated to many whites that the Negro's problem was now largely solved and, with restrictions barring him from participation in American life removed, he would disappear into the mainstream and quit pestering their consciences.

Immediate effects of the 1964 law were felt only in the area of public accommodations, giving middle class Negroes access to peripheral trappings of the white man's world, which were at best merely a symbol of the law's intent. The fall and winter of 1964 confirmed the fact that many urban and some rural public accommodations were desegregated.

Then, in the spring of 1965 the Office of Education announced plans to bring southern schools into compliance with the law. Virtually all districts filed plans with the federal bureau stating that various grades were open to both races, usually on a "freedom of choice" basis. Somehow the fact that in the immediate past cities had submitted to token integration only after lengthy court battles was overlooked, and it was assumed that federal money and southern honor would do the trick in the small towns and country areas.

So, when school opened in the fall, little communities like Ruby, South Carolina, which completely desegregated all twelve grades, and Philadelphia, Mississippi, which admitted a few Negro children without a riot, received national attention. The impression was false and the apathy was national, not southern. The old patterns of resistance were still being employed; wherever weakness was found in federal enforcement it would be exploited.

Soon, the federal government discovered that freedom of choice in

many communities was a cruel misnomer. Negro parents who filled out transfer forms for their children (from which the Office of Education deduced the number of children in desegregated schools) often changed their minds. In many cases schools reported peacefully desegregated on the first day of classes had only a fraction of the children who had signed letters of intent—usually because the superintendent had advised Negro parents to keep their children home or send them to the Negro school until any possibility of trouble abated. Once school opened "without incident" the matter was no longer "news." Many people subjected to violence, intimidation, or economic reprisal live in isolated rural areas or small communities, and the "news" did not get out. It spoke its own language, however, to the local Negroes.

Rationale of Retaliation

At the same time the nation was deluding itself about southern school desegregation, it was ignoring the economic and occasionally violent reprisals which followed in the wake of voter registration drives.

The Voting Rights Law of 1965 was the first supplement to the Civil Rights Act. Again, once the law was passed, it seemed the issue was settled. Law created fact, and all those people for whom the Selma march spoke would now be citizens. That hundreds of people in Black Belt counties in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana were out of work or off the land because they registered to vote was hardly noticed. The deeper implications of joblessness, poverty, and frustration attached to this evidence of economic dependence were largely ignored.

The nation also has regarded violence as a characteristic of all the former Confederate states. This is an illusion. Violence has for several years been largely confined to the Deep South, and there generally to Alabama, Mississippi, north and delta Louisiana, and southwest Georgia. Occasional outbursts in the peripheral South, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, north Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, North and South Carolina, have been isolated incidents and not a manifestation of organized resistance. Though cities like Birmingham are hardly distinguishable from the surrounding countryside, the hard-core violent resistance areas are largely rural.

Here registrars know the Negroes who try to register and the jobs they hold on the plantations they "belong" to. A superintendent knows the mother hopefully filling out a transfer form for her child is a maid in the house just down the street. There also is, as one Mississippian put it, the "lack of a public sector"—a place where both races have traditionally met in an impersonal manner. In cities the buses may have had segregated seating customs but Negro and white at least rode on the same bus bound for destinations unknown to each other. The city affords (and in the

case of the Negro, demands) anonymity. In the small town and rural areas, any contact between the races is a personal one, and so more painful when one tries to change patterns.

Perhaps this partially explains the real personal grudge many rural whites have against Negroes. It is not just against those who are, for reasons unknown to whites, out in the streets demonstrating for what they choose to call freedom, but against those who aren't. For those who continue to crop for Mr. John and stay out of trouble, they feel contempt. True, the wrath of whites is almost always directed at those Negroes who are trying to change things, but relationships also deteriorate with those who do not join the effort. So there is no foundation of respect, anywhere. Along with this is the feeling on the part of the white man that he is trapped, just as the Negro is trapped, in a situation over which he has no control. He reads and hears daily that only the Negro receives federal help for his predicament, and southern education is sufficiently deficient that he has no facts with which to refute this.

Having swapped the ballot for racial shibboleths, he sees democracy once again passing him by; this time as a vehicle for the very people he sacrificed so much to "keep down." Feeling beleaguered, cornered, and contemptuous, such whites permitted or abetted continued efforts to use legal, economic, and ultimately, violent methods of denying a whole people self-respect.

Plight of the Poor

Heightening the frustrations of all the rural South is the fact that cotton continues to decline as a significant portion of agricultural production. Again the peripheral South is different, having already begun to diversify its farm production and move toward industrialization in the 1940's. The Deep South—Black Belt Alabama and the Mississippi Delta particular y —have been much slower in abandoning cotton. Yet here, too, unmarketable short staple cotton and curtailed allotments, cattle, pine trees—along with mechanization have pushed people off the land. As a single staple economy wrenches itself toward a mature, diversified one, the need for unskilled labor sharply increased.

In the traditional sense these people are beyond the definition of cybernation—men and women whose one skill is bending over a hoe or a cotton stalk, who have been trained in this capacity since childhood, whose schools close in planting and pickin' time to resume in "slack" seasons. They themselves are products of the plantation system—of a feudalism that transcends the old manorial concept and becomes almost a familial relationship, with the plantation manager, the Man, a patriarch. That this patriarch might be benign and allow his docile children to remain on the land long

after their usefulness has gone is often true. But once they threaten his dominion, he punishes them simply by removing them, cutting them off from their inheritance, which is the land, the hoe, and the cotton stalk.

Many of the disinherited are like the 82-year-old man whose mother was born a slave on the Wilcox County farm he was forced to leave. In his new home without water or light, he will live by "growing some corn." In West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, a woman, blind, crippled, born a slave, will live in a shanty with relatives. Another man and his wife, living on $33 a month social security, are homeless after registering to vote. Driven off the land they had farmed for decades, these people's resolve was best expressed in one old woman's pathetically stubborn defiance: "Our only sin was wanting to be citizens . . . . Would I go back to my old house if I would promise not to vote? Chile, I wouldn't promise not to vote if they gave me the house."

Retaliation against younger families began in September and usually hinged on their attempts to exercise "freedom of choice" in school desegregation. During October, November, and December the cause was voter registration. The crops were in and the people, old men and women, young families, had to go.

A family in Bolivar County, Mississippi, which had always increased its cash yield by following the mechanical cotton picker to glean what it missed, watched the "picker" drag a disc, plowing their cotton under. The truck which used to pick women up to take them to the fields "didn't stop at their houses any more." Men who had held jobs for over ten years suddenly were demoted or fired. A man lost his job with the Alabama Power Company after enrolling his child in a "desegregated" school; the county was holding up his unemployment check. A Thomas County, Georgia, man lost his job and his land after transferring his children to a "white" school. Women lost their jobs as domestics and their husbands could no longer find work as handymen. Many, like an evicted sharecropper who said of the plantation owner, "He's had a mechanical picker since '55, and he has lots of people who ain't registered working," forfeited their livelihoods for their challenge to paternalism.

All over the old recalcitrant part of the South families lost their land and their homes for registering to vote or for transferring their children. More than a hundred families in Wilcox and Lowndes Counties, Alabama, at least a hundred people in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, and uncounted numbers of families in Bolivar, Issaquena, Sharkey, and Washington Counties, Mississippi, were put off the land. Though many of these evictions were punitive, reduced acreage allotments under the Agricultural Act of 1965 were to take a far greater toll. An estimated 4,706 seasonal workers in the Mississippi Delta alone would not be needed in 1966. These

people will join the already staggering number of unemployed in the state. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman in December, 1965, stated that "the Mississippi welfare agency estimates that as many as 500,000 more needy persons will be added to the regular winter case load of about 300,000." Mississippi's total population is only 2,178,174. That 800,000 (or 36.7%) of this number were scheduled to receive some form of public assistance indicated the magnitude of the problem.

Tent cities in Issaquena and Washington Counties in the Delta and in Lowndes County, Alabama, housed the dispossessed. In one of the coldest winters in Delta memory people huddled inside the tents, unable to find work, waiting for federal food commodities that would hold off hunger while they tried to keep from freezing. Too many times the food got tangled in red tape and the hope of its arrival turned to bitterness.

Secretary Freeman had assured the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches that money would be available "soon" for Operation Help (an experimental commodities program set up under contract between state officials, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Department of Agriculture).

A spokesman for inhabitants of a tent city near Tribbett, Mississippi, recounted more than a year's frustrating efforts to get commodities distributed to additional poverty-stricken people in the state. Each time a private organization within a county offered to finance and staff distribution centers for the food, the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture referred the plan to the Mississippi Welfare Department, which substituted an alternate program. Immediately after the state bureau set up a commodity program in one such county the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an agent to investigate charges of discrimination. In another, the Food Stamp program was substituted. Food stamps must be purchased; a dollar stamp will buy six dollars worth of food (the figure represents the national average); so the very poor were not helped at all by the program. Finally a state-wide plan was initiated under which the Welfare Department was to get 24 million dollars worth of additional commodities from the Agriculture Department and 1.6 million dollars from the Office of Economic Opportunity to distribute food to 500,000 people for six months.

In the old system conditions under which vital food commodities were distributed, when they were distributed, were described by a Delta woman:

> "To live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then in November when they start qualifying you for the commodities, they say you got to find out how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they

don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not."

In many rural areas county welfare or other administrative boards have refused to accept federal food and money. In Washington County, Mississippi, where the greatest number of people are off the land and out of work, the board of supervisors refused additional government surplus commodities because (in the words of a Delta newspaper) "the program would probably benefit primarily Negroes, and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

Earlier in that county, in desperation, a group of about 50 of the dispossessed had left their tents and taken up residence briefly in an abandoned air base near Greenville. This adroit demonstration brought the nation's attention at last to the plight of Mississippi's poor Negroes generally, or at least to the surface of their problems.

The federal government responded in its traditional manner—by, as a spokesman for the Office of Economic Opportunity's Rural Task Force said, "putting the problem in the same category with Watts, trying to head off trouble." It undertook a labor survey in the Delta and activated the long-promised, dormant 25.6 million dollar surplus program in the state, "the most massive food distribution program since the depression." If the commodities program were stop-gap, presaging more constructive action, it would be welcome relief. But there was the impression that thirty years after the depression, federal remedies for hunger and broken lives and hopelessness had not changed. People who needed the best, most imaginative programs society could muster still got commodities—subsistence—"the dole."

There was not much chance that such palliatives could do more than keep the mass of people alive while buying off moderate leadership. Caesar's old desire for fat folks around him had not changed.

As a matter of policy the poverty program brings together in local administrative agencies whites and Negroes of all classes. While this is perhaps a noble blueprint intention, it has the effect in such a state as Mississippi of putting intransigent whites in a position to block the kind of change which the program is designed to facilitate.

The poverty program had indicated a shift in emphasis on the part of the federal government toward solutions to the fundamental problem of dependence, of economic vulnerability. It came before massive demonstrations demanded it. But it has not as yet reached those who most desperately need it, and its effect has been in all too many instances one of heightening frustrations. This adds another dimension to the problem of government's role in the Negro's struggle: In the event of massive protest or outright riots

by poor people the government's traditional approach of enacting a law that answers the surface needs and quiets the protesters will be less easy, since such a law already exists. So again—the need for strong enforcement and implementation is at the crux of the problem. A reappraisal of this essential aspect of government programs as they affect the Negro community is vital if the nation is to have an answer for outbursts such as Watts which seem almost inevitable in the immediate future.

The poverty program had promised to do more than "dole"—to allow poor people themselves to launch an attack on poverty by means of increasing their own training and exposing themselves to at least a smattering of middle class culture and values. Yet it has failed in many instances to provide even the stop-gap measures such as commodities to fill immediate needs of those who are desperately poor. Its effect was to deepen the disillusionment of people like those in Mississippi who said:

> "You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin' but needs . . . See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples. We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration [at the Greenville air base]. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."

> "I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.
> "We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

Self-Help

To a few, "building for ourselves" had gone beyond the immediacy of a tent city to establishment of cooperatives aimed at breaking the chains of economic dependence. Cooperatives, producing everything from candles to furniture, handbags, quilts and clothing, faced many difficulties. Tools, teachers, and money were badly needed. Without capital, and long-term capital at that, most cooperatives were doomed. Outlets for products were hard to find; often they were either "sympathy" markets which are quickly exhausted or sophisticated ones that require a broad financial base for

participation. Cooperatives which foster communal arrangements run the risk of becoming another Koinonia (an integrated communal farm in south Georgia which was under siege for several years). The co-ops held out hope for a way to those desperately in need of it and so were in danger of increasing bitterness and frustration if the effort failed.

At the same time, they also fostered a spirit of organization that does not die with the failure.

Self-respect on the part of Negroes is at the heart of all efforts to improve their status within the community and the nation. For people who have lost all hope and confidence (and this would include many whose pathetically small educational experience has stifled verbalization rather than enhanced it) self-respect can come from another's interest and respect. That civil rights organizations stress the beauty and worth of each individual has had a large part in instilling self-respect in people whom society as a whole has literally forgotten. To men and women who have had their identities absorbed into a system more ruthlessly dehumanizing than modern industrial society, being valued by another person can be a real beginning toward self-respect. The co-ops have much the same effect, producing tangible objects that are sources of pride. In a real sense the Tribbett tent city, set up to provide homes for striking Delta laborers, while failing to provide a permanent solution to the complex problems of jobless, homeless people, was a rallying point for all the Delta's dispossessed. All across the South, aggressive county "Improvement Leagues" and "Christian Associations" are evidence of Negroes' new awareness of their power.

Half a century after Booker T. Washington's "self-improvement" plan, the poorest Negro's chance of sharing in the South's "new prosperity" was so remote that even the hard-won ballot was often a cruel joke. If the voter's league succeeded in conquering white dominance and taking over a county—what then? Where would the money come from to pave the roads candidates promised would be paved?

To desegregate rural schools may solve the immediate problem, but those schools remain the worst in the nation. Many rural counties do not now afford the minimum matching funds states require. It is prosaic but nonetheless true that nascent efforts toward tax equalization may be the most far-reaching gain for rural Negroes yet devised. But virtually every tax case must be fought long and bitterly in the courts, holding in abeyance any hope that Wilcox, Lowndes, and like counties can be governed at all.

In struggling with these problems newly formed Negro organizations are confronted with the old vestiges of protest, of negativism, and with a growing bitterness and real alienation from American life. Woven into these organizations is a new radicalism which, on the surface, wants no part

of the white man's consensus, daring the Negro to go his own way—to, as Charles Silberman said in *Fortune* (November, 1965), "stop pounding on the door" and, in effect, "tear the house down." Some groups are torn between the tempting chauvinism of their own political slate, which proves their strength, and merger with white "moderates" who are willing to yield to the most superficial of their demands in order to manipulate that power. This presents Negroes with a dilemma that must be faced by the nation as a whole.

The dilemma is an American reflection of a world-wide pattern in which the poor, colored, economically underdeveloped, rural world is seeking fundamental changes in the face of the status quo-oriented world of rich, white, urbanized Europe and North America—all fostered by industrialization, creating "haves" in cities, by-passing shabby "have-nots" on the land. Until recently people in the countryside were never organized.

The Populists came closest in the past, close enough to put a permanent fear into southern Bourbons—fear that lower class whites and Negroes might actually cooperate to throw off Bourbon rule. That fear operates today. So far there has been little actual political cooperation between the races, except in border states like Texas where the Negro population is comparatively small and increasingly urban. There labor, Negroes, Latin Americans and white liberals struggle toward an effective coalition. But Texas has a degree of primitive political sophistication that removes it from the southern arena. In the South generally the lower class white has absorbed enough of the shibboleths, looks forward to a share in the "new prosperity," and finds such psychological value in feeling superior to the Negro that it has been difficult to forge a class awareness. He may, however, come to vote with Negroes on some issues without really meaning to. These people still feel a link with the upper class power structure because of color, rejecting alliance with the Negro for economic reasons. That this further isolates the Negro goes without saying.

Answering Anger

Urban Negroes are cut off from all but the most impersonal contact with whites. They are crowded into slums in the city's core surrounded by housing project palisades, ringed by white suburbia. Until very recently urban Negroes have been poorly organized, venting their frustration on other Negroes. Now radicalism of the same tonal quality as the rural brand has permeated city organizations, directing the rebellion outward. In the past the only attention-getter that produced results was demonstrations. But outside of isolated picketing of a slum-lord's home or sporadic rent strikes, there is a troublesome realization that the negativism of protest can only call attention to the problem and has little to do with fundamental

solutions. In one large city slum, civil rights groups and unaffiliated interested citizens have worked for more than a year to organize effective self-help projects that reach people untouched by the poverty program. The efforts met with limited success until early February when an old man froze to death in an unheated shack. Out of this and other instances of people wretchedly cold, hungry, and hopeless came picketing and rent strikes, and the threat that the slum could become another Watts.

Young liberal idealists who have worked to organize the community have themselves been challenged by the new mood of anger and rebellion. People evicted for participating in a rent strike gathered around a campfire which was the only warmth for families living in hastily erected tents. Out of this meeting came the new voice, the new challenge and the old weapon: "Why don't we 'accidently-on-purpose' burn all these damn houses down?" Young men and women, Negro and white, who had recently seemed radical suddenly became the "moderates," arguing against the burning and the destruction of a white-owned grocery store and white-run Bible center in the area. They came away knowing that their victory was a new form of tokenism—violence grudgingly held in abeyance.

In abdicating responsibility for the lives of Negroes held in slums or in feudal conditions on the land, the white South may already have thrown away its chance to direct the new explosive energy that is feeding on Negro discontent. It has cut itself off from the slums. It has, through "welfare," paid poor Negroes (and, incidentally, whites) to stay off the middle class streets and out of sight. If there is any possibility for whites to regain any voice in the Negro community, they will have to forsake their solidarity, cease bloc voting, and above all work diligently to break the cycle of segregated housing, poor schools, and menial jobs. City governments would have no choice but to deal realistically with the *causes* of discontent rather than with hand-picked middle class Negro negotiators.

Until recently the great mass of Negroes living in poverty in city slums has been cut off from middle class Negroes, who emulated their white counterparts. The same thing was true politically—in rare instances when a Negro was elected to public office he usually joined the white power structure as soon as it made room for him. Now there is a new middle class mood of resentment, which matches in spirit if not in depth the folk consciousness of rural radicalism.

Reasons for this resentment are obvious. Middle class Negroes, virtually the only ones touched so far by federal legislation, have found progress toward tangible results of equal opportunity frustratingly slow. There is a new awareness that even the first "easy" gains—simply peeling off the old dead layers of institutionalized prejudice—took ten years. To struggle so long just to see two prominent civil rights leaders' children in one ele-

mentary school or seven middle class Negroes join the Georgia House while an outspoken representative of lower class Negro radicalism was denied his seat on grounds that he disqualified himself by rashly-worded opposition to the Vietnam war—to buy tokenism at too high a price—has at last worn patience thin. Finally, too, successful middle class Negro politicians are becoming aware of the wishes and race consciousness of their overwhelmingly poor constituency. Typical of this new voice in southern politics was the conservative, newly-elected Negro alderman of Atlanta who warned whites that Negroes in the heart of the city would no longer honor the traditional Negro-upper class white alliance which had agreed on an annexation balance and had at the same time assured control by paternalistic whites. Affirming that Negroes might soon control the city because of the white flight to the suburbs, the alderman speculated on Negroes' control of such vital services as electric power and water as an effective method of bargaining with white suburbia. He urged a fair housing law as a realistic remedy.

All levels of government must deal realistically with this new determination to negotiate from strength rather than rely on the old appeal to white conscience. Whites, too, must realize that in many ways the psychological condition of Negroes generally is similar to that of the middle class and peasantry in France prior to the revolution. The first feeble gains, opening the door just wide enough to let those outside look at life inside, have spurred a greater desire to participate in that life; at the same time frustration with lagging progress tempts the outsiders to destroy it . . . .

Federal Response

To many it has seemed that the nation's response to Negroes' needs has been unimaginative. And most efforts to implement existing laws have met with limited success. In the case of both the Civil Rights and Voting Acts, government action came as a response to protest by organized groups, and, though their effects were far from complete, they stilled the protest. There is every indication that the government will react in the same manner to continued violence against civil rights workers in the South. But this is merely a surface response—a sort of negation of negativism. Little actual headway can be made until Negroes in the South are less economically vulnerable and thus less subject to that method of intimidation. There is an incredibly tenacious determination on the part of poverty stricken people, particularly in rural areas, to give their children a chance for a better education. But loss of a job requires that people sustain themselves and their determination over what seems an endless time. Thus this form of reprisal is often more effective than a bombing or a beating. Violence

often merely strengthens the will and in many cases unites a whole community where other attempts at unity have failed. And yet the violence persists, and does have its deadly effectiveness, if not directly any more, then in subconscious ways that limit Negro options and initiatives.

One of the strongest moves toward better enforcement of the civil rights law was the tightening of guidelines for school desegregation by the Office of Education for fall, 1966, school openings. But the test of this new strength was yet to come.

In a letter asking Negro parents voluntarily to send their children to segregated schools in spite of a Justice Department-initiated suit seeking desegregation of the system, Wilcox County, Alabama, school officials invoked the old reminder that one day the Yankee would tire of idealism, as he had in the past, abandoning the Negroes once again to the white South: "The people of this county will, in all probability, have to continue to live here in this county together after the influences from without have ceased. It is best for all if they can do so in a mutual spirit of good will."

One recalcitrant county in a state notorious for defiance should not be treated as a curiously rebellious mutant in an otherwise acquiescent region. At almost the same time that Wilcox County sounded its primitive warning, Deep South public officials were protesting the sudden, drastic nature of the Office of Education's new guidelines requiring pupil desegregation beyond tokenism and a start toward faculty integration. Twelve years after the Brown decision, feigned shock and overt defiance were not yet isolated phenomena and the violence hinted at in the Wilcox letter is still very much a factor to be reckoned with by people who defy custom in the "hard-core" South.

There have been ten killings, uncounted beatings, burnings, bombings, and shootings since that "peaceful" school desegregation began in September, 1965. Yet the result will never again be the old fearful withdrawal. And, though the violence is largely rural, it is felt in the city more keenly now than ever before. Though Negroes have for some time been moving into cities and all major civil rights organizations except the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee operate chiefly from city bases, the emotional center of the civil rights movement remains in places like Lowndes County, scene of two civil rights slayings, and a symbol of the Movement is unpunished brutalization of Negroes in such places. Now a "civil rights assassin" who gets off with a stern reprimand by the judge and a hearty handshake from his cohorts may trigger widespread violent reprisal by Negroes in city slums and on the land. A Negro "moderate's" outrage that his brother's killer escaped without even the reprimand prompted his rejection of any possibility of dealing peacefully with whites: "We'll have to lay and wait for them all night, and fight with

them all day . . . . No Negroes are free until all Negroes are free. No one can free us but ourselves. . . . It's time to start killing."

Throughout accounts of the white South's violence there runs a new thread of Negroes' fearlessness and determination—and a warning: "I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough."

* * * * * * * *

Behind misleading headlines and misconceptions about orderly progress in the South were complexities long familiar.

In the first place, since 1954 and before, reaction to federal court decrees and law affecting segregation had been of three kinds—a grudging, but good faith acceptance, an effort to evade through administrative delay and cheating, and all-out resistance with violence and terroristic intimidation and reprisal. All three reactions could and did occur in all eleven states. Some states, like Tennessee, were characterized by a predominance of the first; some, like Virginia and South Carolina, by a predominance of the second; and some, like Alabama and Mississippi, by a predominance of the third. These were old familiar configurations in the South.

The pattern of reaction to the 1964 civil rights law was essentially this same three-way split. If there was any cause for rejoicing, it was in that at least in its official stance, the government of such a state as Mississippi was no longer encouraging all-out, violent resistance. But there was no overnight change in the South in attitude or patterns of compliance, with the overnight change of the law.

Nor was there any change in one of the oldest truths regarding these three southern reactions to the will of the nation. The resistance would be attempted, grow, and persist to the degree that the enforcement arms of the federal government allowed it. Full enforcement, as it has always been, was possible. It was not forthcoming.

Two other pieces of federal legislation promised a permanent solution to this old problem of enforcement. One was the pledge of the Johnson Administration in 1965 to enact new laws to strengthen southern institutions of justice, and to protect persons exercising constitutional rights from southern lawlessness. The other was the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which promised eventual development of Negro political power sufficient to demand compliance, and an end of lawless violence.

Out of these forces—poverty, continued white resistance, less than full federal enforcement, resultant disillusionment—and out of the new psychological state of Negro Americans (their unwillingness to settle for anything less than full citizenship) was coming something new in the South. It could destroy whatever hopefulness there was in the situation for the

kind of transformation the nation seemed to think had already come. Or it could be another catalyst to force the nation and the white South yet another turn in the torturous facing about to full intellectual honesty in dealings with Negroes.

This most compelling factor has to do with the mood of answering anger, of retaliatory violence among Negroes of the South, and the threat in the cities, particularly, of rampage and riot, echoing the legacy of white lawlessness so long the South's greatest disgrace. The anger itself is not new, nor the fear among white Southerners that it will be unleashed. Only the signs that the anger is closer to the surface, nearer to exploding, are new. That it has not exploded in the past is but a dim hope that it will not explode in the future. Unless the realization of promises and potential can be speeded—this seems about the only hope.

But the worst excesses of the ugly side of the South have always had a counterpoint, however faint, of a relation between the races more truly representative of the American ideal than anywhere else. In the shifting patterns of public and private life in the South, forces are at work which encourage this better side of the South more than they have ever before been encouraged. The forebodings current in 1965-66 among those who know the region best in many ways suggest darkness before dawn. It is important to know, though, that the new day is not yet here.

PART II

Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence September, 1965 through February, 1966

(A Selection)

Acts of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence September, 1965 through February, 1966

SEPTEMBER

Laurel, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 9/16/65. Dateline: Laurel (AP).

"Shots were fired into the house of a local civil rights leader here today for the second time in 90 days."

A Negro dentist, president of the local chapter of the NAACP, said, "There were no injuries this time as was the case June 15."

Folling Fork and Anguilla, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

Ten families enrolled their children in "white" schools. All working members of all ten families lost their jobs.

Akron, ALABAMA

Selma *Times-Journal* 9/3/65. Dateline: Akron (AP).

The night before 35 Negroes were to enter a previously all-white school someone tried to set fire to city hall and the fire department.

The Negro children were not permitted to enroll.

AFSC Field Report.

White men with guns ringed the school and prevented Negro parents from registering their children.

Grace and Glen Allen, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

Negro parents who tried to exercise "freedom of choice" were evicted.

Calhoun, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 9/29/65. Dateline: Calhoun (UPI).

A Negro motorist was injured when three white boys pushed his car over an embankment and left him in the wreckage.

West Point, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

A family who owns a few acres of land and their own home near West Point enrolled two of their eight children in the "white" school. For the past twenty years the father had worked at the same job in West Point. After his son tested the validity of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act, the father lost his job. He got it back, enrolled his children and lost it again. He was offered money to withdraw the children. He refused. His wife lost her job as a domestic. In November, just after his employer had called him back to work, the sheriff arrested him for having a shotgun in his car. (Carrying a shotgun in an automobile is legal in Mississippi.) He was fired again in December. Later he was jailed for running a stop sign.

Baker County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 9/4/65. Dateline: Washington (AP).

A group of Baker County Negroes asked the Justice Department for protection from local whites.

One spokesman said that 150 Negro children were signed up to go to the white schools but their parents were threatened with loss of jobs, so the number went down to 40.

Another spokesman said Negroes were beaten when they went to the courthouse in Newton to try to talk to the Baker County sheriff.

Amherst, VIRGINIA

Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* 9/6/65. Dateline: Amherst (AP).

A riot involving 250 people of both races broke out during a fight between five Negroes and five whites.

Wetumpka, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

The mother of three of 19 Negro children attending "white" schools in Elmore County has been active in voter registration and school desegregation. She had been regularly called as a substitute teacher until she enrolled her children in integrated schools. Since then she has had only one call. In October her house burned, and the fire department did not attempt to put out the blaze. One of her sons was accused of stealing a pair of $4 sunglasses from the supermarket where he had worked for some time. He was arrested, found guilty, sentenced to jail or a fine of $38. When his mother paid the fine, her son was released bleeding from a head wound.

Americus and Sumter County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 2/16/66. Dateline: Washington.

"Intimidation, harassment and violence have prevented school desegregation in Sumter County, Georgia, and accompanied it in Americus, according to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission."

"In Sumter, all Negro children who picked white schools to attend under a free choice plan changed their minds . . . .

"In Americus . . . Negro students were struck with fists, had rocks and books thrown at them, were called derogatory names, had books torn from their hands, were tripped and spat on, and were nearly run down by cars in the school parking lot."

Headland, Henry County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A mother said the whites sent someone to try to convince them not to send their children to the "desegregated" school. She got a message that someone would "hang those children up to a tree if they tried to go to the white school."

West Point, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

A couple who own their home took several children to the "white" schools in the opening days before buses began picking them up. When whites fired into her home, the woman sat on her porch with her shotgun and fired back. As a result of their transporting the children, both lost jobs and the white man who owns access to the road leading to their property fenced it off and put up "no trespassing" signs.

Cottonwood, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

When one mother sent her son to the "white" school a policeman came to her home and said that if she did not withdraw the boy he would be "put away."

Merigold, MISSISSIPPI

AFSC Field Report.

After enrolling their seven children in the newly desegregated Drew school system, a Negro family was evicted from the plantation where both had worked ten years. The overseer offered to go with them to withdraw the children. When they refused, he would not allow the family to follow the automatic cotton picker to increase the yield of their 26 acres. When the picker went along the rows there was a disc attached to it that plowed the cotton under.

Thomas County, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro farmer enrolled two of his children in Thomas County "white" schools. His home was shot into and he began receiving threatening telephone calls. His landlord told him he had three days to get out of the home in which he had lived for nine years. After he moved to Thomasville, the county superintendent told his children they would have to leave the county school system as their residence was now Thomasville.

Wetumpka, ALABAMA

Southern *Courier* 9/18/65. Dateline: Wetumpka.

After being struck with rubber bands repeatedly by the same white boy, a Negro girl jabbed him in the arm with a pencil. She was expelled from school, arrested, held in jail overnight, and finally released on a $300 property bond.

Alabama *Journal* (Montgomery, Ala.) 1/5/66. Dateline: Wetumpka.

Fire destroyed the home of a Negro man, "whose daughter, one of 17 Negro students who desegregated Wetumpka High School in September, had been suspended from school for stabbing a white boy with a pencil. She returned to school Monday, following the end of her suspension period."

The deputy state fire marshal found two whiskey bottles "filled with something" in the bed of a truck parked outside the burned home, but said he saw no evidence of arson or "racial trouble."

Demopolis, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro truck driver was fired from his job after attending a PTA meeting at the "white" school where his daughter is a student. He had held the job 18 years and had an excellent employment record—the only driver with no traffic violations on his record. After the PTA meeting local merchants had a meeting and agreed not to accept any merchandise he delivered.

Camilla, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 2/22/66. Dateline: Washington.

"The Justice Department has charged a Mitchell County, Georgia deputy sheriff with illegally arresting and beating a Negro farm worker" in September.

AFSC Field Report.

When a Negro tenant farmer filled out transfer forms for his six children to attend the "white" school, the man whose farm he lived and worked on came with a deputy sheriff and asked whether he planned to transfer his children. The tenant replied that he intended to do so. He was then handcuffed and taken to jail, severely beaten on the way, and again beaten while in jail, this time by a white prisoner.

Choctaw County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

On the first day of school white men with guns surrounded the "white" school.

Memphis, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 9/25/65. Dateline: Memphis.

In an effort to arrest a Negro suspect two white police officers were "struck by a hail of bricks, bottles and boards" hurled by other Negroes.

Conway, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 9/29/65. Dateline: Conway.

A local union official, active in the county voters' movement, was victim of a cross-burning and a beating by whites.

Fayette County, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 9/2/65. Dateline: (AP).

"A west Tennessee school bus driver, accused of spraying disinfectant on two Negro first graders before letting them on a desegregated bus, was sharply criticized by his superiors."

The Fayette County school superintendent called it a "stupid act that marred the peaceful and orderly desegregation program in our county."

The bus driver declined "to admit or deny the incident, but said he assigned the youngsters to the rear of the bus."

Wilmington, North Carolina

Raleigh *News & Observer* 9/7/65. Dateline: Wilmington (UPI).

A Negro man and his white neighbor were sitting on the Negro's front porch when another white tossed two lighted Molotov cocktails into the side of the dwelling. Neighbors smothered the flames.

Jacksonville, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/5/65. Dateline: Jacksonville.

"Two young men who admitted guilt in connection with the dynamite bombing of a Negro migrant workers' sleeping quarters last month near Swansboro, Monday were given five-year suspended sentences in Onslow Superior Court.

"In passing sentence . . . [the judge] said he had given much thought to the crime during the weekend and concluded there was no motive to harm the Negroes, that the men were trying to frighten them."

Enterprise, Coffee County, ALABAMA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro salesman was demoted from area manager for a Chicago-based business firm to representative. He consistently led his region in sales. He had enrolled his children in an integrated school in September.

Warner Robins, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro woman had been lunchroom manager in the Negro high school for ten years. Her daughter urged Negro parents to transfer their children. The lunchroom manager, whose work had never drawn complaints, was fired ostensibly for not keeping her kitchen in good condition.

Waynesboro, GEORGIA

AFSC Field Report.

A Negro family exercised "freedom of choice" and sent their child to a formerly all-white school. They were evicted and their home was shot into.

Aberdeen, MISSISSIPPI

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 9/7/65. Dateline: Aberdeen.

"Police said Monday that at least 32 shots were fired Sunday night into the home of a Negro couple whose son enrolled at a previously all-white school in Aberdeen last week . . . ."

The couple's son was one of two Negro children admitted "without incident" to the second grade.

"School desegregation also got under way in several other cities over the state without trouble . . . .

"Other shooting incidents were reported in Central Mississippi—one in Scott County and another at Florence.

"The Scott County sheriff's office declined comment on a report that a Negro parent exchanged shots with a group of white men who tried to burn a cross in front of his home near Forest . . . .

"They also have a daughter who registered at a previously all-white school."

McComb, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 9/9/65. Dateline: McComb (AP).

A hand grenade was hurled into a yard, exploding near two Negro workmen who were building a patio.

Vanceboro, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 9/21/65. Dateline: Washington.

A spokesman for Negroes in the Vanceboro area blamed inadequate police protection for Negroes from the Ku Klux Klan for outbreaks of violence by Negro youths.

"The Negroes of the Vanceboro area, and the whites who believe in justice and lawful means, have been more than patient with the many atrocities which they have suffered in the last few months," the spokesman said.

OCTOBER

Knoxville, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 12/4/65 Dateline: Knoxville (AP).

Three 15-year-old Negro boys were indicted for murder in the razor slaying of a white man, October 16. They were quoted at the time of their arrest as saying they attacked the man "because he was the first white man they saw after they became angered over watching a white boy stab a Negro boy in a street fight."

Suffolk, VIRGINIA

Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* 11/1/65. Dateline: Suffolk.

"Two Negroes were wounded Sunday (10/31) by a shotgun blast fired from a passing car . . . just after they left a Negro voter rally."

Barnwell, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 11/1/65. Dateline: Barnwell (AP).

The local NAACP field director said that four Negro voter registration drive workers "were severely beaten up and one stabbed by a crowd of 15 or 20 white youths and men at Barnwell Saturday night.

"The field secretary said the group told him at least one Barnwell police officer saw the incident and did nothing."

Nashville, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/4/65 Dateline: Nashville (AP).

An African student, arrested when companions were allegedly found drinking whiskey from coffee cups (violating Nashville's blue laws), charged that he was beaten by police.

Blackville, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 10/13/65. Dateline: Blackville.

"Fights between whites and Negroes that broke out during a municipal election write-in campaign by Negroes here were under investigation Tuesday by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

"The Negroes filed a protest with the U. S. Attorney General, charging that Negro pollwatchers were beaten. Blackville city officials said Negro pollwatchers attempted to come inside the voting booths.

"The fights took place outside polling places Monday, Blackville police said. No charges were filed, officers said."

Covington, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/21/65. Dateline: Memphis (AP).

"A Negro civil rights worker said Wednesday a white man pistol-whipped a

Negro woman and fired shots at a Negro man outside a drive-in restaurant in nearby Covington Tuesday night."

While the two Negroes were inside the drive-in "this man walked up to the car and told the others they had no business there."

Chattanooga, TENNESSEE

Chattanooga *Times* 10/14/65.

A Negro neighborhood youth corpsman was shot and killed by a white fellow worker. The young Negro was seated on bleachers the corpsmen were building near a high school, when the white youth walked up and opened fire with a .22 caliber pistol.

Tallapoosa County, ALABAMA

Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* 10/12/65. Dateline: Norfolk.

A white girl participating in a VISTA training program at Tuskegee Institute was living with a rural Negro family in Tallapoosa County.

"Soon after we got there this white man came by, screaming that the Klan was coming and asking us to go with him and he'd save us," she said. "We didn't go with him.

"But then later this Negro man was beaten up and had his arm broken because of his association with us. They threatened to take another man's job away."

Vanceboro, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/2/65. Dateline: Vanceboro.

A Negro church was dynamited Sunday, Oct. 31, in the third bombing in Craven County during the year.

"Negro leaders said it had not been used for civil rights meetings and they were at loss to explain the incident."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 10/22/65. Dateline: Birmingham.

A young Negro was charged with murder in the knife-slaying of a white man.

"The white youth reportedly swung at the Negro with a bat and was stabbed in the chest."

Colerain, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/12/65. Dateline: Colerain.

In a predominantly white neighborhood a school scheduled to receive six Negro classes containing approximately 200 students was heavily damaged when "oil or gas of some type" was poured on the floor and the building set fire.

Montgomery, ALABAMA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 10/31/65. Dateline: Montgomery (AP).

Alabama's attorney general, "an outspoken moderate on the racial issue and frequent critic of Gov. George C. Wallace, is nursing a sore jaw and some loosened teeth Saturday, after being slugged at a football game."

The attorney general had recently acted as prosecutor in the murder trial of a Ku Klux Klansman.

Trenton, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News & Observer* 10/16/65. Dateline: Trenton (AP).

The FBI began investigation of a dynamiting outside the home of a Negro in the Wise Forks community.

Hampton, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia *State* 10/6/65. Dateline: Hampton.

"An elderly Negro junk dealer was shot and killed in Hampton Tuesday afternoon, apparently after an argument over money."

The sheriff said the old man had been "a fixture in the town. He made his living by collecting and selling junk from a movable cart."

A white man was charged with the murder.

Lincolnton, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 10/23/65. Dateline: Lincolnton.

"A pickup truck drove into a line of about 95 teen-age Negro marchers Friday afternoon, signalling a charge by about 30 whites shouting 'Kill the niggers! Kill them!'

"Demonstrators were beaten to the ground as five state troopers left their cars and tried to restore order. No one was reported hurt . . . .

"Meanwhile in Washington, Ga., 13 Negro civil rights demonstrators swore out peace warrants against the white driver of another pickup truck, charging he had tried to run them down."

Smithfield, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/23/65. Dateline: Smithfield.

Five white persons, including three high school students, are charged with dynamiting the all-Negro Bagley Elementary School in the early-morning of October 25.

Newton, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 10/6/65. Dateline: Newton (AP).

The Baker County sheriff said five carloads of unidentified men built a large fire in front of a rural Negro home Monday night and then began firing, apparently with a shotgun.

Crawfordville, GEORGIA

Washington *Post* 10/19/65. Dateline: Crawfordville.

The Taliaferro County sheriff said that seven Ku Klux Klan 'Black Shirts' were arrested on charges of "forcing a Negro farmer off a road near here yesterday, attempting to beat him and pointing shotguns and pistols at him."

The sheriff said that the farmer had not taken part in recent demonstrations in the area.

"He's just a good ol' darky," the Sheriff said.

Americus, Sumter County, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 10/22/65. Dateline: Americus.

"Telephone harassment and cold shoulders in Americus have forced a 63-year-old former college president and his wife to become the second family to decide to leave the southwest Georgia town where racial unrest flared this summer."

The white man had sent a letter to local government officials asking them "to try and contain our racial problems."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 10/7/65. Dateline: Birmingham.

"A white ambulance driver who refused to pick up a dying Negro traffic victim Wednesday night has been fired from his job."

The manager of the ambulance company said the driver reached the still-conscious man and drove away, "leaving the victim lying on the concrete where he died."

The driver told the ambulance manager he did not pick up the injured Negro because "he didn't think he was seriously hurt."

The Negro was victim of a two-car collision in which he was trapped between the vehicles. An official wreck investigator said both the man's legs had been chopped off by the impact.

NOVEMBER

Livingston, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/19/65. Dateline: Livingston (AP).

Five white men were given six-month suspended sentences for aggravated assault "in the shooting of a Negro's car near Watson."

The Negro man drove his car past the one in which the five were riding and they opened fire on him with a rifle.

Nashville, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal.* 11/9/65. Dateline: Nashville (UPI).

"A 10-year-old Negro boy brutally beaten . . . by a white youth died Monday night." A fifteen-year-old white boy, already charged with assault with intent to murder, "probably" would be charged with murder, according to police.

Fayetteville, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/8/65. Dateline: Fayetteville.

Three Negro marines, armed with pistols, a carbine, a sawed-off shotgun and a hand grenade, terrorized the Fayetteville area several hours before their arrest. They claimed membership in the National Abolitionist Forces, "described as a militant Negro group."

The organization's handwritten oath includes clauses "against the Ku Klux Klan and white rule," officers said.

Ferriday, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/23/65. Dateline: Ferriday (AP).

Police, arriving at the scene of a firebombing, arrested the civil right's worker whose home was target of the blast. The man had emerged from the burning building carrying a shotgun.

(In Dec. 1964 a Negro man died of burns after his shop in Ferriday was firebombed.)

Mami, FLORIDA

St. Petersburg *Times* 11/25/65. Dateline: Miami (UPI).

"A 30-year-old Air Force veteran was charged yesterday with firebombing Negro and Jewish residential areas from a small airplane to 'scare the pants off' left wing agitators."

Barnwell, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S. C.) 11/2/65. Dateline: Barnwell.

A fight erupted between Negro and white youths at a Halloween street dance. One Negro girl received a stab wound and three other Negroes reported injuries. Police suggested that the Negroes sign warrants for the arrest of whites responsible for the attack, whose pictures appeared in a newspaper. Civil rights workers helping with a voter registration project in the area said they did not pursue the matter "because it wouldn't do any good."

Greenville, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 11/20-21/65. Dateline: Greenville.

"When police halted a civil rights march here last Saturday, one officer's leg was broken and other policemen were hit by flying bricks, rocks and bottles."

To the city attorney, who was also injured, it was "clearly a case of anarchy."

Many of the young people involved were "in high spirits after the incident. They said it was provoked by police. Six of the marchers said they were hit with billy-clubs before the rock-throwing began."

Local Negroes, cooperating with SCLC's protest against "segregated justice," want "a better life, and they want the whites to know it . . . .

"Some white people still say they don't understand what the Negroes want. A slender 18-year-old Negro girl found this hard to believe.

" 'Nothing seems to help,' she said, 'We're trapped!!'. . . .

"One 15-year-old girl told a mass meeting that 'there ain't one of you here that's a man, because you let them cops make you run.'

"After Saturday's fray, a battered sign the marchers had carried lay on the ground.

"It said, 'Violence Is the Result of Ignorance, Peace is God's Way.' "

Gray, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Journal* 11/10/65. Dateline: Gray (AP).

A former Marine Corps surgeon has been charged with arson in the burning of two Negro churches and a home.

Baton Rouge, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 11/8/65. Dateline: Baton Rouge (AP).

The FBI joined local investigators "seeking a reason for the explosions which destroyed a Baton Rouge printing shop late Saturday night."

The owner said "about 80 per cent of their jobwork was for churches, that they had printed no controversial material, and had not been involved in any labor disputes."

Prior to the bombing the FBI had made a routine investigation at the plant to determine if the owner had printed cards for the Ku Klux Klan. A few days later, the owner said, "a man came into the place with several pieces of literature he said he wanted printed for the KKK." The owner declined the job and "explained that the FBI had already checked his shop."

Memphis, TENNESSEE

Memphis *Commercial Appeal* 11/15/65.

The Memphis branch of the NAACP filed a complaint against two white police officers charging brutality. The complaint cited an incident in which a Negro mother was abused by police. The officers came to her home to investigate a complaint of disorderly conduct. "She stated that she told them no one there had called and there had been no disturbance. When the officers entered the house to search it, she said, she asked them if they had a search warrant and . . . (one of the officers) told her he did not need one."

She said the officers "proceeded into her children's rooms after she told them her daughters were in bed and some of the other children were preparing for bed."

The woman said she was "not allowed to put on street clothes before leaving the house and was shoved into her closet when she tried to dress. She also said she was kicked by one of the officers after being pushed out of the house."

The complaint also charged that she "was cursed in the presence of her children, aged 1 to 15 years."

She charged she was later beaten while in police custody.

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 12/1/65.

The partially decomposed body of an unidentified Negro was found in Lake Hico November 30. A deputy investigator described the victim as wearing carpenter's overalls with a red shirt tied around his waist.

"For this reason," the deputy said, "we would not rule out the possibility of foul play."

He said police feel that the shirt might have been used to drag the body to the water's edge.

Victoria, Lunenburg County, VIRGINIA
Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot* 11/19/65 (AP).

A Negro youth suffered a scalp wound when he was shot from a passing car. He was standing in front of the Virginia Student Civil Rights Committee headquarters.

Charlotte, NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh *News and Observer* 11/23/65. Dateline: Charlotte (AP).

"The stillness of a foggy, rainy morning was broken by explosions at the large, modern homes of four Negro civil rights leaders. They and their families escaped injury although damage was extensive . . . .

"A city councilman, a federal court official, a dentist and the state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were the targets of pre-dawn bombers Monday."

The head of "Operation Rebuilding" felt that "they (the bombers) have done much damage to four homes. They have done far greater damage to our community."

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI
Greenwood *Commonwealth* 11/20/65. Dateline: Jackson (AP).

A white Unitarian minister who was active in civil rights work fled Mississippi due to renewed threats on his life. On August 22, 1965, he was hit in the back and side by a shotgun blast in what police called a "civil rights assassination attempt." A friend said the minister left because of threats against him and others in the downtown apartment building where he lives. He was asked to leave the building after other occupants were threatened.

Morton, MISSISSIPPI
Arkansas *Gazette* 11/3/65. Dateline: Jackson (UPI).

A Negro civil rights worker sued the mayor and town marshal of Morton, charging he was beaten and falsely imprisoned.

The CORE staff worker filed suit in federal district court, charging that the marshal blocked a march and beat him with "a large club or ax handle," while another white man covered the rest of the marchers with a shotgun. He said he was arrested and taken to city jail and again beaten before being placed in a cell. He said he then went before the mayor and was required to post $275 bond on charge of parading without a permit, disturbing the peace and resisting arrest.

Vicksburg, MISSISSIPPI
Jackson *Daily News* 11/30/65. Dateline: Vicksburg (UPI).

"A mysterious predawn explosion . . . heavily damaged a Negro grocery and shattered windows in several other buildings.

"Authorities said at least three persons were slightly injured in the blast in a racially-mixed business and residential section a few blocks from downtown Vicksburg."

Pelahatchie, MISSISSIPPI
Selma *Times-Journal* 11/8/65. Dateline: Pelahatchie (AP).

"An official report was being prepared today on a shooting in which a rural constable killed a Negro."

A white constable shot a 30-year-old Negro man to death when the man "came at him with an open pocketknife." The town marshal and night marshal witnessed the shooting, according to the local sheriff.

DECEMBER

Bogalusa, LOUISIANA
Arkansas *GGazette* 12/6/65. Dateline: Bogalusa (UPI).

"An Italian woman musician on a tour date here Saturday was attacked by three

white women on the main business street. Her attackers apparently believed she was a civil rights worker.

"City officials apologized for the attack and provided police protection for the duration of the orchestra's stay here. There were no incidents at the concert and the group left town Sunday morning."

Wilcox County, ALABAMA

New York *Times* 12/22/65. Dateline: Atlanta.

The regional director of the American Civil Liberties Union charged that eleven Negro sharecroppers were being forced from their homes in Wilcox County for trying to register to vote.

The ACLU spokesman said some of the complaints seem "directly related to the intimidation section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965."

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON A STUDY OF ECONOMIC INTIMIDATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN WILCOX, COUNTY, ALABAMA.

Submitted to the regional director of ACLU from a man living in Wilcox County.

A Negro couple registered to vote. The grocer demanded immediate payment of money owed for groceries: "You think you're smart. I'd like to take a damn two-by-four up side your head for registering. Get out of my store."

One of the families which was forced to move because of participation in demonstrations has no money, no food, and no credit. Their water was turned off by the city just after they took part in a protest march.

In many cases land was taken away and the rent raised from nothing to $25 per month. Most of the families involved make less than $1,000 a year.

A man whose mother was born in slavery on the land he was forced to leave is eighty-two years old. According to the study, "He did not want to move. No water or lights where he now lives. Will grow some corn."

One man and his wife, having no income other than $33 per month from Social Security, were told by their landlord that if they registered they would have to move. They registered and he carried out his threat.

A Negro woman voted in a state election. Her employer hit her with a broom and told her to "get out."

Liberty, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S.C.) 12/12/65. Dateline: Liberty.

Headline: "INQUEST IN LIBERTY NEGRO SHOOTING SET"

A Brooklyn, New York, Negro was traveling through Liberty with his wife and family en route to Alabama. After a fruitless search for a place to spend the night, the man was taken to the police station, where officers made calls to find a place.

"When he was asked questions . . . [the man] was shot by a policeman after a brief scuffle with officers.

"The inquest will be held in the Liberty High School Auditorium."

West Feliciana Parish, LOUISIANA

New York *Times* 12/24/65. Dateline: Baton Rouge (UPI).

"A Federal Court judge issued a temporary restraining order today against white landlords, barring them from evicting Negro tenants who have registered to vote. The case is the first test of the intimidation section of the 1965 Voting Rights Act."

United States District Judge E. Gordon West later ruled that the charges were not proved, and dissolved the injunction. He held some sections of the Voting Rights Act unconstitutional.

St. Francisville, LOUISIANA

Los Angeles *Times* 12/23/65. Dateline: St. Francisville.

Spokesmen for about 100 Negroes evicted for registering to vote reflected similar bitterness, resignation, and a degree of alienation expressed by men and women turned out of an abandoned Air Force base in Greenville, Mississippi in February:

"My sin, child, my only sin, was I wanted to be a citizen."

"Would I go back to my old house if I would promise not to vote? Chile, I wouldn't promise not to vote if they gave me the house."

"I've been stomped down and stomped down all of my life. It's been long enough."

St. George, SOUTH CAROLINA

The State (Columbia, S.C.) 12/5/65. Dateline: St. George.

A young Negro was released on $25 bond after being charged with threatening the life of a Negro school principal. The incident came during a CORE-sponsored demonstration at the Negro high school.

"Meanwhile, Negroes reported that a cross was burned in a Negrc section of St. George Friday night. The city police department and county sheriff's office said there had been no report made of the fire."

Hamburg, ARKANSAS

Arkansas *Gazette* 12/7/65. Dateline: Hamburg.

"First degree murder charges were filed Monday against two white brothers from Ashley County in the fatal shooting of a 14-year-old Negro boy.

"The boy was shot about 6 p.m. while standing in front of a cafe on the main street of Portland . . . ."

The Ashley County sheriff said that "as far as he could determine there was no provocation for the shooting."

Mobile, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 12/18-19/65. Dateline: Mobile.

"At least a thousand" leaflets blasting conditions at the Negro training school, attacking "Uncle Tom Negro preachers," two paper mills and an increase in bus fares appeared in the Magazine Point section of Mobile.

"Like the earlier leaflets, the new one refers to the Los Angeles riots of last summer. It calls the rioters 'heroes' for destroying white businesses and factories.

"Then the leaflet says, 'Be prepared, it's coming to Plateau and Magazine Point soon.'

"No recognized Negro leaders have supported the leaflet. Many of them have denounced it, but a few believe that it might do some good, even though they don't like it . . . .

"R. A. Holt, principal of the [Negro] school admitted, 'It might serve as a motivational force.' " (Referring to hastening construction of a long-promised Negro school.)

Jackson, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 12/18-19/65. Dateline: Jackson.

A Negro boy, attacked by white classmates, missed three weeks of school because he doesn't "want to lose . . . [his] life."

According to another Negro, the high school principal had called and warned that "things would get worse" if the boy returned.

Wilcox County, ALABAMA

Selma Inter-Religious Project *Newsletter,* January, 1966.

"All our documentation [relating to people being evicted due to registering to vote], even our little interview with the Atty. Gen., has helped the 85 families not a whit. My own feeling now is that we could have better used our energies standing beside these people in some dramatic form of direct action. But the crisis is over, hind-

sight can not return to their homes those who have journeyed to already overburdened relatives in Chicago, Birmingham, Mobile, Atmore, and Pensacola."

Eutaw, ALABAMA

Selma *Times-Journal* 12/6/65. Dateline: Tuscaloosa (AP).

"Conflicting reports were issued concerning the injury a Negro demonstrator hospitalized here received after a civil rights march in Eutaw Saturday night.

"Spokesmen for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference reported the woman was shot as Negroes staged the after-dark demonstration.

"But officials . . . said they understood the woman walked into a wooden plank which had a large nail protruding from it."

New Orleans, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 12/7/65.

A fight between Negro and white students broke out at East Jefferson High School, which, after being desegregated for the first time in September, "has had sporadic incidents of racial fighting . . . . Deputies were on hand Monday as a result of court action by attorneys for Negro students.

"Attorneys for the Negro students said in their suit recently that on several occasions Negro students were threatened and beaten."

Meridian, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 12/15/65. Dateline: Meridian.

"Meridian police and FBI agents today were investigating the shooting into a home of a Negro student at recently desegregated Meridian High School Tuesday night.

"The more than a dozen shots fired from a high-powered gun were believed fired from a passing auto."

Deerfield Beach, FLORIDA

New York *Times* 12/26/65. Dateline: Deerfield Beach (UPI).

"Three young white men drove past a tavern crowded with Negroes here last night and sprayed it with bullets, wounding seven persons. A witness said they used a machine gun."

Fayette, MISSISSIPPI

New York *Times* 12/26/65. Dateline: Fayette.

"A Negro civil rights leader stood at the base of the Jefferson County Confederate memorial, the centerpiece of a white-only park, and hurled defiance at armed white men."

The spokesman "warned the whites that violence would henceforth be met with violence.

"About 50 white men, some with rifles racked across the back windows of their pickup trucks, stood a few feet from the Negro crowd and listened in anger to [the speaker] . . .

" 'If you don't bring it [trouble] you won't get it,' he shouted at the whites. 'But if you bring it, you're going to get it. We're tired of your bombings and beatings. We've talked with you and we've prayed for you, and now we're going to sit and wait for you.'

"The Negroes cheered.

"The whites remained silent and grim."

JANUARY

New Orleans, LOUISIANA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/20/66. Dateline: New Orleans (AP).

A Negro church, target of vandals several times during the past eighteen months, was again hit by a packet of "relatively harmless" firecrackers.

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 1/18/66.

The *News* announced that business practices prohibited its revealing the identity of the person who advertised Mrs. Viola Liuzzo's death-car, "bullet holes and everything still intact," for sale.

Meridian, MISSISSIPPI

Birmingham *News* 1/22/66. Dateline: Meridian.

Five men were convicted in police court of having "conspired to accomplish unlawful purposes" after their arrest for attempted cross-burning in the Meridian area.

"Crosses flared throughout the state the night of January 3 in what state law enforcement authorities claimed at the time was a planned 'Ku Klux Klan show of force.' "

New York *Times* 1/9/66. Dateline: Atlanta.

"Law enforcement officials said that nightriders burned at least 100 crosses in Mississippi and a church in Baker County, Ga., to protest civil rights gains and the resumption of a Congressional investigation of the Ku Klux Klan in Washington where seven leaders were cited for contempt."

Gray, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 1/25/66. Dateline: Gray (AP).

A middle-Georgia storeowner who had volunteered information on the Ku Klux Klan said he had received telephone calls threatening both him and Representative Charles Weltner, member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, one week prior to his store's being shot into by nightriders.

Bogalusa, LOUISIANA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 1/2/66. Dateline: Bogalusa.

A Negro man, after firing one warning shot, aimed a shotgun blast at a group of white men in his front yard. He claimed the men had previously fired shots into his home. One man was wounded.

Newton, GEORGIA

New Orleans *Times-Picayune* 1/11/66. Dateline: Newton (AP).

The sheriff of Baker County says an unidentified man threatened his life if he investigated the burning of a Negro church near here.

Hattiesburg, MISSISSIPPI

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/16/66. Dateline: Hattiesburg (AP).

A "tense situation" resulted when police arrested a Negro participating in a memorial march honoring the NAACP official who died of burns when his store was firebombed January 11.

Natchez, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 1/3/66. Dateline: Natchez (AP).

The mayor's supermarket, which had been picketed by both the Ku Klux Klan and civil rights groups during recent months, was destroyed by fire New Year's Eve. Police said the fire was "definitely the work of arsonists."

Tuskegee, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 1/6/66. Dateline: Tuskegee.

A 21-year-old Tuskegee Institute freshman and "field worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was shot to death . . . following a dispute with (an attendant) at the service station where the elderly white man was employed."

Sunflower County, MISSISSIPPI

Miami *Herald* 1/22/66.

Two young Negroes joined the rest of their family who had fled to Miami from Sunflower County. After taking part in voter registration in 1964 the father lost his job. One son was sentenced to one and a half years in reform school because he was in a shoe store at the time of a burglary. His brother was later accused of stealing a carton of cigarettes and given the same sentence.

Hattiesburg, MISSISSIPPI

Atlanta *Journal* 1/11/66. Dateline: Hattiesburg.

A Negro man, who according to Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, "was engaged in the highest kind of citizenship—helping to secure basic rights for his fellow citizens," died of burns when his home and store were fire-bombed.

Camden, Wilcox County, ALABAMA

Atlanta *Constitution* 1/24/66. Dateline: Camden (UPI).

A young Negro planned to attend what was described as a political meeting by an SCLC field secretary and what the local sheriff thought to be a funeral at Antioch Baptist Church. As he tried to turn off the highway into the church parking lot, his car was struck from the rear by another vehicle driven by a white man. The white pulled a pistol and shot the Negro in the head, leaving his body lying on highway 41. He turned himself in to the sheriff, who said that by the time he got to town several Negroes, "upset by the killing," had begun to gather around the body. The sheriff reported that the white man was "real upset."

Lowndes County, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/2/66. Dateline: Fort Deposit (AP).

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee set up tents to house Negro families evicted after registering to vote.

The Lowndes County sheriff said that "it was quite possible that some families were diplaced," but he blamed automation and a changing economy for displacement.

The SNCC office in Atlanta had charged that 20 families had been told to move because of voting rights activities.

Southern *Courier* 1/8-9/66. Dateline: Freedom City, Lowndes County.

The sheriff said that "probably the families had to go because they weren't needed as the plantation changed over to cattle raising and mechanical cotton pickers . . ." One evicted sharecropper said of the plantation owner, "He's had a mechanical picker since '55, and he has lots of people who ain't registered working."

To younger people, with "lots of children, Freedom City can't be the last stop. They will have to find land of their own to build houses and to work."

Application has been made to the Office of Economic Opportunity for $1,500 for each farmer to start a house.

"Not only would this program provide houses for people living in Freedom City tents, but it would also provide them with the work of building them.

"So although Freedom City residents know they can't live in tents forever, they still feel they are a community with a future in Lowndes County . . . .

"To one family, which doesn't want to leave the land they've farmed for generations, there is only one alternative to Freedom City:

" 'We've got to take some of the white man's land and build houses on it . . . . That's what you need to do—he got it all.' "

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/18/66.

"A group of Lowndes County Negroes has asked a federal court here to enjoin white landowners in Lowndes County from allegedly evicting Negro sharecroppers because the Negroes registered to vote." The plaintiffs charged that shots were fired at the "tent city" where several were living.

Franklin County, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 1/12/66. Dateline: Washington.

The Justice Department charged that Negroes in Franklin were "threatened

and intimidated by . . . cross burnings and the shooting of firearms at homes" when they exercised "freedom of choice" in school transfers.

Mobile, ALABAMA

Southern *Courier* 1/22-23/66. Dateline: Mobile.

Another in a series of leaflets threatening violence warned that the Mobile County Training School (Negro) "will either be blown up or burned down in broad daylight."

Greenville, MISSISSIPPI

Delta Ministry Reports, February, 1966.

Median income for plantation Negroes in the Delta is $456. Because of mechanization and a one-third crop allotment reduction, the state employment service estimates that 4,706 of the 18,124 seasonal workers living with their families on plantations in the Delta will not be needed to work next year.

Of those already off the land and out of work, living in tent cities and abandoned shacks along the Delta, about 50 entered the unoccupied Air Force base at Greenville January 31. Some thirty hours later they were forced to move out by air police.

Following what for many of them was just another eviction, three spokesmen of the group held a press conference in the Delta Ministry office in Greenville. Out of this conference came specific grievances, resentments, frustrations, and anger, and a real sense of alienation from American society.

"I feel that the federal government have proven that it don't care about poor people. Everything that we have asked for through these years has been handed down on paper. It's never been a reality.

"We the poor people of Mississippi is tired. We're tired of it so we're going to build for ourselves, because we don't have a government that represents us."

". . . See, you can only accept poor peoples by being poor and really know what being poor is like. And all this stuff about poverty programs and federal funds, that's out for poor peoples.

"We were looked upon as just a civil rights demonstration. But really we were there demanding and waiting and asking that these things be brought there to fill some desperate needs. And we was asking that the poor peoples be accepted as they stood. And instead of getting what we was asking we got the whole air force troopers in on us. To me, that's our government."

". . . The building was more respectable than poor hungry peoples with nothing and nowhere to go. If the peoples was satisfied and willing to sit there to find ways to do for themselves, the government should have let them stay there. The building was more important than poor folks . . . .

"The only reason . . . for eviction was that the building that we was in didn't have running water and didn't have any type of fire protection. And see I know that the federal government can't tell me that was the reason we was put out, because all over Mississippi houses don't have running water or fire protection."

A spokesman for the Delta Ministry recounted over a year's frustrating effort to get commodities distributed to poor people in the state. Each time a group within the county offered to distribute commodities the Department of Agriculture referred the plan to the Mississippi Welfare Department, which substituted an alternate program. In one instance immediately after the state department set up a commodity program the Department of Agriculture found it necessary to send an agent to investigate charges of discrimination. In another county the Food Stamp program was initiated. The Food Stamp program costs individuals money, so the very poor were not helped by it. Under a state-wide plan the welfare department is to get 24 million dollars worth of commodities from Agriculture and 1.6 million dollars from OEO to distribute food to 500,000 for six months. The food was due to be ready for

distribution January 23. "When that day came we could not find (any) food being given out. And now it's February."

"I'd like to add to that to live, we got to go out and chop cotton for $3 a day, maybe two or three days a week. At the end of cotton picking, we gets the same for picking the scrap the machines leave. Then . . . when they start qualifying you for commodities, they say you got to find our how many people you worked for and get them to sign for you as being poor. If they don't feel like signing, like maybe they don't like you for civil rights activities, you don't get commodities. But you still poor, whether the white boss says so or not."

". . . See, if you belong to any civil rights group or participate, they tell you you can't get a job with the poverty program, because that's political and you know, you can't have that. And that's what's happening with the poverty program: It's political — that's the reason it's not doing anything for the poor."

". . . You know, we ain't dumb, even if we are poor. We need jobs. We need food. We need houses. But even with the poverty program we ain't got nothin but needs. That's why we was pulled off that building that wasn't being used for anything. We is ignored . . . The thing about property upset them, but the thing about poor people don't. So there's no way out but to begin your own beginning, whatever way you can. So far as I'm concerned, that's all I got to say about the past. We're beginning a new future:

". . . Because of the fact that we was refused by the government and evicted, it's important that we start planning our own government."

Delta *Democrat-Times* 2/10/66.

"The Washington County Board of Supervisors plans to meet at 10 a.m. Friday to reconsider its decision Monday to reject county participation in an expanded food program.

The president of the board confirmed that "the supervisors will meet in the courthouse Friday and give further consideration to participation in a $24 million program announced by the State Welfare Dept.

"The reason given Monday for the board's rejection was that county farmers and merchants don't want it.

"The program would probably benefit primarily Negroes and landowners are said to feel they would have more difficulty in getting spring labor if commodities were not cut off in March."

Montgomery, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/1/66.

Four whites, charged with "threatening and throwing rocks" at Negroes, were arrested after their car crashed into two other vehicles on the street where the rock-throwing occurred.

Tuskegee, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 1/16/66. Dateline: Tuskegee.

One man was arrested in the aftermath of a rock and bottle throwing riot which damaged 11 stores and a number of automobiles.

Macon County sheriff said the incident was triggered when a deputy tried to serve a warrant on one of students protesting the shooting death of a fellow student by a white service station attendant.

Washington *Post* 1/12/66.

Three men were arrested and charged with depositing trash in a public place after they placed a coffin in front of the White House. Spokesman for the three, who were protesting the shooting death of a Tuskegee, Alabama student, said, "A man is dead. We're getting tired."

FEBRUARY

Helicon, Crenshaw County, ALABAMA

Southern Courier, 2/26-27/66. Dateline: Helicon.

A Negro, leading a demonstration against the school principal of Helicon Junior High School, was beaten by sheriff's deputies while trying to aid a boy who had been tear-gassed in the face. After receiving medical aid, the man was arrested and released on bond.

Earlier, on February 7, a *Courier* photographer was arrested for trespassing when he attempted to interview the principal.

In a related incident on the night of February 13 "a stick of dynamite exploded outside the home of a long-time civil rights worker in Crenshaw County," according to the sheriff.

Forest, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/3/66. Dateline: Forest.

The county sheriff said he would "appreciate any information" regarding the identity of the party or parties who fired into the home of a 73-year-old retired Negro school teacher."

Laurel, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/2/66. Dateline: Laurel.

A Laurel man was charged with illegal possession of explosives after authorities found several sticks of dynamite in his automobile. He had previously been charged with shooting into the home of a local NAACP representative, but the Jones County Grand Jury failed to indict him.

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 2/26/66. Dateline: Birmingham.

On Monday night about 150 demonstrators picketed a local supermarket. When they failed to move from the path of a white man's automobile, he fired an eight-shot, .32 calibre automatic into the crowd. Five people were wounded, two severely.

Kosciusko, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/4/66. Dateline: Kosciusko (AP).

Headline: "CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS MAKE VIOLENT THREAT"

"A band of young civil rights workers say they intend to shoot back if their 'Freedom House' is again made the target of nightriders."

One of the college students living in the house was nicked by pellets on February 2, when a carload of "nightriders" pumped five shotgun blasts into it. The students had been keeping watch in the house since New Year's Eve, when someone tried to burn it down.

Elba, ALABAMA

Montgomery *Advertiser* 2/26/66. Dateline: Elba.

A blast triggered by ten sticks of dynamite ripped through one wing of Elba High School, where two Negro students entered the eleventh and twelfth grades last fall. Two hundred people had just left the building following a banquet, but authorities said there were no Negroes in the crowd.

Members of the Second Howitzer Battalion of the 117th Artillery in Elba "will have 35 men on duty . . . throughout the weekend to preserve evidence relating to the bombing."

Neshoba County, MISSISSIPPI

Delta Democrat-Times 2/21/66. Dateline: Neshoba County, (UPI).

A small Mennonite church, burned in 1964 during investigation of the murders of three civil rights workers, was dynamited Feb. 19.

Sunflower County, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/3/66.

"A representative of the Sunflower County Colored Baptist Assoc. filed suit . . . in Hinds County Court against four civil rights organizations and their directors in connection with the burning of a church March 5, 1965 . . . .

"In the declaration . . . (the representative) said, the defendants began renting the church July 24, 1964, with the purpose of achieving full and complete integration of Negro citizens into the political and economic life of the state of Mississippi.

"Shortly after the organizations moved into the building, the Sunflower County Colored Baptist Assoc. was notified that its fire insurance policy had been canceled due to the fact that the property was being used for a different purpose than it was when the policy of insurance was issued. The association then found out that no insurance company was willing to insure the property."

Birmingham, ALABAMA

Birmingham *News* 2/23/66. Dateline: Birmingham.

Authorities discovered a "time-bomb factory," which they think may lead them to the "Birmingham Bombers" who terrorized the city early in 1965.

The county sheriff said the time bombs were "made and set out by members of an organization. He did not identify the organization."

Prattville, ALABAMA

Southern Courier 2/19-20/66. Dateline: Prattville.

A Negro youth was beaten by "at least a dozen" white boys as he was repairing his car at a service station. He was arrested, and, "while in the car . . . he said that someone would get even with his attackers.

"The next thing he knew he was belted over the head again.

"The youth was rushed to the hospital, treated, and released . . . . "

He was "charged with resisting arrest and released on bond."

Zachary, LOUISIANA

The New York *Times* 2/8/66. Dateline: Zachary (UPI).

"A Negro's house was bombed last night, the fourth such mysterious explosion involving Negroes since last summer in the Baton Rouge areas."

Forest, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Daily News* 2/1/66. Dateline: Jackson (AP).

"A retired Negro school teacher has said his Forest, Miss., home was riddled with gunfire a week ago on the eve of the desegregation of two Forest schools."

Jackson, MISSISSIPPI

Jackson *Clarion-Ledger-Daily News* 2/13/66. Dateline: Jackson.

"With one dissenting vote, the Senate passed a tightly written bill making it a felony for any person to fire a deadly weapon into a residence or other inhabited structure.

"The offense is currently classed a misdemeanor and carries a light fine and lighter jail sentence. The existing statute is so loosely written that it has occasionally led law officers in rural areas to laugh off volleys of gunshots fired into homes if no injury is reported.

"Officers have been prone to assume the negativistic attitude that since the offense is a misdemeanor, why bother to conduct a full-fledged investigation? A conviction, they have reasoned, would hardly be worth the time, effort and expense consumed by a thorough probing.

"This unfortunate fact, coupled with a barrage of civil rights activity in the state, has triggered the imagination of certain groups of people. The result has been a number of incidents in which nightriders fire upon the homes of persons they do not see eye to eye with."

Morven, NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh *News and Observer* 3/3/66. Dateline: Morven (AP).

A white Methodist minister who set up a Negro Bible school near Morven, said he was being transferred to a church in Mecklenburg County because he feared "violence to my family."

"He said the first sign of any objection to the Bible school came in January when he found what appeared to be a bullet hole in the rear of his station wagon . . . .

"He said his family had received numerous telephone calls, some sympathetic, some curious and some objectionable."

Atlanta, GEORGIA

Atlanta *Constitution* 2/25/66. Dateline: Atlanta.

The mayor of Atlanta and a young Negro "exchanged heated words Thursday night over whether Negroes living in Atlanta slums will stage a Watts-type riot here to improve their lot.

" 'Atlanta may have some violent disorders as we've seen in Watts,' warned . . . a spokesman from the Vine City Council.

" 'Your statement in my opinion is totally erroneous,' " the major retorted.

After being warned that "Negroes in Atlanta are getting anxious . . . . the mayor repeated, " 'I say to you again, there won't be another Watts in Atlanta. It'll have to happen over the top of me and a couple of other people I know.' "

The mayor then went on to discuss water pollution, finances and the police department.

Irvington, NEW JERSEY

Delta Democratic-Times 2/21/66. Dateline: Irvington (UPI).

The NAACP field director from Mississippi, "brother of slain Medgar Evers, Sunday called for a violent answer to violence in the South."

He "claimed there were 32 unsolved civil rights deaths in Mississippi since the death of his brother, June, 1964.

"He said the FBI and the Justice Dept. 'had no intention of bringing justice' to the murderers of his brother, formerly the NAACP field director in Mississippi.

" 'It's time to start killing,' . . . (he) said. 'I will do all that I have to do so that Medgar is avenged.'

"He told his audience the violence of the Ku Klux Klan and the nightriders would have to be answered by violence.

" 'We'll have to lay and wait for them at night, and fight with them all day,' he said. 'No Negroes are free until all Negroes are free. No one can free us but ourselves.' "

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The figures presented herein were accumulated during the summer and late summer of 1966. While they do not represent the final registration figures for the November elections, the difference is not expected to be large. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources---public and private, official and unofficial.

For four states---Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia---complete or near-complete county-by-county figures showing white and Negro registration were not available. For these four states, statewide estimates have been made, based on the best information obtainable.

For two states---Florida and Mississippi---figures did not indicate the race of a sizeable number of registrants. These have been divided between the white and Negro columns on the basis of VEP estimates.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

NEGRO-WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

STATE	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alabama*	1,353,058	481,320	1,192,075	246,396	88.1	51.2
Arkansas	850,643	192,626	598,000	115,000	70.3	59.7
Florida***	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9
Georgia**	1,797,062	612,910	1,378,005	289,545	76.7	47.2
Louisiana	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1
Mississippi***	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9
North Carolina	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0
South Carolina	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4
Tennessee	1,779,018	313,873	1,375,000	225,000	77.3	71.7
Texas	4,884,765	649,512	2,600,000	400,000	53.3	61.6
Virginia	1,876,167	436,720	1,159,000	205,000	61.8	46.9
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,309,704	2,620,359	70.2	52.2

*Even division of 10,000 voters not registered by race.

**Two-thirds and one-third Negro-white division of 14,000 voters not registered by race.

***A later Mississippi figure put white registration at approximately 481,000 and Negro registration at 163,000. The October figure for Florida pushed white registration to 2,160,587 and Negro registration to 303,245.

A L A B A M A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Autauga	6,353	3,651	6,932	2,308	100+	63.2
Baldwin	22,236	4,527	19,692	1,242	88.6	27.4
Barbour	7,338	5,787	9,825	3,666	100+	63.3
Bibb	5,807	1,190	8,087	933	100+	78.4
Blount	14,368	378	13,709	140	95.4	37.0
Bullock	2,387	4,450	3,323	3,197	100+	71.8
Butler	8,363	4,820	7,850	1,803	93.9	37.4
Calhoun	44,739	9,036	33,472	4,404	74.8	48.7
Chambers	15,369	6,497	11,889	1,439	77.4	22.1
Cherokee	8,537	752	9,651	482	100+	61.6
Chilton	12,861	1,947	16,006	747	100+	38.4
Choctaw	5,192	3,982	5,833	3,024	100+	75.9
Clarke	7,899	5,833	10,336	2,564	100+	44.0
Clay	6,470	926	8,534	399	100+	43.1
Cleburne	5,870	385	7,493	139	100+	36.1
Coffee	14,221	2,985	11,334	1,002	79.7	33.6
Colbert	21,680	4,575	20,569	2,818	94.9	61.6
Conecuh	5,907	3,635	5,559	2,084	94.1	57.3
Coosa	4,201	1,794	5,678	956	100+	53.3
Covington	18,446	2,876	16,486	1,010	89.4	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Crenshaw	6,310	2,207	6,469	1,213	100+	55.0
Cullman	25,848	285	24,622	122	95.3	42.8
Dale	14,861	2,743	11,658	1,414	78.4	51.5
Dallas	14,400	15,115	12,787	10,513	88.8	69.6
DeKalb	23,878	441	26,680	217	100+	49.2
Elmore	12,510	4,808	15,710	2,813	100+	58.5
Escambia	12,779	5,685	15,631	1,825	100+	32.1
Etowah	48,565	7,661	41,820	4,120	86.1	53.8
Fayette	8,277	1,291	9,141	664	100+	51.4
Franklin	12,412	645	13,616	725	100+	100+
Geneva	11,357	1,606	10,321	585	90.9	36.4
Greene	1,649	5,001	2,001	3,927	100+	78.5
Hale	3,594	5,999	4,515	4,096	100+	68.3
Henry	5,165	3,168	6,629	1,459	100+	46.1
Houston	22,095	6,899	15,604	1,813	70.6	26.3
Jackson	19,298	1,175	18,526	629	96.0	53.5
Jefferson	256,319	116,160	175,087	62,992	68.3	54.2
Lamar	7,503	1,027	9,927	367	100+	35.7
Lauderdale	31,089	3,726	18,434	1,339	59.3	35.9
Lawrence	10,509	2,471	14,731	1,315	100+	53.2
Lee	17,547	8,913	13,470	2,818	76.8	31.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Limestone	16,173	3,579	14,272	1,278	88.2	35.7
Lowndes	1,900	5,122	2,823	2,758	100+	53.8
Macon	2,818	11,886	4,997	7,130	100+	60.0
Madison	54,516	10,666	41,333*	3,183*	75.8	29.8
Marengo	6,104	7,791	7,288	5,799	100+	74.4
Marion	12,656	403	16,418	267	100+	66.3
Marshall	26,997	637	17,174	152	63.6	23.9
Mobile	121,589	50,793	107,455*	24,794*	88.4	48.8
Monroe	6,631	4,894	7,542	2,497	100+	51.0
Montgomery	62,911	33,056	43,514	19,268	69.2	58.3
Morgan	30,955	4,159	25,741	1,194	83.2	28.7
Perry	3,441	5,202	5,495	3,847	100+	74.0
Pickens	7,336	4,373	7,407	1,717	100+	39.3
Pike	9,126	5,259	11,788	3,180	100+	60.5
Randolph	9,196	2,366	10,230	1,182	100+	50.0
Russell	13,761	10,531	12,682	3,932	92.2	37.3
St. Clair	12,244	2,035	11,044	906	90.2	44.5
Shelby	14,771	2,889	13,208*	985*	89.4	34.1
Sumter	3,061	6,814	3,775	3,392	100+	49.8
Talladega	25,635	9,333	21,389	3,406	83.4	36.5
Tallapoosa	15,310	4,999	17,807	1,818	100+	36.4
Tuscaloosa	47,076	15,332	29,049	5,707	61.7	37.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walker	28,148	2,890	26,885	1,277	95.5	44.2
Washington	5,293	2,297	7,690	1,469	100+	64.0
Wilcox	2,624	6,085	3,639	3,765	100+	61.9
Winston	8,559	47	11,179	40	100+	85.1
TOTALS	1,353,058	481,320	1,187,075	241,396	87.7	50.2

*Figures do not include a total of more than 10,000 voters for whom race is not designated in Madison, Mobile, and Shelby counties.

F L O R I D A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alachua	30,555	9,898	24,767	6,214	81.1	62.8
Baker	3,203	807	3,445	554	100+	68.6
Bay	31,940	4,964	23,223	3,330	72.7	67.1
Bradford	5,580	1,345	4,900	893	87.8	66.4
Brevard	58,433	6,494	63,271	4,147	100+	63.9
Broward	189,517	27,009	179,977	19,713	95.0	73.0
Calhoun	3,434	582	4,091	379	100+	65.1
Charlotte	8,659	427	11,588	346	100+	81.0
Citrus	5,174	829	6,626	589	100+	71.0
Clay	9,508	1,276	9,443	1,013	99.3	79.4
Collier	8,163	1,364	8,173	623	100+	45.7
Columbia	8,092	3,122	8,676	2,517	100+	80.6
Dade	537,448	75,573	373,413	50,621	69.5	67.0
De Soto	6,339	1,343	4,564	1,010	72.0	75.2
Dixie	2,138	363	2,775	371	100+	100+
Duval	203,804	58,430	134,175	36,691	65.8	62.8
Escambia	76,688	18,041	58,651	13,058	76.5	72.4
Flagler	1,789	846	1,944	391	100+	46.2
Franklin	3,186	779	3,428	537	100+	68.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Gadsden	11,711	12,261	6,338	4,237	54.1	34.6
Gilchrist	1,513	154	1,737	110	100+	71.4
Glades	1,061	741	1,130	269	100+	36.3
Gulf	4,196	1,138	3,652	710	87.0	62.4
Hamilton	2,486	1,621	2,683	1,087	100+	67.0
Hardee	6,734	552	5,475	354	81.3	64.1
Hendry	3,430	1,180	3,322	756	96.8	64.1
Hernando	5,689	1,151	5,597	719	98.4	62.5
Highlands	10,997	2,251	10,587	1,547	96.3	68.7
Hillsborough	213,950	31,114	152,995	19,803	71.5	63.6
Holmes	6,131	249	6,472	199	100+	79.9
Indian River	13,182	2,637	11,713	1,376	88.9	52.2
Jackson	14,087	5,390	11,370	3,515	80.7	65.2
Jefferson	2,383	2,600	2,470	1,540	100+	59.2
Lafayette	1,536	152	1,767	102	100+	67.1
Lake	30,535	6,438	25,241	2,665	82.7	41.4
Lee	30,636	4,677	31,301	1,668	100+	35.7
Leon	28,241	12,322	25,360	7,240	89.8	58.8
Levy	4,483	1,568	3,730	536	83.2	34.2
Liberty	1,525	240	2,073	155	100+	64.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Madison	4,380	3,067	4,250	2,023	97.0	66.0
Manatee	42,291	5,278	35,354	3,493	83.6	66.2
Marion	21,001	9,283	22,129	6,006	100+	64.7
Martin	9,291	1,753	9,106	1,225	98.0	69.9
Monroe	25,512	2,919	16,781	2,077	65.8	71.1
Nassau	7,054	2,076	5,680	1,476	80.5	71.1
Okaloosa	30,816	2,097	23,818	1,289	77.3	61.5
Okeechobee	2,870	533	3,140	419	100+	78.6
Orange	137,780	21,771	98,598	10,344	71.6	47.5
Osceola	11,697	1,122	10,049	609	85.9	54.3
Palm Beach	119,342	29,541	104,229	17,204	87.3	58.2
Pasco	22,329	2,391	23,461	1,160	100+	48.5
Pinellas	255,369	18,121	216,174	11,155	84.6	61.6
Polk	97,314	19,224	73,713	10,045	75.7	52.2
Putnam	13,095	5,089	9,056	2,049	69.2	40.3
St. Johns	13,771	4,331	10,225	2,241	74.2	51.7
St. Lucie	17,238	6,527	14,837	3,933	86.1	60.3
Santa Rosa	14,710	1,082	13,043	740	88.7	68.4
Sarasota	49,533	4,125	42,833	2,100	86.5	50.9
Seminole	24,372	7,050	17,125	2,989	70.3	42.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Sumter	5,396	1,523	5,308	911	98.4	59.8
Suwannee	6,409	2,149	5,388	1,083	84.1	50.4
Taylor	5,454	1,724	5,439	939	99.7	54.5
Union	2,880	1,082	2,049	171	71.1	15.8
Volusia	74,209	11,615	63,253	6,881	85.2	59.2
Wakulla	2,120	753	2,681	602	100+	79.9
Walton	7,958	1,086	7,816	857	98.2	78.9
Washington	5,364	1,021	5,596	840	100+	82.3
TOTALS	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9

G E O R G I A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Appling	5,862	1,401	7,286	1,187	100+	84.7
Atkinson	2,486	812	3,202	800	100+	99.2
Bacon	4,203	536	4,535	264	100+	49.3
Baker	1,139	1,285	1,517	722	100+	56.2
Baldwin	16,109	9,235	6,555	1,871	40.7	20.3
Banks	3,850	213	3,405	63	88.4	29.6
Barrow	7,865	1,332	6,230	403	79.2	30.3
Bartow	14,942	2,373	15,594	1,417	100+	59.2
Ben Hill	5,931	2,436	3,607	977	60.8	40.1
Berrien	6,179	964	5,133	575	83.1	59.6
Bibb	60,429	26,812	27,084*	5,251*	44.8	19.6
Bleckley	4,508	1,350	3,613	172	79.8	12.5
Brantley	2,854	384	3,005	300	100+	78.1
Brooks	5,059	3,711	3,320	591	65.6	15.9
Bryan	2,289	1,111	2,335	1,165	100+	100+
Bulloch	10,101	4,337	8,528	2,196	84.4	50.6
Burke	4,358	6,600	3,835	1,595	88.0	24.2
Butts	3,195	2,099	4,101	936	100+	44.6
Calhoun	1,654	2,393	1,895	509	100+	21.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Camden	3,447	2,059	3,140	1,431	91.1	69.5
Candler	2,714	1,200	2,996	965	100+	86.4
Carroll	19,234	3,595	13,201	1,965	68.6	54.7
Catoosa	12,370	172	11,231	75	90.8	43.6
Charlton	2,077	810	2,539	444	100+	54.8
Chatham	78,118	37,563	54,676	21,174	70.0	56.4
Chattahoochee	8,061	1,830	462	119	5.7	6.5
Chattooga	11,460	1,025	8,983	927	78.4	90.4
Cherokee	13,964	617	13,749*	608*	98.5	100+
Clarke	23,895	6,740	13,897	4,723	58.2	70.1
Clay	1,130	1,441	968	256	85.7	17.8
Clayton	23,996	2,456	17,725	723	73.9	29.4
Clinch	2,373	1,256	2,350	371	99.0	29.5
Cobb	63,291	4,568	29,680*	1,800*	47.0	39.6
Coffee	9,682	2,977	11,224	1,304	100.+	43.8
Colquitt	13,982	4,081	12,778*	1,673*	80.0	41.0
Columbia	5,096	2,364	4,278	801	83.9	33.9
Cook	5,213	1,755	5,513	652	100+	37.2
Coweta	11,891	5,579	11,919	2,352	100+	42.2
Crawford	1,596	1,611	1,468	354	92.0	22.0
Crisp	6,451	3,858	6,301	1,805	97.7	46.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Dade	4,803	70	4,242	60	88.3	85.7
Dawson	2,148	1	2,373	0	100+	.0
Decatur	9,070	5,515	8,144	1,218	89.8	22.1
DeKalb	148,167	12,407	120,129	7,862	81.1	63.4
Dodge	7,392	2,328	7,013	1,871	94.9	80.4
Dooly	3,581	2,866	4,392	890	100+	31.1
Dougherty	29,897	14,163	13,715*	4,800*	45.9	33.9
Douglas	8,595	1,268	8,653	955	100+	75.3
Early	4,013	3,277	4,048	502	100+	15.3
Echols	832	246	838	19	100+	7.7
Effingham	4,008	1,756	3,974	569	99.2	32.4
Elbert	7,752	3,127	9,335	1,315	100+	42.1
Emanuel	7,627	3,005	6,318	2,098	82.8	69.8
Evans	2,738	1,308	2,355	547	86.0	41.8
Fannin	8,111	31	8,494	18	100+	58.1
Fayette	3,585	1,190	300	6	83.7	5.1
Floyd	38,230	5,949	24,932	2,600	65.2	43.7
Forsyth	7,328	4	6,539	0	89.2	.0
Franklin	7,611	776	7,599	112	99.8	14.4
Fulton	247,892	117,049	172,112	69,885	69.4	59.7
Gilmer	5,431	7	7,997	3	100+	42.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Glascock	1,281	351	1,487	22	100+	6.3
Glynn	18,750	6,762	8,628	2,715	46.0	40.0
Gordon	11,441	669	8,643	358	75.5	53.5
Grady	7,205	3,364	4,461	809	61.9	24.0
Greene	3,565	2,998	3,395	2,570	95.2	85.7
Gwinnett	24,299	1,841	22,633	1,515	93.1	82.3
Habersham	10,676	518	7,276	507	68.2	97.9
Hall	27,726	2,789	16,750	1,149	60.4	41.2
Hancock	1,727	3,576	1,661	1,706	96.2	47.7
Haralson	8,571	642	7,375	412	86.0	64.2
Harris	3,310	3,102	3,749	757	100+	24.4
Hart	7,382	1,832	6,481	425	87.8	23.2
Heard	2,661	590	3,067	365	100+	61.9
Henry	6,429	3,539	8,161	3,015	100+	85.2
Houston	17,742	4,228	13,390	1,976	75.5	46.7
Irwin	3,759	1,602	4,527	688	100+	42.9
Jackson	10,225	1,309	7,850	693	76.8	52.9
Jasper	1,926	1,705	2,152	735	100+	43.1
Jeff Davis	4,116	909	6,293	108	100+	11.9
Jefferson	4,937	4,780	4,524	4,306	91.6	90.1
Jenkins	2,985	2,210	2,764	652	92.6	29.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Johnson	3,455	1,261	3,329	555	96.4	44.0
Jones	2,655	2,185	2,695	956	100+	43.8
Lamar	4,078	2,118	3,758	1,030	92.2	48.6
Lanier	2,158	756	1,807	364	83.7	48.1
Laurens	13,176	6,248	13,490	4,195	100+	67.1
Lee	1,427	1,795	1,373	177	96.2	9.9
Liberty	5,310	3,176	2,950	2,594	55.6	81.7
Lincoln	1,974	1,336	2,500	519	100+	38.8
Long	1,527	635	2,255	1,081	100+	100+
Lowndes	20,746	8,459	13,093	2,680	63.1	31.7
Lumpkin	4,500	79	4,413	105	98.1	100+
McDuffie	4,625	2,740	8,030	931	100+	34.0
McIntosh	1,643	1,823	1,612	1,935	98.1	100+
Macon	3,171	4,077	3,514	1,644	100+	40.3
Madison	5,962	989	4,823	106	80.9	10.7
Marion	1,353	1,609	1,563	236	100+	14.7
Meriwether	6,547	4,990	5,402	1,871	82.5	37.5
Miller	3,095	946	1,594	153	51.5	16.2
Mitchell	6,055	4,971	5,592	1,242	92.4	25.0
Monroe	3,607	2,652	4,077	809	100+	30.5
Montgomery	2,520	1,288	2,449	745	97.2	57.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Morgan	3,415	2,469	1,667	993	48.8	40.2
Murray	6,209	51	6,210	25	100+	49.0
Muscogee	74,662	22,549	30,485	7,366	40.8	32.7
Newton	9,045	3,767	6,110	984	67.6	26.1
Oconee	3,228	681	2,554	120	79.1	17.6
Oglethorpe	2,964	1,709	2,873	328	96.9	19.2
Paulding	7,353	603	8,170	529	100+	87.7
Peach	3,650	4,562	2,930	1,011	80.3	22.2
Pickens	5,264	251	6,034	195	100+	77.7
Pierce	4,432	1,135	4,518	610	100+	53.7
Pike	2,584	1,643	2,601	669	100+	40.7
Polk	15,065	2,443	12,381	1,709	82.2	70.0
Pulaski	3,018	1,843	3,128	336	100+	18.2
Putnam	2,297	2,204	2,446	725	100+	32.9
Quitman	581	707	670	160	100+	22.6
Rabun	4,392	43	4,237	33	96.5	76.7
Randolph	2,878	3,663	2,598	867	90.3	23.7
Richmond	61,315	24,785	37,498	12,313	61.2	49.7
Rockdale	4,708	1,512	4,829	877	100+	58.0
Schley	961	903	1,142	210	100+	23.3
Screven	4,557	3,729	3,698	1,144	81.1	30.7

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Seminole	2,648	1,255	3,017	418	100+	33.3
Spalding	16,657	5,252	11,178	2,872	67.1	54.7
Stephens	9,975	1,355	9,518	743	95.4	54.8
Stewart	1,465	2,681	1,793	619	100+	23.1
Sumter	7,730	6,710	8,321	3,040	100+	45.3
Talbot	1,437	2,507	1,406	661	97.8	26.4
Taliaferro	917	1,073	1,052	1,165	100+	100+
Tattnall	7,377	3,135	6,515	2,995	88.3	95.5
Taylor	2,767	2,004	3,071	495	100+	24.7
Telfair	4,938	2,087	4,459	1,622	90.3	77.7
Terrell	3,038	4,057	3,305	449	100+	11.1
Thomas	13,179	7,644	8,697*	1,652*	66.0	21.6
Tift	10,211	3,513	7,828	1,637	76.7	46.6
Toombs	7,513	2,444	7,571	920	100+	37.6
Towns	2,942	1	2,600	0	88.3	.0
Treutlen	2,473	968	2,050	564	82.9	58.3
Troup	20,579	8,577	12,817	2,856	62.3	33.3
Turner	3,422	1,535	2,853	477	83.4	31.1
Twiggs	1,969	2,255	1,749	317	88.8	14.1
Union	3,457	1	3,500	0	88.4	.0
Upson	1,159	3,615	6,675	888	59.8	24.6
Walker	26,511	1,388	31,415	1,131	100+	81.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walton	9,392	3,076	6,565	963	69.9	31.3
Ware	15,671	4,763	12,994	2,720	82.9	57.1
Warren	1,911	2,224	1,938	1,380	100+	62.1
Washington	5,373	5,451	5,367	1,672	99.9	30.7
Wayne	8,204	1,878	7,878	1,171	96.0	62.4
Webster	775	975	826	231	100+	23.7
Wheeler	2,236	824	2,172	682	97.1	82.8
White	4,047	169	4,631	230	100+	100+
Whitfield	24,437	1,085	19,767	991	80.9	91.3
Wilcox	3,309	1,282	3,840	541	100+	42.2
Wilkes	3,621	3,101	4,052	1,039	100+	33.5
Wilkinson	3,135	2,279	3,302	715	100+	31.4
Worth	6,324	3,776	6,246	823	100+	21.8
TOTALS	1,797,063	612,910	1,373,388	280,212	76.4	45.7

*Totals do not include more than 14,000 registered voters for whom race is not indicated. Most of these are in Bibb, Cobb, Dougherty and Thomas counties. A smaller number is found in Cherokee, Colquitt and several other counties.

L O U I S I A N A

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Acadia	22,399	4,557	21,651	4,118	97	90
Allen	8,357	2,310	8,303	1,981	99	86
Ascension	10,110	4,171	9,116	2,688	90	64
Assumption	5,877	3,237	5,356	1,997	91	62
Avoyelles	15,845	4,717	13,657	2,396	86	51
Beauregard	8,682	2,145	9,123	1,182	100+	55
Bienville	5,617	4,077	5,130	1,693	91	42
Bossier	23,696	6,847	15,460	1,117	65	16
Caddo	87,774	41,749	60,494	10,141	69	24
Calcasieu	62,987	14,924	49,151	9,396	78	63
Caldwell	3,843	1,161	3,944	377	100+	32
Cameron	3,642	239	3,485	195	96	82
Catahoula	4,110	1,919	4,287	798	100+	42
Claiborne	6,415	5,032	5,300	1,345	83	27
Concordia	5,963	4,582	5,928	1,350	99	30
DeSoto	6,543	6,753	5,866	2,317	90	34
E. Baton Rouge	87,985	36,908	78,497	15,715	89	43
E. Carroll	2,990	4,183	2,577	2,735	86	65
E. Feliciana	7,043	6,081	5,378	2,195	76	36
Evangeline	13,652	3,342	14,869	3,731	100+	100+
Franklin	8,954	4,433	4,584	409	51	9

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Grant	6,080	1,553	6,042	685	99	44
Iberia	20,200	7,165	18,143	4,854	90	68
Iberville	8,733	7,060	7,831	5,252	90	74
Jackson	6,607	2,535	6,274	1,486	95	59
Jefferson	98,103	14,970	92,549	9,404	94	63
Jefferson Davis	12,892	2,881	10,716	1,753	83	61
Lafayette	35,513	9,473	32,872	5,814	93	61
Lafourche	25,737	3,078	25,140	2,215	98	72
LaSalle	6,799	849	7,237	661	100+	78
Lincoln	9,611	5,723	7,480	1,835	78	32
Livingston	12,306	1,818	13,687	1,445	100+	80
Madison	3,334	5,181	2,971*	2,734*	89	53
Morehouse	10,311	7,208	8,154	1,158	79	16
Natchitoches	11,328	7,444	10,357	4,264	91	57
Orleans	257,495	125,752	162,452	52,336	63	42
Ouachita	40,185	16,377	31,044	7,596	77	46
Plaquemines	8,633	2,897	9,746	1,300	100+	45
Pointe Coupee	6,085	5,273	4,834	2,976	79	56
Rapides	44,823	18,141	33,982	6,870	76	38
Red River	3,294	2,181	3,627	969	100+	44

*Race is not indicated for 280 persons registered in Madison Parish.

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Richland	7,601	4,608	6,140	764	81	17
Sabine	8,251	2,143	9,047	1,445	100+	67
St. Bernard	15,836	1,105	18,843	705	100+	64
St. Charles	8,117	2,621	7,840	2,411	97	92
St. Helena	2,363	2,082	2,327	1,520	99	73
St. James	4,892	3,964	4,736	2,834	97	72
St. John	4,982	4,279	4,593	3,047	92	71
St. Landry	25,550	14,982	23,129	11,650	91	78
St. Martin	9,781	4,664	9,824	3,449	100+	74
St. Mary	17,991	7,176	15,986	5,179	89	72
St. Tammany	16,032	5,038	18,727	2,920	100+	58
Tangipahoa	22,311	9,401	20,654	4,323	93	46
Tensas	2,287	3,533	2,237	719	98	20
Terrebonne	24,393	5,464	19,646	1,711	81	31
Union	7,021	3,006	6,585	1,079	94	36
Vermilion	19,710	2,429	19,977	2,424	100+	100-
Vernon	9,279	1,268	10,311	751	100+	59
Washington	16,804	6,821	16,157	3,330	96	49
Webster	15,713	7,045	11,008	3,163	70	45
W. Baton Rouge	3,974	3,502	3,791	1,749	95	50

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
W. Carroll	6,171	1,389	4,516	186	73	13
W. Feliciana	2,814	4,553	1,113	1,817	39	40
Winn	6,790	2,590	7,092	1,362	100+	53
TOTALS	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1

M I S S I S S I P P I

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Adams	10,888	9,340	6,306	6,005	57.9	64.3
Alcorn	13,347	1,756	8,603	398	64.4	22.7
Amite	4,449	3,560	3,831	949	86.1	26.7
Attala	7,522	4,262	NV	NV		
Benton	2,514	1,419	2,419	956	96.2	67.4
Bolivar	10,031	15,939	6,209	5,732	61.9	36.0
Calhoun	7,188	1,767	NV	NV		
Carroll	2,969	2,704	3,077	1,248	100+	46.1
Chickasaw	6,388	3,054	6,620	535	100+	17.5
Choctaw	3,728	1,105	NV	NV		
Claiborne	1,688	3,969	1,679	2,906	99.4	73.2
Clarke	6,072	2,988	5,211	1,026	85.8	34.3
Clay	5,547	4,444	3,535	1,695	63.7	38.1
Coahoma	8,708	14,604	7,215	7,761	82.8	53.1
Copiah	8,153	6,407	8,382	1,455	100+	22.7
Covington	5,329	2,032	4,339	937	81.4	46.1
De Soto	5,338	6,246	5,592	2,129	100+	34.1
Forrest	22,431	7,495	14,827	2,064	66.1	27.5
Franklin	3,403	1,842	3,919	358	100+	19.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
George	5,276	580	4,625	123	87.7	21.2
Greene	3,518	859	3,147	264	89.4	30.7
Grenada	5,792	4,323	5,962	1,752	100+	40.5
Hancock	6,813	1,129	5,574	510	81.8	45.2
Harrison	55,094	9,670	17,450	3,833	31.7	39.6
Hinds	67,836	36,138	63,952	15,663	94.3	43.3
Holmes	4,773	8,757	5,080	4,655	100+	53.1
Humphreys	3,344	5,561	2,861	1,283	85.5	23.1
Issaquena	640	1,081	768	446	100+	41.3
Itawamba	8,523	463	6,258	66	73.4	14.2
Jackson	24,447	5,113	NV	NV		
Jasper	5,327	3,675	4,643	976	87.2	26.6
Jefferson	1,666	3,540	1,913	2,049	100+	57.8
Jefferson Davis	3,629	3,222	3,443	1,833	94.8	56.8
Jones	25,943	7,427	NV	2,077(est.)		28.0
Kemper	3,113	3,221	3,342	369	100+	11.4
Lafayette	8,074	3,239	4,784	778	59.2	24.0
Lamar	6,489	1,071	6,062	174	93.4	16.2
Lauderdale	27,806	11,924	19,895	5,343	71.5	44.8
Lawrence	3,878	1,720	NV	1,074(est.)		62.4
Leake	6,754	3,397	6,358	849	94.1	24.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Lee	18,709	5,130	11,403	736	60.9	14.3
Leflore	10,274	13,567	NV	7,161(est.)		52.8
Lincoln	11,072	3,913	NV	NV		
Lowndes	16,460	8,362	9,813	1,267	59.6	15.1
Madison	5,622	10,366	6,334	5,991	100+	57.8
Marion	8,997	3,630	10,810	1,227	100+	33.8
Marshall	4,342	7,168	4,741	2,562	100+	35.7
Monroe	13,426	5,610	NV	NV		
Montgomery	4,700	2,627	4,250	591	90.4	22.5
Neshoba	9,143	2,565	6,783	953	74.2	37.1
Newton	8,014	3,018	6,198	1,127	77.3	37.3
Noxubee	2,997	5,172	NV	NV		
Oktibbeha	8,423	4,952	8,443	889	100+	17.9
Panola	7,639	7,250	6,555	2,411	85.8	33.2
Pearl River	9,765	2,473	NV	NV		
Perry	3,515	1,140	NV	NV		
Pike	12,163	6,936	8,760	2,162	72.0	31.2
Pontotoc	8,772	1,519	6,398	261	72.9	17.2
Prentiss	9,535	1,070	6,810	112	71.4	10.5
Quitman	4,176	5,673	3,391	1,382	81.2	24.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Rankin	13,246	6,944	12,321	1,504	93.0	21.7
Scott	7,742	3,752	5,677	705	73.3	18.7
Sharkey	1,882	3,152	1,768	433	93.9	13.7
Simpson	8,055	3,186	NV	NV		
Smith	6,597	1,293	NV	NV		
Stone	2,965	868	2,473	114	83.4	13.1
Sunflower	8,785	13,524	8,287	2,325	94.3	17.1
Tallahatchie	5,099	6,483	4,913	1,174	96.3	18.1
Tate	4,506	4,326	3,980	1,429	88.3	33.0
Tippah	7,513	1,281	5,957	374	79.2	29.2
Tishomingo	8,068	359	5,248	54	65.0	15.0
Tunica	2,011	5,822	1,558	505	77.4	8.7
Union	9,512	1,626	7,033	298	73.9	18.3
Walthall	4,536	2,490	4,261	1,293	93.9	51.9
Warren	13,530	10,726	12,169	5,229	89.9	48.7
Washington	19,837	20,619	12,683	5,094	63.9	24.7
Wayne	5,881	2,556	4,838	370	82.2	14.4
Webster	4,993	1,174	NV	NV		
Wilkinson	2,340	4,120	2,777	1,127	100+	27.3
Winston	6,808	3,611	NV	NV		

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Yalobusha	4,572	2,441	3,511	235	76.8	9.6
Yazoo	7,598	8,719	7,580	1,050	99.7	11.9
TOTALS	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9

Note: Race is not indicated for many recent registrants in a number of Mississippi counties. Where these figures occurred, they have been divided between the races in the totals above. Most are counted as Negro registration, since it is thought that most of these recent registrants are Negroes. NV indicates statistics not available when these figures were assembled.

N O R T H C A R O L I N A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alamance	42,755	7,429	47,604	4,801	100+	64.6
Alexander	8,370	506	10,478	460	100+	90.9
Alleghany	4,588	119	6,899	83	100+	69.7
Anson	7,847	5,218	6,800	1,700	86.7	32.6
Ashe	11,276	115	13,038	110	100+	95.6
Avery	6,507	124	6,081	41	93.4	33.1
Beaufort	13,737	6,196	10,144	1,114	73.8	18.0
Bertie	6,156	6,261	5,925	3,879	96.2	61.9
Bladen	9,173	5,147	10,109	2,721	100+	52.9
Brunswick	7,602	3,170	10,298	2,588	100+	81.6
Buncombe	72,249	8,510	67,653	6,565	93.6	77.1
Burke	29,506	1,921	34,657	2,247	100+	100+
Cabarrus	35,165	5,380	31,463	2,899	89.5	53.9
Caldwell	25,520	1,723	22,486	1,938	88.1	100+
Camden	1,988	1,054	1,923	417	96.7	39.6
Carteret	16,030	1,932	12,087	1,065	75.4	55.1
Caswell	6,026	4,129	5,200	1,600	86.3	38.7
Catawba	38,542	3,296	22,068	1,557	57.3	47.2
Chatham	11,227	4,026	13,722	900	100+	22.3
Cherokee	9,102	226	9,055	152	99.5	67.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Chowan	3,825	2,507	3,424	822	89.5	32.8
Clay	3,112	37	2,454	25	78.9	67.6
Cleveland	30,356	6,474	19,883	2,490	65.5	38.5
Columbus	17,830	7,382	16,458	5,459	92.3	73.9
Craven	22,994	8,242	12,001	3,473	52.2	42.1
Cumberland	58,279	18,789	25,794	7,461	44.3	39.7
Currituck	2,845	1,076	2,574	378	90.5	35.1
Dare	3,467	237	NV	NV		
Davidson	41,462	4,491	31,839	2,404	76.8	53.5
Davie	8,898	1,080	9,967	966	100+	89.4
Duplin	14,477	6,955	15,812	3,185	100+	45.8
Durham	47,098	19,475	37,022	16,389	78.6	84.1
Edgecombe	15,515	12,330	12,247	3,624	78.9	29.4
Forsyth	87,219	24,952	68,221	17,028	78.2	68.2
Franklin	9,842	5,554	10,642	1,853	100+	33.4
Gaston	64,154	8,365	43,288	4,185	67.5	50.0
Gates	2,714	2,344	3,061	1,289	100+	55.0
Graham	3,324	125	NV	NV		
Granville	11,584	6,996	10,022	2,475	86.5	35.4
Greene	4,793	3,268	4,257	777	88.8	23.8
Guilford	116,748	27,292	84,838	16,711	72.7	61.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Halifax	16,496	13,766	17,529	4,821	100+	35.0
Harnett	20,061	6,150	15,326	3,799	76.4	61.8
Haywood	23,055	500	22,182	393	96.2	78.6
Henderson	21,062	1,170	17,419	651	82.7	55.6
Hertford	5,606	6,102	4,605	3,025	82.1	49.6
Hoke	3,998	3,747	2,984	1,375	74.6	36.7
Hyde	2,201	1,100	1,970	399	89.5	36.3
Iredell	31,094	5,517	23,338	2,958	75.1	53.6
Jackson	9,227	841	7,234	148	78.4	17.6
Johnston	28,259	6,395	22,188	2,550	78.5	39.9
Jones	3,248	2,251	4,508	1,571	100+	69.8
Lee	12,041	2,803	11,537	1,882	95.8	67.1
Lenoir	19,260	10,293	15,448	3,670	80.2	35.6
Lincoln	14,893	1,546	16,591	1,491	100+	96.4
McDowell	14,693	755	14,232	626	96.9	82.9
Macon	8,573	180	8,168	67	95.3	37.2
Madison	9,574	75	8,098	42	84.6	56.0
Martin	8,052	5,683	7,706	2,027	95.7	35.7
Mecklenburg	123,787	34,150	98,779	18,087	79.8	53.0
Mitchell	7,977	29	7,083	8	88.8	27.6
Montgomery	8,119	2,075	7,855	1,387	96.7	66.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Moore	15,733	4,803	12,821	2,136	81.5	44.5
Nash	21,761	10,573	14,837	2,655	68.2	25.1
New Hanover	31,641	10,569	22,241	6,788	70.3	64.2
Northampton	6,178	7,304	6,062	4,016	98.1	55.0
Onslow	33,988	5,015	14,995	2,694	44.1	53.7
Orange	19,385	4,978	16,619	3,265	85.8	65.6
Pamlico	3,708	1,593	3,207	807	86.5	50.7
Pasquotank	9,409	4,936	6,079	2,127	64.6	43.1
Pender	5,631	4,085	5,486	1,672	97.4	40.9
Perquimans	3,083	2,027	2,291	985	74.3	48.6
Person	9,994	4,227	9,664	2,070	96.7	49.0
Pitt	22,621	13,575	27,039	4,449	100+	32.8
Polk	6,104	766	8,408	683	100+	89.2
Randolph	33,477	2,591	23,421	1,245	70.0	48.0
Richmond	16,019	5,514	13,985	3,515	87.3	63.7
Robeson	20,851	21,424	12,904	9,401	61.9	43.9
Rockingham	33,438	7,398	26,419	4,289	79.0	58.0
Rowan	42,866	7,209	32,219	4,332	75.2	60.0
Rutherford	24,020	2,572	23,986	1,515	99.9	58.9
Sampson	17,378	8,203	22,491	7,510	100+	91.5
Scotland	7,812	4,686	4,913	1,644	62.9	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Stanly	22,056	2,164	19,136	1,322	86.8	61.1
Stokes	11,786	1,025	7,500	1,500	63.6	100+
Surry	26,796	1,423	37,075	955	100+	67.1
Swain	3,878	756	6,547	81	100+	10.7
Transylvania	8,687	405	8,509	398	97.9	98.3
Tyrrell	1,597	849	1,089	422	68.2	49.7
Union	20,044	4,423	13,209	1,428	65.9	32.3
Vance	11,005	6,520	8,145	2,507	74.0	38.4
Wake	76,799	22,856	62,912	12,022	81.9	52.6
Warren	4,439	5,490	5,207	2,562	100+	46.7
Washington	4,365	2,643	3,855	1,308	88.3	49.5
Watauga	9,639	126	10,927	94	100+	74.6
Wayne	29,349	15,754	17,527	4,939	59.7	31.3
Wilkes	23,779	1,444	24,440	1,826	100+	100+
Wilson	20,566	10,770	12,503	3,096	60.8	28.7
Yadkin	13,039	576	NV	NV		
Yancey	7,856	76	8,917	68	100+	89.5
TOTALS	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0

NOTE: Non-white figures include Indians, but these are not a major portion of the statewide total. NV indicates statistics not available at the time the figures were assembled.

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Abbeville	8,733	3,215	7,113	1,099	81.4	34.2
Aiken	33,646	10,040	32,958	8,585	97.9	85.5
Allendale	2,531	3,205	3,018	1,626	100+	50.8
Anderson	47,542	9,598	31,718	2,924	66.7	30.5
Bamberg	4,371	3,807	4,485	1,407	100+	37.0
Barnwell	5,652	3,242	7,029	1,759	100+	54.3
Beaufort	12,098	7,247	6,378	3,999	52.7	55.2
Berkeley	10,122	7,619	10,649	4,717	100+	61.9
Calhoun	2,623	3,318	2,663	1,621	100+	48.9
Charleston	77,909	35,499	52,815	17,422	67.7	49.1
Cherokee	16,037	3,360	14,824	1,757	92.4	52.3
Chester	11,172	5,664	11,123	2,558	99.6	45.2
Chesterfield	12,099	5,219	10,597	3,965	87.6	76.0
Clarendon	5,223	7,735	5,436	5,339	100+	69.0
Colleton	8,203	6,180	8,527	2,705	100+	43.8
Darlington	16,706	9,900	14,940	4,364	89.4	44.1
Dillon	8,725	5,529	7,593	2,840	87.0	51.4
Dorchester	7,121	5,370	8,624	3,941	100+	73.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Edgefield	4,103	3,764	4,128	1,022	100+	27.2
Fairfield	4,975	5,536	4,894	2,227	98.4	40.2
Florence	27,047	15,951	24,770	7,759	91.6	48.6
Georgetown	8,855	7,173	8,418	4,189	95.1	58.4
Greenville	102,365	18,605	67,538	8,700	66.0	46.8
Greenwood	19,218	6,764	15,977	2,914	83.1	43.1
Hampton	4,711	4,052	4,889	2,355	100+	58.1
Horry	27,518	7,429	20,132	2,889	73.2	38.9
Jasper	2,689	3,333	2,879	2,079	100+	62.4
Kershaw	11,258	5,903	11,434	3,034	100+	51.4
Lancaster	16,213	4,762	17,465	1,944	100+	40.8
Laurens	19,775	6,818	11,149	6,222	56.4	91.3
Lee	4,394	5,446	4,616	2,564	100+	47.1
Lexington	28,774	4,782	25,002	2,519	86.9	52.7
McCormick	1,915	2,248	2,153	972	100+	43.2
Marion	8,103	7,684	7,204	3,047	88.9	39.7
Marlboro	8,230	5,932	8,462	1,514	100+	25.5
Newberry	12,204	4,954	10,833	1,884	88.8	38.0
Oconee	19,762	2,230	13,761	1,226	69.6	54.9
Orangeburg	16,381	17,355	16,039	8,397	97.9	48.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Pickens	24,015	2,356	17,339	1,077	72.2	46.1
Richland	79,050	32,670	55,509	19,265	70.2	59.0
Saluda	5,573	2,327	5,583	1,104	100+	47.4
Spartanburg	73,317	17,047	58,200	7,782	79.4	45.7
Sumter	22,004	15,380	13,849	9,238	63.0	60.1
Union	12,826	4,125	12,969	1,715	100+	41.6
Williamsburg	7,560	10,535	9,285	5,810	100+	55.1
York	31,799	10,196	23,094	4,516	72.6	44.3
TOTALS	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4

Know Your RIGHTS

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AS AN AMERICAN, YOU HAVE RIGHTS

This book tells you what they are.

It shows you what you can do, and what you cannot do if you are questioned or arrested.

POLICEMEN HAVE RIGHTS, TOO

A policeman's job is to protect you from crime.

When he is doing this, he has the right to your help.

The pictures on the next pages show what rights you have, and what rights policemen have.

You may want to share this book with your neighbors and friends.

"Say, did you see what happened?"

"Do you know Joe Jones?"

If a policeman asks you a question like this - about something that does not have to do with you personally - it is your job to help him.

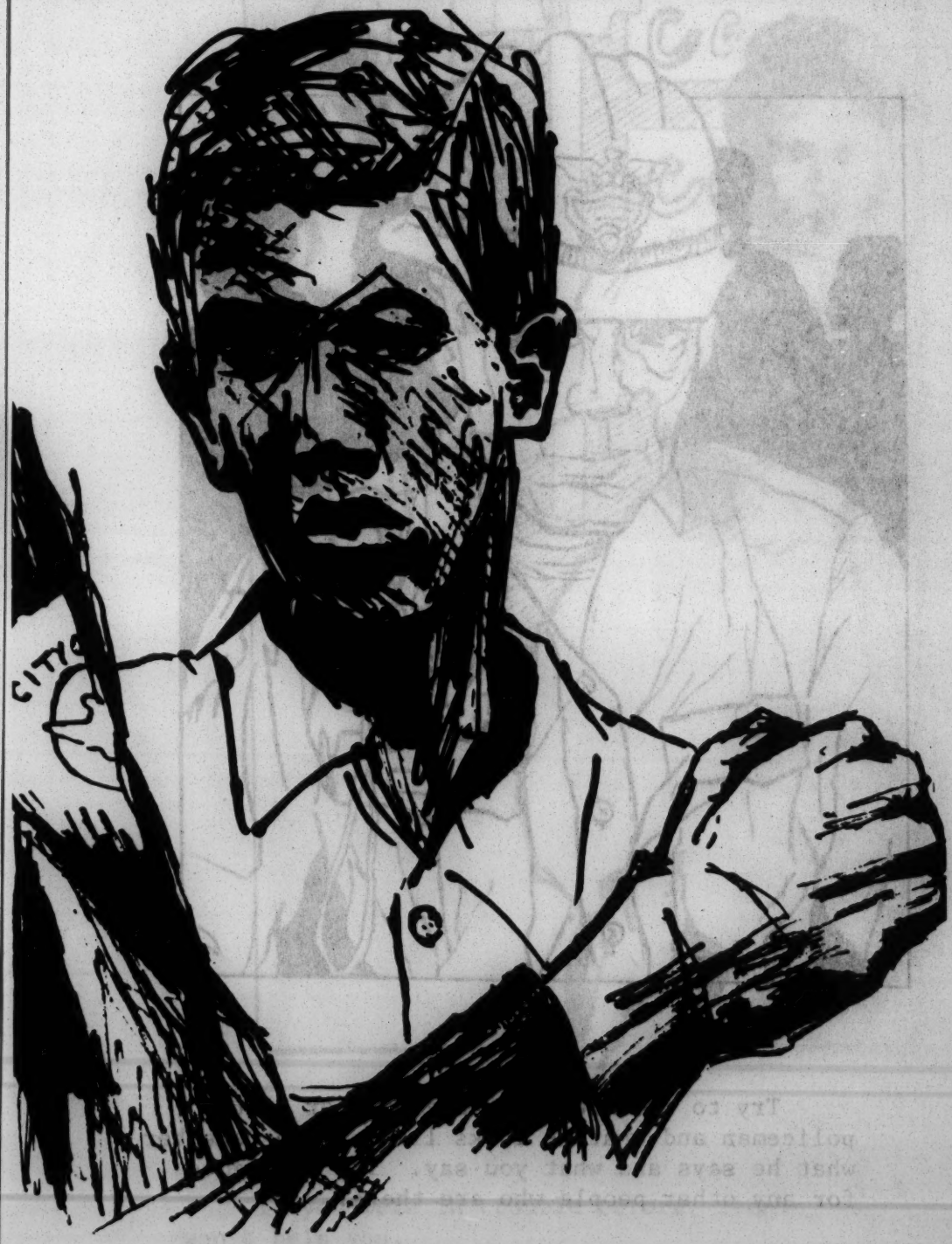
But suppose he asks you: "What are you doing around here?" or other questions about <u>you</u> personally.

If you want to, you can tell him what you are doing there, but all you need to tell him is your name and your address.

If it sounds like the policeman thinks you did something against the law, ask him: "Am I under arrest?" If he says yes, ask him: "What for?"

If you are under arrest, you do not have to answer any more questions. Whatever you tell the policeman could be held against you.

WATCH WHAT YOU SAY!

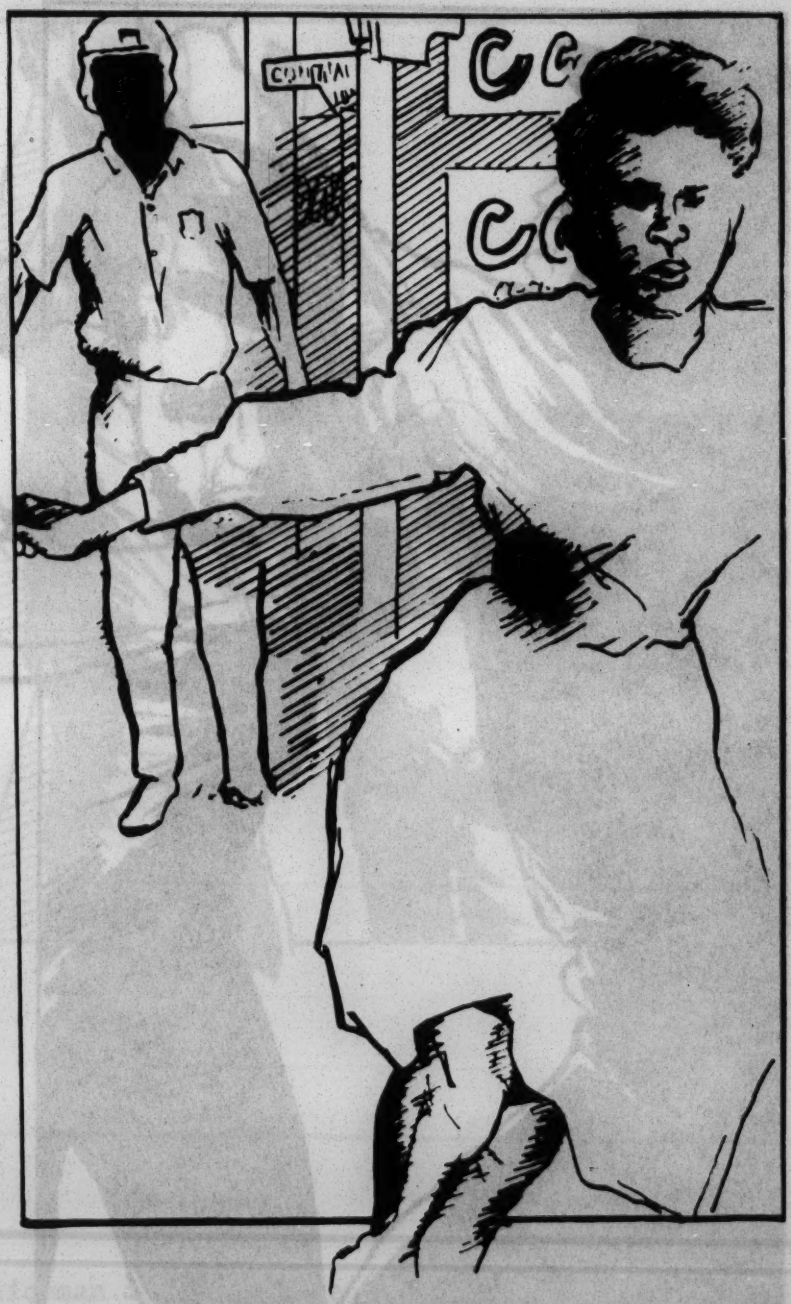


If he says "No, you are not under arrest," you may ask "May I go?"

If he says NO to that, you ARE under arrest, and do not have to answer any more questions.

Try to remember the badge number of the policeman and what he looks like. Also remember what he says and what you say. The same goes for any other people who are there.

Later, this could help your lawyer to help you.



If you were in trouble before, running away won't help you.

Even if you feel you are being wrongly arrested, DO NOT RUN AWAY.

Fighting with a policeman is a serious crime.

It will only make things worse. Go with him quietly.

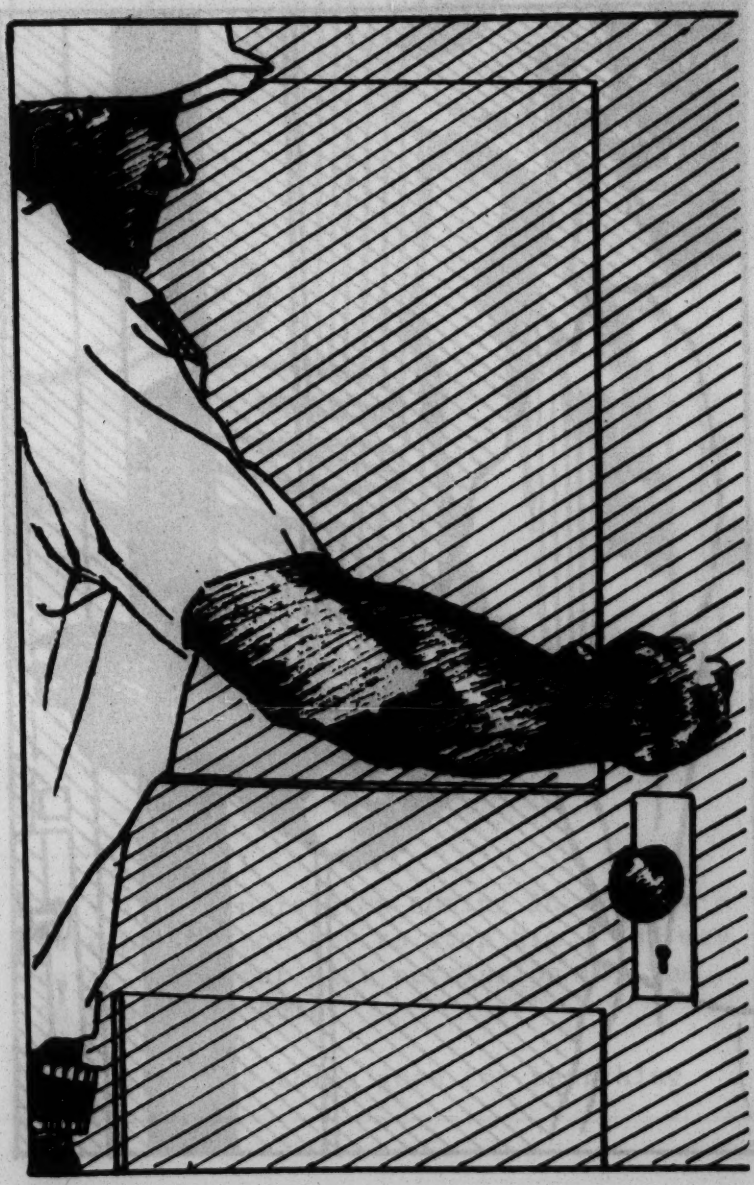
A policeman does not have the right to search you unless you are being arrested or he has a search warrant.

But even if he searches you when you do not think he has the right, do not try to stop him.

You may tell him: "I do not give you permission to search me."

If you are driving a car, a policeman has the right to see your driver's license and car registration. Show them to him if he stops your car.

Get out of the car right away. Do not give him the idea you are about to run away, run him down, or harm him.



If a policeman asks to come into your home, you do not have to let him in. The law says: "Your home is your castle."

If the policeman has a search warrant, ask for a copy of it. Make sure the warrant talks about <u>your</u> home.

If he insists on coming in without a warrant, do not try to stop him. You may say: "I do not give permission for you to search my home."

The same thing goes for searching your car.

If the police take anything of yours - from your house or your car or from you - you may ask for a written receipt if they do not offer you one.

This receipt must be given to you by the policeman taking the property.

If the policeman has a warrant for your home, the landlady must let him in.

But without a warrant, your landlady has no right to say it is okay to search your home without your permission.

If you don't already know, ask the policeman who arrested you what the charge is.

Other policemen may ask you more questions. All you need to tell them is your name and your address. You may say: "I want a lawyer."

Do not answer questions until the lawyer comes.

If you can afford it, it is best to have your own lawyer.

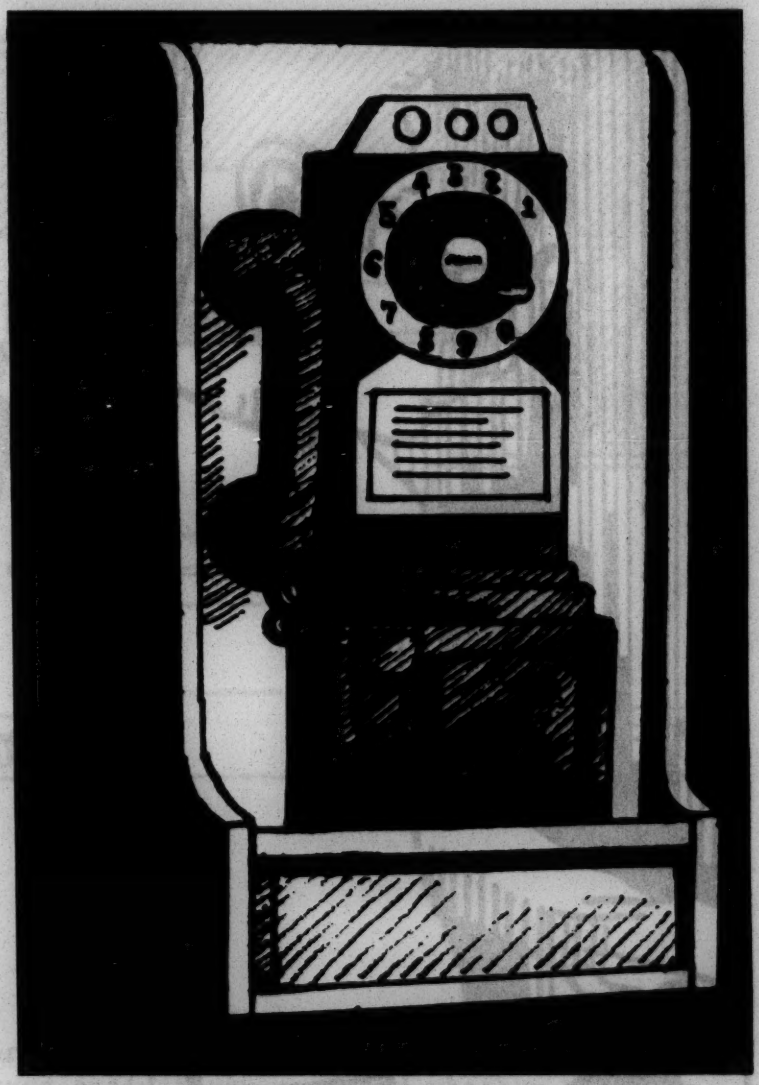
But, if you don't have the money, you have the right to a free lawyer when you are charged with a crime that might send you to jail.

Even though this free lawyer may not see you until just before court, this is better than being your own lawyer.

If you ask for a free lawyer right away, the police cannot ask you any more questions until your lawyer is there.

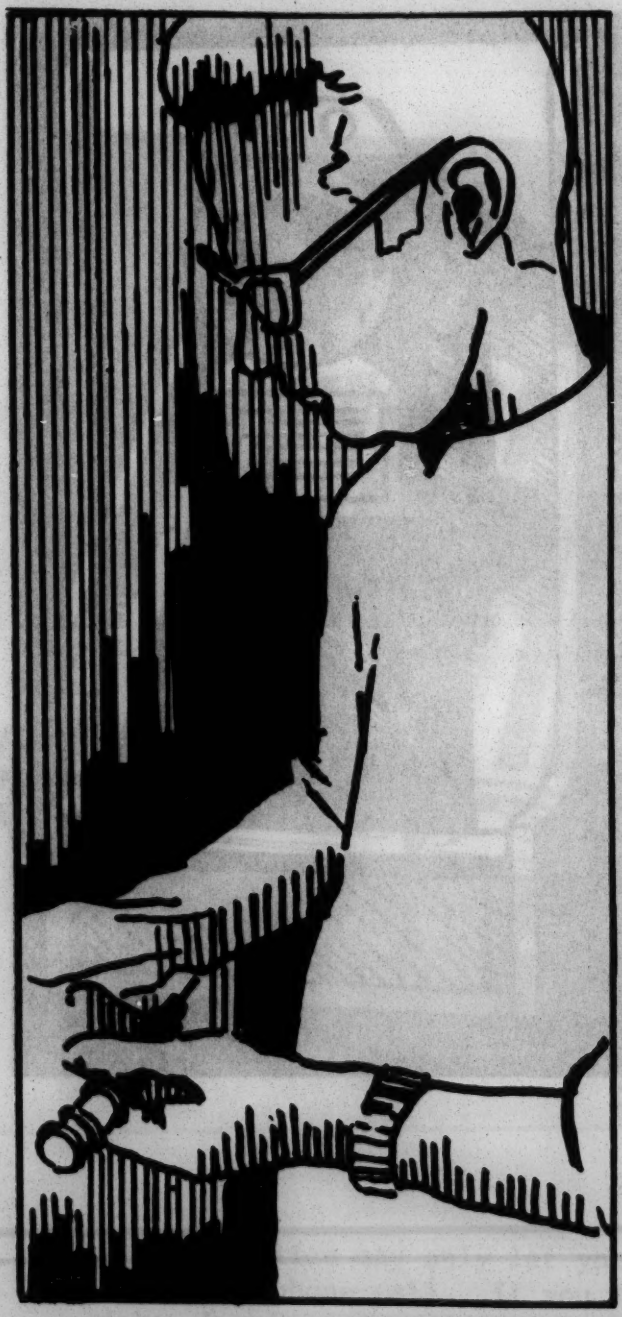
The police may only let you make one completed telephone call. If you do not have the right change, or you do not know the lawyer's number, ask the police to make change for you and to give you a telephone book.

If they do not want to, ask and keep asking until they do.



If you do not know the number of a lawyer, or are afraid you won't find him in, it might be better to call a friend or a member of your family, who could then telephone a lawyer for you.

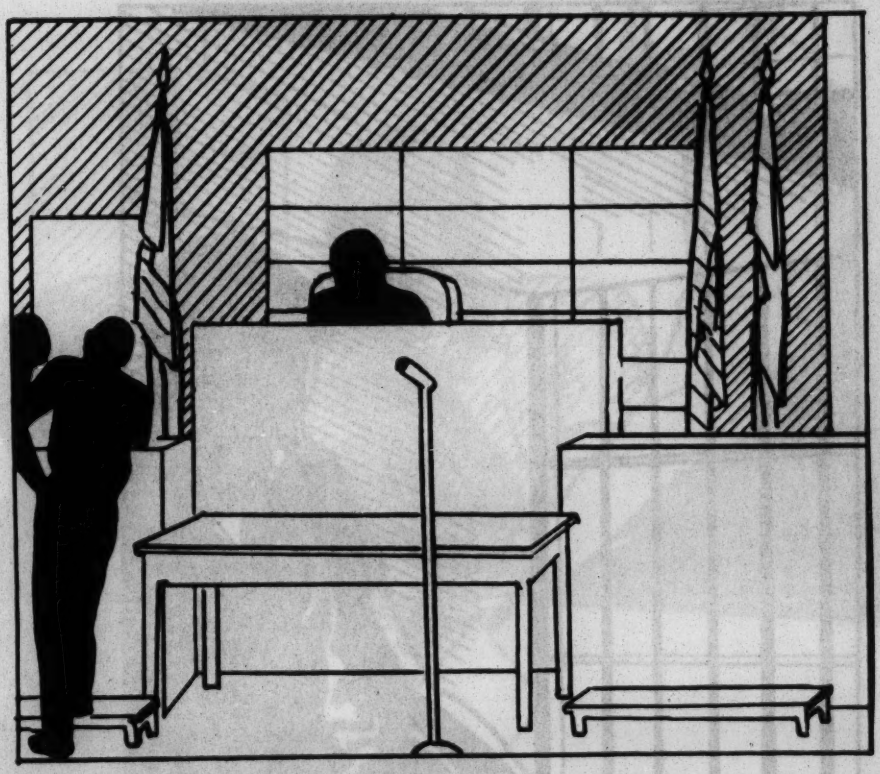
You need not answer questions or sign anything until the lawyer is there.



If you are arrested for drunk driving, you may ask for a blood test.

If you have not been drinking, the test will be in your favor. But if you have, it can be used against you.

You may ask for this test or you may refuse it. It cannot be given without your permission.



U.S. Law says that you should be taken before a judge right away to find out what the charges against you are, and whether there is enough evidence to hold you.

At this hearing - a commitment hearing - the judge will also tell you what your bail is. Ask to have a lawyer for this hearing.

If the police hold you in jail and do not take you before the judge without delay, you may remind them of your right to a prompt hearing.

Just as important as not saying anything is your right not to sign any statement. If you do not understand legal talk, you may not know what you are signing.

You may say that you will not sign anything until you talk with your lawyer.

You have a right to meet privately with your lawyer. What you tell him is just between you and him. It cannot be used against you.

So remember, whatever you want to tell - tell your lawyer and no one else.

You also have a right to have your lawyer with you during questioning.

The lawyer will take your side and try to help you.

Your lawyer is like a doctor or a dentist. You don't take out your own appendix or fix your own teeth.

Don't try to be your own lawyer, either.

If you are not treated right by a policeman -- if he calls you "nigger" or "nigger-lover" or "boy", or calls you by your first name instead of Mr. or Mrs., or curses you or abuses you, you should complain about him.

In Atlanta, there is a Police Committee meeting every Monday night, and you can take your complaint there.

In other cities, you may complain to the Mayor, or the City Council and to the Police Chief.

Your complaint will not help or hurt your own case. But maybe it will help the Police Department find out about those few policemen who cannot learn to be fair and polite.

If you have a real complaint, it is being a good citizen to let the right people know about it.

What you have just read may sound like a lot of rules to remember.

But the important things can be said over again in three sentences:

- You have the right not to answer questions.
- You have the right not to sign anything.
- You have the right to have a lawyer if you are arrested.

These rights, and others, belong to every American. They come to us from the United States Constitution.

They apply to everyone, regardless of race, color, religion or age.

This booklet is prepared jointly by:

The American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia
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MINIMUM WAGE LAW

With Explanation

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
WITH 1966 AMENDMENTS

LABOR PROGRAM

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

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New 1966

MINIMUM WAGE LAW

With Explanation

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT WITH 1966 AMENDMENTS

SIGNED INTO LAW BY THE PRESIDENT
SEPTEMBER 23, 1966

PUBLIC LAW 89-601

Foreword

The Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 make a series of minimum wage law changes which begins on February 1, 1967, and does not end until February 1, 1971. The Amendments not only raise the minimum wage to a new high but also broadly increase the number of workers who are entitled to its benefits.

A total of 8 million workers are added to the previously covered 29.6 million to make a grand total of 37.6 million directly affected by the FLSA. The Amendments extend the FLSA to employees in four major areas which were never reached before—(1) schools, hospitals and nursing institutions; (2) laundries and drycleaners; (3) hotels, motels and restaurants; and (4) agriculture. Schools and hospitals were not viewed as commercial businesses; they are now specifically labeled as such, whether public or private. FLSA benefits are also extended to a great many more employees in retail trade and in the construction industry, to federal service contract employees and to certain federal employees.

The complicated Amendments bring many workers under the FLSA by reducing the dollar volume a business enterprise must have before it is covered; in some cases, there is no dollar volume requirement at all. The Amendments add other workers by eliminating exemptions of employers or workers.

The objective of this publication is to explain the practical effects of the changes made by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966. The Fair Labor Standards Act, with the 1966 amendments appearing in italics, is reproduced at ¶ 500. Historical notes show when a provision is new or has been amended.

An explanation of the new minimum wage rates begins at ¶ 110. Overtime pay is discussed starting at ¶ 210. Detailed explanations of the FLSA changes, presented on the basis of employer and worker groups, start at ¶ 310. An introductory discussion to acquaint newly covered employers with the FLSA starts at ¶ 440.

If more detailed coverage of the federal government's regulation of minimum wages and overtime pay is required, reference should be made to the FEDERAL WAGES-HOURS UNIT of the publishers' LABOR LAW REPORTS.

September, 1966

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HIGHER WAGE MINIMUMS

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Employees in Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands . . . ¶ 160
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Presently Covered Employees

¶ 110

Employees who have been covered by the minimum wage provisions of the FLSA prior to the 1966 Amendments are entitled to higher hourly minimum wages as follows:

$1.40 an hour for one year beginning February 1, 1967, and
$1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1968.

Prior to these increases, the minimum rate for presently covered employees was $1.25 an hour.

The amendments establish two minimum wage schedules, one for presently covered employees and one for employees covered by the FLSA for the first time because of the amendments. The rates for newly covered employees start at a lower figure than those for presently covered employees, and the rates are escalated over a longer period of time in reaching the maximum fixed for presently covered employees (see ¶ 120).

Rates below the general standards fixed for presently and newly covered employees are permissible under the amendments for students and handicapped workers (see ¶ 395).

Law: Sec. 6(a)(1).

Newly Covered Employees

¶ 120

For employees (other than agricultural workers, certain federal employees and certain employees under federal contracts) who are brought under the FLSA's minimum wage provisions for the first time, a schedule of minimum wage rates is established as follows:

$1.00 an hour beginning February 1, 1967;
$1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968;
$1.30 an hour beginning February 1, 1969;
$1.45 an hour beginning February 1, 1970; and
$1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1971.

Special minimum rates are specified for agricultural workers (see ¶ 130), federal employees (see ¶ 150) and certain employees under federal contracts (see ¶ 140).

Employees who are newly covered under the FLSA minimum wage requirements also acquire companion rights to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. This is true whether they are brought within coverage because of employment by an enterprise or because of cancellation of an exemption formerly applicable to them.

Lower Dollar Enterprise Tests

It is possible for some newly covered employees who receive the lower rate to later become entitled to the higher rate for presently covered employees. On the other hand, presently covered employees entitled to the higher rate could shift to the lower rate for newly covered workers. The shifts could occur until February 1, 1971, when the minimum wage rates for presently covered employees and those for newly covered employees will become the same.

These shifts could occur with changes in an employer's annual dollar volume of sales. The amendments changed the dollar volume test for enterprise coverage by reducing from $1 million to $500,000 the annual gross sales needed for coverage. The lower wage rate for newly covered employees would apply under the $500,000 enterprise test whenever gross sales are less than $1 million, thus basing coverage solely upon the lower test established by the 1966 amendments. However, an employee would have to be regarded as a presently covered worker entitled to the higher minimum wage and overtime pay standards whenever his employer would meet the former $1 million test for enterprise coverage.

Law: Sec. 6(b).

Agricultural Employees

¶ 130

For the first time agricultural workers employed on farms are covered by the FLSA's minimum wage requirement. A special minimum wage rate schedule is established for agricultural employees as follows:

$1.00 an hour beginning February 1, 1967;

$1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968; and

$1.30 an hour beginning February 1, 1969.

Children under 16 working with their parents at piece-rate jobs on farms must be paid the same piece rates paid to employees over that age.

There are conditions under which agricultural employees are exempt from these minimum wage requirements. Employees who are not exempt are entitled not only to the minimum wage benefits but also to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. All agricultural employees remain exempt from the FLSA's overtime pay provisions.

A detailed explanation of the new rules which apply to agricultural employees appears at ¶ 345.

Law: Secs. 6(a)(5), 13(a)(6).

Contract Services to Federal Government

¶ 140

An employer who provides services to the federal government under a contract or subcontract subject to the Service Contract Act of 1965 must pay his employees at least the minimum wage rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120). These rates apply unless the employees are already entitled to the higher rates prescribed for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110) or unless higher rates are specified in determinations under the Service Contract Act of 1965. Special rules apply to linen supply contracts, as explained at ¶ 340.

Law: Sec. 6(e).

Federal Employees

¶ 150

The following federal employees are now entitled to the minimum wage benefits (see ¶ 110) and overtime pay benefits (see ¶ 210) accorded presently covered employees under the 1966 Amendments:

(1) certain federal wage board employees whose compensation is required to be fixed and adjusted in accordance with prevailing wage rates,

(2) employees of naval facilities whose wages are established to conform with those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity, and

(3) federal employees in nonappropriated fund instrumentalities under the jurisdiction of the Armed Forces, such as, for example, post exchanges.

On the other hand, federal employees performing services during a workweek in a work place within the Canal Zone are entitled to the lower rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120).

All of these federal employees must receive equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Law: Sec. 18(b).

Employees in Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands

¶ 160

The special minimum wage rates presently applicable to workers in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands under wage orders established through industry committees are increased under the 1966 Amendments by a percentage which is the equivalent of the percentage of increase on the mainland. For persons presently covered by an industry wage order, the wage rates are increased 12 percent effective 60 days after February 1, 1967, or 1 year from the effective date of the most recent wage order, whichever is later. Then 1 year later, a second increase is made of 16 percent of the rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued prior to February 1, 1967. These increases are reviewable by industry committees.

The Secretary of Labor will appoint a special industry committee to recommend a minimum wage rate for employees who are brought

within the FLSA by the 1966 Amendments. The committee's recommendations are not to take effect before 60 days after February 1, 1967.

Law: Sec. 6(c).

Tips

¶ 170

Special rules apply to an employee who is engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives more than $20 a month in tips. As to such an employee, an employer may credit up to 50 percent of the employee's minimum wage as coming from tips actually received by the employee.

For example, if the minimum wage of a tipped employee is $1.00 an hour, his employer can credit as much as $0.50 as being from tips. The employer would pay the remainder or $0.50 an hour to the tipped employee. The tips and payment from the employer, when combined, would at least equal the statutory minimum wage. However, the employee must actually have received not less than 50 percent of his minimum wage in tips.

If an employee is receiving less in tips than the amount credited by the employer, the employer is required to pay the balance so that the employee receives at least the minimum wage.

In the 1961 amendments to the FLSA, the Secretary of Labor had been directed to make a study of problems involving tips in relation to wages. The results of the study contributed toward the new rules applicable to tipped employees and helped bring about the extension of minimum wage coverage to employees of hotels, motels, restaurants and other businesses that employ tipped personnel.

Law: Secs. 3(m), 3(t).

OVERTIME PAY FEATURES

Presently covered employees . . . ¶ 210

Newly covered employees . . . ¶ 220

Commission salesmen . . . ¶ 230

Presently Covered Employees

¶ 210

There is no change in the general overtime pay standard for presently covered employees. The premium rate of time and one half the regular rate is continued for hours worked in excess of 40 in any workweek. The federal employees discussed at ¶ 150 are entitled to overtime pay based on this standard.

An employee's regular rate is determined by dividing his total remuneration for employment (except exclusions permitted by the FLSA) in any workweek by the total number of hours actually worked by him in that workweek for which such compensation was paid.

An exception to the general rule that overtime pay is figured on the basis of the regular rate exists with respect to employees of

certain petroleum distributors. Certain overtime hours worked by such employees may be compensated at one and one half times their minimum rates; other overtime hours command pay at one and one half times their regular rates (see ¶ 390).

Law: Sec. 7(a)(1).

Newly Covered Employees

¶ 220

Overtime pay standards are established for newly covered employees in three steps. Generally, overtime pay at the rate of time and one half the regular rate is required for workweek hours over:

44 hours a week beginning February 1, 1967;

42 hours a week beginning February 1, 1968; and

40 hours a week beginning February 1, 1969.

As is the case with presently covered employees, an exception from the regular rate basis for calculating overtime pay is created by the 1966 Amendments for employees of qualified petroleum distributors. Part of the employees' overtime pay may be computed on the basis of their FLSA minimum rates; other overtime hours must be paid for on the basis of their regular rates (see ¶ 390).

The Amendments also contain special overtime pay provisions for hospital employees. A hospital and an employee may agree that the employee's overtime pay will be calculated on the basis of a 14-day work period rather than the customary 7-day period. Overtime must be paid for hours worked in excess of 8 daily and in excess of 80 during the 14-day period.

Enterprise Coverage

Because of the reduction in the annual dollar volume test for coverage of enterprises from not less than $1 million to not less than $500,000 and the elimination of monetary tests for certain types of businesses (see ¶ 310), there is a possibility that an employee subject to the lower overtime pay standards for newly covered employees might shift to the higher standards for presently covered employees. It would also be possible for an employee to shift from the higher to the lower standards. These shifts could occur until February 1, 1969, when the two overtime pay schedules for newly covered employees and for presently covered employees will become the same.

The lower overtime pay and minimum wage requirements would apply any time when enterprise coverage is occasioned by the $500,000 test established by the 1966 amendments as distinguished from the $1 million test prior to the amendments. However, an employee would be regarded as a presently covered worker entitled to the higher overtime pay and minimum wage requirements whenever his employer meets the former $1 million test for enterprise coverage.

Changes in Exemptions

The 1966 amendments make many changes in exemptions. For example, they establish new overtime pay exemptions for seasonal industries (see ¶ 350). These exemptions replace former exemptions including, among other things, those for the area of production, seasonal activities, first processing and the handling of livestock and poultry. If a former 14-week overtime pay exemption, for example, is cancelled by these new seasonal exemptions, the employees affected would be governed by the overtime pay standards for newly covered workers during a 14-week period. However, these same employees would be governed by the overtime pay standards for presently covered employees during the remaining 38 weeks of the year when their former exemption did not apply, since the 1966 amendments make no change in their status with respect to this period.

Whenever an employee becomes entitled to FLSA overtime pay by reason of the cancellation of an overtime pay exemption, the overtime pay requirements established for newly covered workers apply.

Law: Secs. 7(a)(2), 7(j).

Commission Salesmen

¶ 230

A clarifying change has been made in the FLSA provisions which permit commissions paid to employees of retail or service establishments to qualify as overtime pay. The exemption applies to a salesman if two conditions are met:

(1) The salesman's regular rate of pay must be in excess of one and one half times the statutory minimum rate applicable to him.

(2) More than half of the salesman's compensation for a representative period (not less than one month) must represent commissions on goods or services.

The shortest period of time that can be used as the representative period under the second condition is one month. Aside from this specification, the facts in the particular case would govern the length of the period.

The 1966 Amendments provide that in determining the proportion of compensation representing commissions, all earnings resulting from the application of a bona fide commission rate shall be deemed commissions on goods or services without regard to whether the computed commissions exceed the draw or guarantee.

Prior to this amendment, the government, in enforcing this leeway, took the position that compensation could be considered commissions for purposes of overtime pay only when commissions exceeded draws. In the event of an advance that exceeded a draw, the advance had to be substituted for the draw in making the determination.

Law: Sec. 7(i).

EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES REACHED

Dollar-test enterprises . . . ¶ 310
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Eniwetok and Kwajalein Atolls and Johnston Island . . . ¶ 400

Dollar-Test Enterprises

¶ 310

A business not specifically named in the FLSA enterprise coverage provisions is subject to the statute on an enterprise basis if:

(1) two of its employees are personally engaged in interstate commerce, produce goods for commerce, or handle goods which have already been produced by someone else for commerce; and

(2) yearly gross sales, exclusive of certain excise taxes, amount to $500,000 beginning February 1, 1967 ($250,000 beginning February 1, 1969).

Prior to the FLS Amendments, the dollar test was $1 million; the commerce test concerning employee activities remains unchanged.

Retailers and local transit operators are now tested for enterprise coverage under these provisions. Former specific enterprise tests for them are deleted by the amendments. The dollar test for both of them previously was $1 million, and, in addition, retailers had to purchase $250,000 worth of interstate goods yearly.

The only other dollar test for enterprises concerns gasoline service establishments. It has not been changed; it is discussed at ¶ 385.

Other Enterprises

There are other enterprise coverage provisions that have no dollar condition, only the two-employee commerce condition. They pertain to the construction industry (see ¶ 335); laundries and drycleaners (see ¶ 340); and schools, hospitals and nursing institutions (see ¶ 330).

Industries Affected for First Time

Any business or endeavor not coming within these specifically named categories is tested for enterprise coverage under the $500,000 standard (which later becomes $250,000). Industries that will be subject to this enterprise testing for the first time because they have lost former full wage exemptions include hotels, motels and restaurants (see ¶ 320); food service (see ¶ 380); automobile, aircraft and farm implement dealers (see ¶ 375); and agriculture (see ¶ 345). Enterprises in these industries now have an exemption only from overtime pay, not from minimum wages and equal pay for equal work regardless of sex (except, possibly, agriculture). Prior to the amendments, they were fully exempt.

Enterprise coverage extends the benefits of the FLSA to all of the employer's workers (unless otherwise exempt), regardless of whether they are individually performing interstate work; otherwise, coverage extends only to employees personally doing such work.

Wage Scales

Employees who get the benefits of the statute for the first time because they are employed by an enterprise subject to coverage under the amendments are entitled to the wages specified for newly covered employees (for minimum wages, see ¶ 120; for overtime pay, see ¶ 220). Even though an employee is individually engaged in interstate activities, these rates apply if he is brought within the terms of the statute because of the cancellation of an exemption.

Enterprise employees who would have been covered under the enterprise provisions as they existed prior to the amendments have the advantage of the rates specified for presently covered employees; the minimum rates appear at ¶ 110 and the overtime standard is discussed at ¶ 210. These rates also apply to employees who were individually covered prior to the amendments and who remain individually covered thereafter.

Law: Secs. 3(r), 3(s).

Retail or Service Establishments

¶ 315

All employees of a retail or service establishment, including those employees who are engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, are exempt from the FLSA if the establishment meets the requirements of the retail and service establishment exemption. In order to qualify as an exempt retail or service establishment, it is necessary:

(1) that 75 percent of the establishment's dollar volume of sales of goods or services, or of both, be not for resale and be recognized as retail sales or services in the particular industry,

(2) that the establishment make more than 50 percent of its sales of goods or services within the state in which it is located, and

(3)(a) if the particular establishment is part of a covered enterprise, that the establishment's annual sales volume be less than $250,000, or

(3)(b) if the particular establishment is not part of a covered enterprise, that the establishment's annual sales volume be less than $500,000.

The FLSA limits the size of an establishment that may be exempt. When a retail or service establishment is a segment of a covered enterprise, the establishment cannot claim the benefit of the exemption unless the volume of its business is below $250,000 a year. An establishment which is not part of a covered enterprise may be exempt until January 31, 1969, even if its annual business reaches or exceeds $250,000—just so long as it does not meet the $500,000 test for enterprise coverage which is effective until that time. On February 1, 1969, when the enterprise coverage test will be reduced from $500,000 to $250,000, the retail and service establishment exemption will no longer be available to any establishment having an annual sales volume between $250,000 and $500,000.

Businesses Excluded or Included

Expressly excluded from the scope of this exemption are establishments and employees engaged in laundering and dry cleaning. The same is true with regard to hospitals, old-age homes, nursing homes, mental institutions, schools for physically handicapped, mentally handicapped or gifted children, elementary and secondary schools (exclusive of teachers and academic administrative personnel), and institutions of higher education. Regardless of any business volume, each of these endeavors (including those that are public or nonprofit) is a covered enterprise if at least two employees are engaged in activities touching on commerce.

The establishments that come within the scope of the retail and service establishment exemption include restaurants, retail food service establishments, retail automobile dealers, and hotels and motels, even though the FLSA contains specific overtime pay exemptions for these types of establishments. An establishment cannot claim the retail or service establishment exemption unless it meets all the exemption requirements (a wholesale automobile dealer does not qualify for this exemption).

The fact that restaurants and other establishments may qualify for the general exemption for retail or service establishments is of considerable importance because, in addition to the overtime pay exemption provided for their industries, the minimum wage and equal pay provisions of the Act are inapplicable to establishments within the scope of the general exemption.

Similarly, an amusement or recreational establishment may be able to avail itself of the retail and service establishment exemption when it would otherwise be nonexempt for failure to meet the requirements of the amusement or recreational establishment exemption noted at ¶ 325.

Law: Secs. 3(s)(1), 13(a)(2).

Hotels, Motels and Restaurants

¶ 320

An unconditional exemption from the overtime pay provisions of the FLSA is provided for the employees of an establishment which is a hotel, motel or restaurant. For purposes of this overtime pay exemption, it makes no difference whether or not such establishment is a covered enterprise or part of such an enterprise.

The overtime pay exemption does not affect the application of the minimum wage and equal pay provisions to employees who are within FLSA coverage either because they are themselves engaged in interstate work or because the establishment which employs them is a covered enterprise. However, the overtime pay exemption is not the only exemption available for such an establishment.

If a hotel, motel or restaurant meets the requirements of the retail or service establishment exemption, the minimum wage and equal pay provisions of the FLSA are also inapplicable to the employees of the establishment. Unlike the overtime pay exemption, which is applicable to establishments of any size, the retail or service establishment exemption does not apply to an establishment whose annual dollar volume of business exceeds certain limits (see ¶ 315).

Enterprise Coverage

Heretofore, the employees of hotels, motels and restaurants had no FLSA benefits since they were expressly excluded from enterprise coverage and the few employees doing interstate work were exempt. As amended, the FLSA merely denies them the right to overtime pay but gives nonexempt employees minimum wage and equal pay protection by eliminating the former exclusion from enterprise coverage. Employees who are now covered must be paid the minimum wage rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120).

Tipped Employees

Special rules can be applied to a "tipped employee," that is, an employee engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives more than $20 a month in tips. In paying the wages of a tipped employee, the employer may credit up to 50 percent of the applicable minimum wage as coming from tips, but he may do so only if the employee actually received the amount credited. The maximum tip allowance for a newly covered employee is 50 cents per hour while the $1.00 minimum wage rate remains in effect (see ¶ 170).

Other Exemption

A special overtime pay exemption is provided for the food service employees of retail or service establishments (see ¶ 380).

Law: Sec. 13(b)(8).

Amusement or Recreational Establishments

¶ 325

Certain amusement or recreational establishments are fully exempt from the minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay requirements

of the FLSA, irrespective of whether or not they are covered enterprises or parts of such enterprises. In order to qualify for this full exemption, an amusement or recreational establishment must meet one of two exemption tests which require that its business be of a seasonal nature.

An amusement or recreational establishment is fully exempt (1) if it does not operate for more than seven months in a calendar year, or (2) if it has average receipts for any six months of the preceding calendar year which do not exceed one third of the average receipts for the other six months of that calendar year. An amusement or recreational establishment which fails to meet either one of these two tests may possibly come within the retail or service establishment exemption (see ¶ 315).

Wage Rates

An amusement or recreational establishment which does not qualify for exemption may or may not be part of a covered enterprise. In either case, employees who are themselves engaged in interstate work and who were not exempt prior to the 1966 amendments must be paid the minimum wage rates for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110). On the other hand, the minimum wage rates for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) are applicable to employees newly entitled to FLSA benefits because of new coverage of the enterprise. The employees of a nonexempt amusement or recreational establishment are within coverage of the equal pay provisions of the FLSA, unless they come within the scope of some other minimum wage exemption. The overtime pay requirements for presently covered employees are discussed at ¶ 210, those for newly covered employees at ¶ 220.

Law: Sec. 13(a)(3).

Bowling Establishments

¶ 327

Employees of a bowling establishment are partially exempt from the overtime pay requirements of the FLSA. They need not be paid overtime compensation so long as they do not work more than 48 hours a week. Hours worked in excess of 48 a week must be compensated at time and one half the regular rate unless another exemption applies. The partial overtime pay exemption extends to a bowling establishment which is a covered enterprise or part of such enterprise. The duty to comply with the minimum wage and equal pay provisions of the FLSA remains unaffected.

If a bowling establishment meets the requirements of the retail or service establishment exemption, it is fully exempt from the minimum wage, overtime pay, and equal pay provisions. In case of enterprise coverage, only an establishment doing an annual business of less than $250,000 can invoke the retail or service establishment exemption (see ¶ 315).

Wage Rates

The minimum wage rates that are applicable to employees of bowling establishments not qualifying for the retail or service establishment exemption depend upon whether coverage results from the 1966 Amendments. Employees who are themselves engaged in inter-

state work and who were not exempt prior to the 1966 Amendments must be paid the minimum wage rates for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110). The minimum wage rates for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) apply to employees now entitled to FLSA protection because of new coverage of the enterprise.

Law: Sec. 13(b)(19).

Schools, Hospitals and Nursing Institutions

¶ 330

Employees of schools, hospitals, and nursing institutions are brought under the FLSA for the first time. These employees are entitled to the minimum wages prescribed for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) and, if not exempt, to the overtime pay benefits accorded newly covered employees (see ¶ 220). They are also entitled to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. The extended coverage does not apply to employees of federal hospitals.

The minimum wage, overtime pay and equal pay provisions have been extended, on an enterprise basis, to employees of elementary and secondary schools, excluding teachers and academic administrative personnel; institutions of higher education; hospitals and nursing institutions; and schools for physically handicapped, mentally handicapped or gifted children. It makes no difference whether the schools, hospitals or institutions are public or private or operated for profit or operated not for profit. The dollar amount of the business is immaterial. The FLSA commerce requirements are satisfied by the employment of two workers who merely handle goods that have moved in or have been produced for interstate commerce.

Pertinent Exemptions

The amendments offer a partial exemption from the FLSA overtime pay requirements to institutions, other than hospitals, engaged in caring for the sick, the aged, the mentally ill, or defective who reside on the premises. The exemption is limited to 48 hours per week. A deviation from the overtime pay provisions permits hospitals to use a 14-day period in calculating overtime pay (see ¶ 220).

An exemption existing prior to the amendments which is of particular interest to newly covered schools, hospitals and nursing institutions completely exempts administrative, executive and professional employees from the wage provisions. On the other hand, the previously existing retail or service establishment exemption is made specifically unavailable to schools, hospitals and nursing institutions brought within coverage of the statute.

Law: Secs. 3(d), 3(r), 3(s)(4), 3(v), 3(w), 7(j), 13(a)(1), 13(a)(2), 13(b)(8).

Construction Industry

¶ 335

An enterprise engaged in the business of construction (or reconstruction) which satisfies the commerce requirements is subject to the FLSA regardless of the dollar volume of business done. Prior to the FLS Amendments, a construction business had to have a yearly gross of $350,000 before it was covered.

Employees whose duties personally involve commerce or the production of goods for commerce are entitled to the minimum wages applicable to presently covered employees, as listed at ¶ 110; and to overtime pay on the basis available for presently covered employees, as discussed at ¶ 210. This is true whether or not the business is brought within enterprise coverage by reason of the 1966 amendments.

The pay rates applicable to employees whose own duties do not involve commerce or the production of goods for commerce depend upon whether the business is a covered enterprise solely because of elimination of the dollar test. If it is covered for that reason alone, the minimum wage rates for newly covered employees at ¶ 120 and the overtime standards for newly covered employees at ¶ 220 apply. If the enterprise grosses $350,000 yearly, the rates shown at ¶ 110 and 210 for presently covered employees apply. All of the employees who are entitled to the FLSA minimum wage benefits also have the right to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

White Collar Exemption

It is possible that some of the employees may come within exemptions extending to minimum, overtime and equal pay, such as the exemption for administrative, executive and professional employees. There is no specific exemption for the construction industry, as such.

Law: Sec. 3(s)(3).

Laundries, Linen Suppliers and Drycleaners

¶ 340

Laundries and drycleaners are now subject to FLSA coverage on an enterprise basis. All that is necessary for such coverage is employment of two workers in connection with commerce; the mere handling of goods produced for interstate commerce is a sufficient link. The amount of business done by a laundry or drycleaner is of no consequence. An enterprise must adhere to the federal wage standards with respect to all of its employees (who are not otherwise exempt), whether or not the employee himself is personally doing work of an interstate nature. A covered enterprise is subject to the statutory directives as to minimum wages, equal pay for equal work, and overtime compensation.

Contractors and subcontractors who provide linen supply services to the United States are specifically subject to the minimum wage and equal pay provisions (see ¶ 140).

A complete wage exemption formerly available to laundries and drycleaners was canceled by the FLS Amendments. Under that exemption, a laundry or drycleaner was completely exempt from the federal wage standards, unless 25 percent of its business was for customers engaged in mining, manufacturing, transportation or communications. If this exemption was lost because of the amount of industrial work, coverage would not have attached on an enterprise basis unless gross yearly sales amounted to $1 million. If sales did not meet that figure, only employees individually engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce had the benefits

of the law. Although there is no longer a specific exemption for laundries and drycleaners, advantage can still be taken of the full wage exemptions for driver-salesmen and for administrative, executive and professional employees.

Minimum and Overtime Wage Rates

Except for government work, the minimum and overtime rates specified for newly covered employees apply to employees brought within reach of the FLSA either because of new enterprise coverage or because of cancellation of the exemption. These minimum rates are listed at ¶ 120; the overtime rates appear at ¶ 220.

Again except for government work, employees who were covered by the FLSA prior to the amendments—either on an enterprise or on an individual employee basis—are entitled to be paid at the rates fixed for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110 for minimum wage rates and ¶ 210 for overtime pay). With respect to government work, if it accounts for more than 50 percent of gross yearly sales, the minimum rates for presently covered employees apply (see ¶ 110); otherwise the rates for newly covered employees are applicable (see ¶ 120).

Law: Secs. 3(s)(2), 6(e)(2), 13(a)(1).

Agricultural Employees

¶ 345

Agricultural employees are brought under the FLSA for the first time. While the newly covered agricultural employees are not entitled to overtime pay premiums, they are entitled to the special minimum wages shown at ¶ 130. Agricultural workers entitled to minimum wages must also receive equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Congress intended that employees of only large farms be covered. To be covered, an employee must work for an employer who used more than 500 man-days of agricultural labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding year. A man-day is a day in which an employee performs any agricultural work for at least one hour.

An agricultural worker is not covered if he is employed as a hand harvest laborer, is paid on a piece rate basis, commutes daily from his permanent residence to the farm, and has been employed in agriculture less than 13 weeks during the preceding calendar year.

The parent, spouse, child and other members of an agricultural employer's immediate family are not covered by the FLSA. Neither are cowboys or Basques engaged in the range production of livestock. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers whose work is closely controlled are covered by the Act. Children under 17 years old can be employed on piece-rate jobs on the same farm as their parents. Children below the age of 16 cannot be employed in hazardous occupations, except by their parents on their parents' farm.

The 1966 amendments grant minimum wage and equal pay benefits to statutorily covered employees who are in the following related operations:

irrigation projects
country elevators
cotton ginning
transportation of fruits and vegetables.

These rights are granted by partial cancellation of former complete exemptions, leaving only overtime pay exemptions in effect. A complete wage exemption formerly applied to livestock auction work by farm employees. That exemption has been reduced to a mere overtime pay exemption.

Enterprise Coverage

A farming enterprise doing a yearly business of $500,000 ($250,000 beginning February 1, 1969) and employing two workers whose activities have interstate aspects is subject to the FLSA on an enterprise basis. All of its employees, who are not otherwise exempt, have minimum wage and equal pay rights. This is true whether or not the employees are personally engaged in work falling in the interstate category.

Law: Secs. 3(e), 3(u), 13(a)(6), 13(b)(12)-13(b)(16), 13(c)(2).

Seasonal Exemptions

¶ 350

Newly phrased exemptions for seasonal industries are features of the FLS Amendments of 1966. One exemption pertains to seasonal industries generally; the other, to farm enterprises. Findings must be made by the Secretary of Labor that the required seasonal conditions exist before advantage can be taken of either of these exemptions. Both exemptions offer relief from the overtime pay standards during 14 weeks yearly. However, a total of only 20 weeks per year is allowed to an employer who qualifies under both. If prior official policy is continued, it will not be necessary for the exempt weeks to run consecutively.

The general exemption is available to industries found by the Secretary to be of a seasonal nature. Under it, statutory overtime need not be paid until after 10 hours daily or 50 hours weekly have been worked.

The farm exemption extends to 10 hours daily or 48 hours weekly. It is available to industries found by the Secretary:

(1) to be characterized by marked annually recurring seasonal peaks of operation at the places of first marketing or first processing of agricultural or horticultural commodities from farms; or

(2) to be of a seasonal nature and engaged in the handling, packing, storing, preparing, first processing, or canning of any perishable agricultural or horticultural commodities in their raw or natural state.

These exemptions replace former exemptions pertaining to seasonal industries, area of production, first processing, and handling of livestock and poultry. Some of the exemptions were 14-week overtime exemptions, some were year-round overtime exemptions, and one was a full exemption from minimum, overtime and equal pay.

Specific Wage Rates

Employees who are brought within the terms of the FLSA by reason of the cancellation or replacement of any of the former exemptions are entitled, for the most part, to minimum wages based on the rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120). The rates for presently covered employees, shown at ¶ 110, will apply to employees who were entitled to minimum wages prior to the amendments. It is possible that a few newly covered employees will qualify as agricultural employees; if so, the rates appearing at ¶ 130 apply.

Any employees entitled to minimum wages are also entitled to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

The overtime pay standards for newly covered employees appear at ¶ 220. The standard remains the same for employees who were previously covered (see ¶ 210).

Presumably, the lower rates apply only to the additional time an employee is brought within the terms of the FLSA. For example, if an employee's 14-week yearly overtime pay exemption is canceled by the amendments, and no new exemption applies, the lower overtime pay standards can be used for computing his overtime pay during 14 weeks; the unchanged previous standard applies to the other 38 weeks that he is not exempt. It would seem logical that the 14 weeks selected for pay based on the lower standard should correspond with the 14 weeks that previously would have been chosen for the exemption.

Law: Secs. 7(c), 7(d).

Small Newspapers

¶ 355

An employee of a small newspaper which meets certain requirements is exempt from the minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay provisions of the FLSA if he is employed in connection with its publication. The 1966 Amendments retain this exemption but modify it slightly.

In order to qualify for the exemption, a newspaper must be one that:

(1) is a weekly, semiweekly or daily newspaper,
(2) has a circulation of less than 4,000, and
(3) has a major part of its circulation in the county where published or counties contiguous to that county.

The 1966 Amendments relaxed the third requirement since formerly a newspaper had to be both printed and published in the county (or contiguous counties) where it had its major circulation. Hence, the place where the newspaper is printed is no longer relevant for purposes of the exemption.

Law: Sec. 13(a)(8).

Transportation Companies

¶ 360

Local transit systems and taxicab operators are affected considerably by the FLS Amendments. Both categories of employers are subject to wider coverage.

Local Transit Systems

Operators of street, suburban or interurban electric railways, or of local trolley or motorbus carriers are subject to wider FLSA coverage by reason of the 1966 amendments. Gross yearly sales of $500,000 (exclusive of excise taxes) bring them within enterprise coverage; formerly $1 million was the figure. They are covered whether they are publicly or privately owned and whether they are operated for profit or not for profit. The minimum wage and equal pay exemptions formerly available to operators who did not qualify as enterprises have been canceled. The former overtime pay exemption for all employees, regardless of the enterprise status of their employer, is restricted to an exemption for operating employees of railways or carriers subject to state or local regulation.

Covered employees of railways and carriers not meeting the enterprise conditions must be paid at least the minimum rates for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) and the overtime rates for newly covered employees (see ¶ 220). A covered enterprise can pay the minimum rates appearing at ¶ 120 if its yearly business is less than $1 million, but it must pay the minimum rates listed at ¶ 110 for presently covered employees if the business exceeds that amount. The overtime pay standards for these enterprises are those applicable to newly covered employees, as shown at ¶ 220.

Taxicab Operators

Only the drivers employed by taxicab operators are now exempt from the FLSA, and only from the overtime pay requirements. Prior to the amendments, all of the employees of taxicab operators were fully exempt from the wage provisions. Now employees engaged in commerce or employed by a covered enterprise (see ¶ 310) are entitled to minimum wages and to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, and those not employed in the capacity of drivers are entitled also to overtime pay. The minimum rates appearing at ¶ 120 apply; the pertinent overtime standards are discussed at ¶ 220.

With respect to the minimum wages of taxicab employees who receive tips, an employer may credit up to 50 percent of the minimum wage with tips actually received by the employee. For comment on the rules pertaining to tips, see ¶ 170.

Law: Secs. 3(d), 3(r), 13(b)(7), 13(b)(17).

Motion Picture Theaters

¶ 365

Employees of a motion picture theater are exempt from the minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay provisions of the FLSA, regardless of whether or not the theater is a covered enterprise or part of such an enterprise. This was also true under the FLSA prior to amendment, but the exemption was specific only insofar as an enterprise was concerned.

The exemption is wider now in that it extends to an "establishment" which is a motion picture theater. Formerly, the theater had to meet all of the tests of a "retail or service establishment."

Law: Sec. 13(a)(9).

Forestry and Logging Operations

¶ 370

There is an exemption from the minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay provisions of the FLSA for employees engaged in small-scale forestry and logging operations. The 1966 Amendments changed a pre-existing exemption to limit it to workers of employers who have not more than 8 persons in such operations. Prior to the 1966 Amendments, 12 such workers could be employed under the exemption.

No change was made in the kinds of operations that the employees may engage in. Their activities may include the planting and tending of trees, the surveying or felling of timber, and the preparing and transporting of logs to the mill or other transportation terminal.

The limit of 8 employees is applicable on a workweek basis so that the exemption is lost for any workweek in which more than 8 persons are employed in such operations. In any workweek in which more than 8 but not more than 12 workers are employed, their employer must pay them not less than the minimum wage rate for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) and must also treat the employees as newly covered for overtime pay purposes (see ¶ 220). In a workweek in which the number of persons doing such work exceeds 12, all employees must be treated as presently covered employees for both minimum wage purposes (see ¶ 110) and overtime pay purposes (see ¶ 210). The equal pay provisions of the FLSA are fully applicable in any workweek in which the exemption is lost.

Law: Sec. 13(a)(13).

Automobile, Aircraft and Farm Implement Sales Establishments

¶ 375

Prior to the 1966 Amendments, the FLSA contained a minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay exemption for all employees of a retail or service establishment which was primarily engaged in the selling of automobiles, trucks or farm implements. The 1966 Amendments added aircraft dealers but changed the full exemption to a mere overtime pay exemption which is limited to certain categories of employees.

The overtime pay requirements of the FLSA are now inapplicable to a salesman, mechanic or partsman employed by an establishment which is primarily engaged in selling automobiles, trailers, trucks, farm implements or aircraft to the ultimate purchaser. The overtime pay exemption does not require that the establishment qualify as a retail or service establishment, and it makes no distinction between establishments which are or are not a part of a covered enterprise.

The designated employees are exempt from the overtime pay provisions even if they work in physically separate buildings or areas so long as they are employed in a department which is functionally operated as part of the dealership. Employees who do not belong to

one of the specified categories—for example, office workers—are not within the scope of the new overtime pay exemption.

Wider Wage Coverage

These changes in exemptions have the general effect of:

(1) extending minimum wage and equal pay coverage to the employees within the scope of the new overtime pay exemption; and

(2) extending minimum wage, equal pay and overtime coverage to employees in the nonexempt categories who are covered by the FLSA either on an individual or on an enterprise basis.

The minimum wage rates for newly covered employees are set forth at ¶ 120, and the overtime pay provisions for newly covered employees are at ¶ 220. Included among the employees now exempted from overtime pay may be some who were previously covered because their employer did not qualify as a retail or service establishment. Such employees would be treated as presently covered employees for minimum wage purposes (see ¶ 110).

Still in effect and still available, if all statutory conditions are met, is the general exemption for retail and service establishments (see ¶ 315). This general exemption is available to an establishment which is not part of an enterprise and which does an annual business under $500,000 ($250,000 after February 1, 1969). It is also available to any establishment which is part of a covered enterprise and does an annual business under $250,000.

Law: Sec. 13(b)(10).

Food Service Employees

¶ 380

A food service employee of a retail or service establishment need not be paid premium pay for overtime hours even if the establishment is part of a covered enterprise. In order for this overtime pay exemption to be applicable, two requirements must be satisfied:

(1) the establishment must be a retail or service establishment within the meaning of the general exemption for retail or service establishments (see ¶ 315), and

(2) the employee must be employed primarily in connection with the preparation or offering of food or beverages for human consumption, either on the premises, or by such services as catering, banquet, box lunch, or curb or counter service, to the public, to employees, or to members or guests of clubs.

Prior to the 1966 Amendments, the FLSA fully exempted such employees from minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay coverage. The exemption has now been narrowed to an overtime pay exemption and the change has the effect of bringing such employees within coverage of the minimum wage and equal pay provisions if they are employed by a covered enterprise or if they individually do interstate work. These employees (if not otherwise exempt) must be paid the

minimum wage rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120). Insofar as tipped employees are concerned, a portion of their wages can be credited as coming from tips (see ¶ 170).

An establishment may qualify for the general exemption given certain retail or service establishments. If an establishment meets all of the requirements of that general exemption (see ¶ 315), the food service employees would be exempt not only for overtime pay purposes but also for minimum wage and equal pay purposes.

Law: Sec. 13(b)(18).

Gasoline Service Stations

¶ 385

All of the employees of a gasoline service establishment, who are not otherwise exempt, are covered by the FLSA if the establishment has an annual gross volume of $250,000 or more (excluding excise taxes at the retail level if the taxes are separately stated). Covered employees are entitled to the minimum wages specified for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110). As to overtime pay premiums, however, these employees are treated as newly covered employees (see ¶ 220). This oddity results from the fact that these employees formerly were covered by the FLSA's minimum wage provisions but were specifically exempted from overtime pay premiums; this exemption was canceled by the 1966 Amendments.

All of the employees of an establishment doing less than $250,000 gross business yearly are exempt from the law if the establishment qualifies as a retail or service establishment (see ¶ 315).

Law: Sec. 3(s)(1).

Petroleum Distribution Employees

¶ 390

Only a partial exemption from the overtime pay premiums now exists for employees of certain businesses engaged in the wholesale or bulk distribution of petroleum products. Prior to the FLS Amendments of 1966, these employees were entirely exempt from overtime pay premiums. Now, they must be paid one and one half times the applicable FLSA minimums for hours between 40 and 56 in a workweek. For hours worked in excess of 12 daily or 56 weekly, they must be paid one and one half times their regular rates.

The minimum rates specified at ¶ 110 for presently covered employees apply to employees who themselves are engaged in commerce. The minimums specified at ¶ 120 for newly covered employees apply to employees brought within enterprise coverage by reason of the 1966 amendments (see ¶ 310 for enterprise coverage).

A business qualifies for this partial exemption if it is an independently owned local bulk petroleum distributor, does less than $1 million business yearly, sells more than 75 percent within the state, and sells not more than 25 percent to customers who purchase for bulk resale.

Law: Sec. 7(b)(3).

Students and Handicapped Workers

¶ 395

New provisions permitting the employment of students and handicapped workers at below normal wage rates have been written into the FLSA by the 1966 Amendments.

Students

The Secretary of Labor can permit the employment in retail or service establishments of full-time students at not less than 85 percent of the minimum wage which would otherwise apply. Employment is limited to not more than 20 hours a week, except that during school vacations employment can be permitted on a part-time or full-time basis. The proportion of student hours in any single establishment cannot exceed certain norms.

The Secretary can also permit the employment of full-time students in agriculture on a part-time basis (not exceeding 20 hours a week) or on a part-time or a full-time basis during school vacations. The students' wage rate is not to be less than 85 percent of the applicable agricultural minimum rate.

The student provisions apply to all students regardless of age, but the student provisions do not affect the operation of child labor laws.

Handicapped Workers

New provisions regulate the employment of handicapped workers at wages below the statutory minimum, including their employment in agriculture.

Special certificates issued by the Secretary of Labor may authorize the employment of handicapped workers at wages that are lower than the applicable statutory minimum, but not less than 50 percent of that minimum. Such wages shall be commensurate with wages paid non-handicapped workers for essentially the same type, quality, and quantity of work.

In cases where handicapped workers are engaged in training or evaluation programs or where they are multihandicapped or so severely handicapped that they are unable to engage in competitive employment, the Secretary may issue certificates authorizing their employment at wages which are less than 50 percent of the statutory minimum and conform to the workers' productivity.

The Secretary is authorized to establish special rates of compensation for workers employed in federal "work activity centers," that is, centers for handicapped workers whose physical or mental impairment is so severe as to make their productive capacity inconsequential.

Law: Sec. 14.

Eniwetok and Kwajalein Atolls and Johnston Island

¶ 400

The FLSA has been extended to the workers on Johnston Island and on the Eniwetok and Kwajalein Atolls. Since these employees,

unless otherwise exempt, are brought under the FLSA for the first time by the 1966 Amendments, they are subject to the lower minimum wage and overtime pay requirements, the ones applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120 and 220). Any employee who is entitled to minimum wages also has a right to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Law: Sec. 13(f).

TIME LIMIT FOR COURT SUITS

¶ 430

A court suit to collect unpaid minimum wages, unpaid overtime compensation or liquidated damages under the FLSA must normally be started within two years after the cause of action accrued. In the case of a wilful violation, however, the time limit is increased by a full year. Where a cause of action arises out of a wilful violation, the suit may be commenced within three years after the cause of action accrued.

The statute of limitations does not apply to government injunction suits, except where back pay orders are concerned. With respect to those orders, the period now will be two years in the absence of wilfulness, three years in the event of wilfulness. There is no time limit in contempt proceedings which may result in an order for back pay which has accrued since the issuance of an injunction.

Law: Sec. 601, FLS Amendments of 1966.

FUTURE LEGISLATIVE MATTERS

¶ 435

Congress has directed the Secretary of Labor to make a study of industry practices with respect to overtime payments for work in excess of 40 hours a week. Of particular interest to Congress is the extent to which overtime work retards the creation of new job opportunities. The Secretary is to submit his report, with recommendations, by July 1, 1967.

The Secretary is directed to make studies also of the wages of handicapped workers and of wage standards in the Canal Zone. He is to report to Congress by July 1, 1967 as to the handicapped workers; by July 1, 1968 as to the Canal Zone.

Specific legislation prohibiting age discrimination in employment is to be submitted to Congress by the Secretary on or before January 1, 1967.

Law: Secs. 603-606, FLS Amendments of 1966.

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What the FLSA Requires

¶ 440

The FLSA reaches practically all enterprises and industries in the nation in which interstate activities take place. It requires the following for all workers engaged in such enterprises or activities who are not specifically exempt:

(1) Payment of a straight-time wage at not less than a specified minimum.

(2) Payment of an overtime wage of time and one half for hours worked in excess of designated weekly numbers.

(3) Payment of equal wages for equal work regardless of sex.

This law also regulates child labor on a national basis.

Slight Interstate Dealings Reached

¶ 441

The FLSA applies to employers who engage in interstate activities, even though only to a limited degree. All that is necessary is regularity of interstate operations.

Example—A daily newspaper with a circulation of 10,000, all of which was local except about ½ of 1% which was regularly out-of-state, came within range of the FLSA.

Small Firms Feel Enterprise Impact

¶ 442

Businesses stamped as enterprises by the law must satisfy the FLSA wage and child-labor standards with respect to *all* of their employees (unless exempt). It makes no difference that a particular employee has nothing to do with interstate commerce; he nevertheless is entitled to benefits offered by the law. Businesses not rated as enterprises are subject to the law only with respect to employees whose activities have interstate aspects.

A business need not be especially large to qualify as an enterprise. Construction contractors, laundries, dry cleaners, hospitals, schools, retirement homes and nursing facilities qualify merely by having at least two employees whose duties touch on interstate commerce. The mere handling of goods which have moved across state lines at some time in the past is sufficient to satisfy the commerce requirement. It is immaterial how small the business is.

Other firms having two such employees and which do at least $250,000 business yearly will qualify as enterprises after January 31, 1969. From February 1, 1967, until then, the requirement for enterprise coverage is $500,000 under the 1966 Amendments.

How the Law Is Enforced

¶ 443

The government has wide authority in enforcing the FLSA. To aid it in doing so, employers are required to keep records showing the name, occupation and sex of employees, the time they work, the pay

they receive for straight-time and overtime, and any deductions from their pay.

The government constantly investigates business firms to uncover violations of the law. It investigates on its own, as well as pursuant to complaints. The government collects any back wages found owing to employees, either on a voluntary basis or through the courts. To insure against future violations, court injunctions are procured; an injunction is hard to get rid of once it attaches to an employer's business. Flagrant, wilful violations can be taken to criminal courts for remedy. Shipping bans can be slapped on goods produced in violation of the law. Short-changed employees can themselves sue for back pay, and possibly recover an equal amount in damages. The employer must pay their attorney's fees.

Compliance with the FLSA is no defense to violation of state, municipal or other federal laws imposing stricter labor standards than those contained in the FLSA.

Questions to Be Answered

¶ 444

An employer newly covered by the FLSA—perhaps because of the wider reach of the 1966 Amendments or a geographical expansion of business operations—is faced with many problems under the federal law. The big questions are:

Coverage.—Is coverage on an enterprise basis (meaning all employees are covered) or is coverage on an individual employee basis (meaning only employees connected with interstate activities are covered)? Are any of the employees exempt?

Wage scales.—Which of the two minimum-wage and overtime-pay scales set up by the 1966 Amendments apply? This depends upon whether coverage is by reason of the amendments. The two minimum-wage scales do not become one until February 1, 1971. The two overtime-pay scales dovetail on February 1, 1969.

Figuring the payroll.—How should the payroll be figured to satisfy the FLSA standards? Idle time and time spent by employees before and after regular working hours may or may not be compensable. Fringe benefits paid to employees may or may not qualify as wages creditable towards the statutory requirements. Deductions from wages may or may not reduce the payment required by law. Differentials in the pay of men and women may or may not violate the law.

Child labor.—Does the employment of children exceed the confines of the FLSA? Is the work they perform deemed hazardous? Are they working when they should be in school? Are they old enough to engage in their particular occupations?

Recordkeeping.—Are records needed by the government for investigation purposes being properly kept? The records may contain information sufficient for the employer's needs, but not enough to satisfy the government.

Avoiding violations.—Only by answering these questions correctly, and acting accordingly, can employers be sure of not running afoul of the FLSA.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

[¶ 450]

To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966."

[¶ 455] [TITLES I TO V—AMENDMENTS OF THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT OF 1938, AS AMENDED]

Sec. 101 to **Sec. 501.** [The amendments made by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 are incorporated in place in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, which is reproduced in full at ¶ 500.]

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS

[¶ 460] STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

Sec. 601. (a) Section 16(c) of such Act is amended by striking out "two-year statute" and by inserting in lieu thereof "statutes".

(b) Section 6(a) of the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947 (Public Law 49, Eightieth Congress) is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", except that a cause of action arising out of a willful violation may be commenced within three years after the cause of action accrued".

[¶ 470] EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 602. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on February 1, 1967. On and after the date of the enactment of this Act the Secretary is authorized to promulgate necessary rules, regulations, or orders with regard to the amendments made by this Act.

[¶ 480] STUDY OF EXCESSIVE OVERTIME

Sec. 603. The Secretary of Labor is hereby instructed to commence immediately a complete study of present practices dealing with overtime payments for work in excess of forty hours per week and the extent to which such overtime work impedes the creation of new job opportunities in American industry. The Secretary is further instructed to report to the Congress by July 1, 1967, the findings of such survey with appropriate recommendations.

[¶ 485] CANAL ZONE EMPLOYEES AND PANAMA CANAL STUDY

Sec. 604. The Secretary of Labor, in cooperation with the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State, shall (1) undertake a study with respect to (A) wage rates payable to Federal employees in the Canal Zone engaged in employment of the kind described in paragraph (7) of section 202 of the Classi-

fication Act of 1949 (5 U. S. C. 1082(7)) and (B) the requirements of an effective and economical operation of the Panama Canal, and (2) report to the Congress not later than July 1, 1968, the results of his study together with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate.

[¶ 490] STUDY OF WAGES PAID HANDICAPPED CLIENTS IN SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

Sec. 605. The Secretary of Labor is hereby instructed to commence immediately a complete study of wage payments to handicapped clients of sheltered workshops and of the feasibility of raising existing wage standards in such workshops. The Secretary is further instructed to report to the Congress by July 1, 1967, the findings of such study with appropriate recommendations.

[¶ 495] PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF AGE

Sec. 606. The Secretary of Labor is hereby directed to submit to the Congress not later than January 1, 1967 his specific legislative recommendations for implementing the conclusions and recommendations contained in his report on age discrimination in employment made pursuant to section 715 of Public Law 88-352. Such legislative recommendations shall include, without limitation, provisions specifying appropriate enforcement procedures, a particular administering agency, and the standards, coverage, and exemptions, if any, to be included in the proposed enactment.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT, AS AMENDED

— The Federal Wage-Hour Law —

[¶ 500]

(Act of June 25, 1938, c. 676, 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., 52 Stat. 1060, as amended by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966).

[¶ 501] SHORT TITLE

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938."

[¶ 502] CONGRESSIONAL FINDING AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds that the existence, in industries engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers (1) causes commerce and the channels and instrumentalities of commerce to be used to spread and perpetuate such labor conditions among the workers of the several States; (2) burdens commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; (3) constitutes an unfair method of competition in commerce; (4) leads to labor disputes burdening and obstructing commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; and (5) interferes with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce.

[¶ 503] [Declaration of Policy]

(b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act, through the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations, to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate the conditions above referred to in such industries without substantially curtailing employment or earning power.

[¶ 510] DEFINITIONS

Sec. 3. As used in this Act—

[¶ 511] [Person]

(a) "Person" means an individual, partnership, association, corporation, business trust, legal representative, or any organized group of persons.

[¶ 512] [Commerce]

(b) "Commerce" means trade, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States or between any State and any place outside thereof.

[¶ 513] [State]

(c) "State" means any State of the United States or the District of Columbia or any Territory or possession of the United States.

[¶ 514] [Employer]

(d) "Employer" includes any person acting directly or indirectly in the interest of an employer in relation to an employee but shall not include the United States or any State or political subdivision of a State (*except with respect to employees of a State, or a political subdivision thereof, employed (1) in a hospital,*

institution, or school referred to in the last sentence of subsection (r) of this section, or (2) in the operation of a railway or carrier referred to in such sentence), or any labor organization (other than when acting as an employer), or anyone acting in the capacity of officer or agent of such labor organization.

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 3(d), the italicized material was added by Sec. 102(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 515] [Employee]

(e) "Employee" includes any individual employed by an employer, except that such term shall not, for the purposes of section 3(u) include—

(1) any individual employed by an employer engaged in agriculture if such individual is the parent, spouse, child, or other member of the employer's immediate family, or

(2) any individual who is employed by an employer engaged in agriculture if such individual (A) is employed as a hand harvest laborer and is paid on a piece rate basis in an operation which has been, and is customarily and generally recognized as having been, paid on a piece rate basis in the region of employment, (B) commutes daily from his permanent residence to the farm on which he is so employed, and (C) has been employed in agriculture less than thirteen weeks during the preceding calendar year.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(e) was amended by Sec. 103(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read "(e) 'Employee' includes any individual employed by an employer."

[¶ 516] [Agriculture]

(f) "Agriculture" includes farming in all its branches and among other things includes the cultivation and tillage of the soil, dairying, the production, cultivation, growing, and harvesting of any agricultural or horticultural commodities (including commodities defined as agricultural commodities in section 15(g) of the Agricultural Marketing Act, as amended), the raising of livestock, bees, fur-bearing animals, or poultry, and any practices (including any forestry or lumbering operations) performed by a farmer or on a farm as an incident to or in conjunction with such farming operations, including preparation for market, delivery to storage or to market or to carriers for transportation to market.

[¶ 517] [Employ]

(g) "Employ" includes to suffer or permit to work.

[¶ 518] [Industry]

(h) "Industry" means a trade, business, industry, or branch thereof, or group of industries, in which individuals are gainfully employed.

[¶ 519] [Goods]

(i) "Goods" means goods (including ships and marine equipment), wares, products, commodities, merchandise, or articles or subjects of commerce of any character, or any part or ingredient thereof, but does not include goods after their delivery into the actual physical possession of the ultimate consumer thereof other than a producer, manufacturer, or processor thereof.

[¶ 520] [Produced]

(j) "Produced" means produced, manufactured, mined, handled, or in any other manner worked on in any State; and for the purposes of this Act an employee shall be deemed to have been engaged in the production of goods if such

employee was employed in producing, manufacturing, mining, handling, transporting, or in any other manner working on such goods, or in any closely related process or occupation directly essential to the production thereof, in any State.

[¶ 521] [Sale—Sell]

(k) "Sale" or "sell" includes any sale, exchange, contract to sell, consignment for sale, shipment for sale, or other disposition.

[¶ 522] [Oppressive Child Labor]

(l) "Oppressive child labor" means a condition of employment under which (1) any employee under the age of sixteen years is employed by an employer (other than a parent or a person standing in place of a parent employing his own child or a child in his custody under the age of sixteen years in an occupation other than manufacturing or mining or an occupation found by the Secretary of Labor to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years or detrimental to their health or well-being) in any occupation, or (2) any employee between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years is employed by an employer in any occupation which the Secretary of Labor shall find and by order declare to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children between such ages or detrimental to their health or well-being; but oppressive child labor shall not be deemed to exist by virtue of the employment in any occupation of any person with respect to whom the employer shall have on file an unexpired certificate issued and held pursuant to regulations of the Secretary of Labor certifying that such person is above the oppressive child-labor age. The Secretary of Labor shall provide by regulation or by order that the employment of employees between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years in occupations other than manufacturing and mining shall not be deemed to constitute oppressive child labor if and to the extent that the Secretary of Labor determines that such employment is confined to periods which will not interfere with their schooling and to conditions which will not interfere with their health and well-being.

[¶ 523] [Wage]

(m) "Wage" paid to any employee includes the reasonable cost, as determined by the Secretary of Labor, to the employer of furnishing such employee with board, lodging, or other facilities, if such board, lodging, or other facilities are customarily furnished by such employer to his employees: *Provided,* That the cost of board, lodging, or other facilities shall not be included as a part of the wage paid to any employee to the extent it is excluded therefrom under the terms of a bona fide collective-bargaining agreement applicable to the particular employee: *Provided further,* That the Secretary is authorized to determine the fair value of such board, lodging, or other facilities for defined classes of employees and in defined areas, based on average cost to the employer or to groups of employers similarly situated, or average value to groups of employees, or other appropriate measures of fair value. Such evaluations, where applicable and pertinent, shall be used in lieu of actual measure of cost in determining the wage paid to any employee. *In determining the wage of a tipped employee, the amount paid such employee by his employer shall be deemed to be increased on account of tips by an amount determined by the employer, but not by an amount in excess of 50 per centum of the applicable minimum wage rate, except that in the case of an employee who (either himself or acting through his representative) shows to the satisfaction of the Secretary that the actual amount of tips received by him was less than the amount determined by the employer as the amount by which the wage paid him was deemed to be increased under this sentence, the amount paid such employee by his employer shall be deemed to have been increased by such lesser amount.*

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 3(m), the last sentence, which appears in italics, was added by Sec. 101(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 524] [Resale]

(n) "Resale" shall not include the sale of goods to be used in residential or farm building construction, repair, or maintenance: *Provided,* That the sale is recognized as a bona fide retail sale in the industry.

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 3(n), after the first word the phrase "except as used in subsection (s)(1)" was stricken by Sec. 215(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 525] [Hours Worked]

(o) Hours Worked.—In determining for the purposes of sections 6 and 7 the hours for which an employee is employed, there shall be excluded any time spent in changing clothes or washing at the beginning or end of each workday which was excluded from measured working time during the week involved by the express terms of or by custom or practice under a bona fide collective-bargaining agreement applicable to the particular employer.

[¶ 526] [American Vessel]

(p) "American vessel" includes any vessel which is documented or numbered under the laws of the United States.

[¶ 527] [Secretary]

(q) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Labor.

[¶ 528] [Enterprise]

(r) "Enterprise" means the related activities performed (either through unified operation or common control) by any person or persons for a common business purpose, and includes all such activities whether performed in one or more establishments or by one or more corporate or other organizational units including departments of an establishment operated through leasing arrangements, but shall not include the related activities performed for such enterprise by an independent contractor: *Provided,* That, within the meaning of this subsection, a retail or service establishment which is under independent ownership shall not be deemed to be so operated or controlled as to be other than a separate and distinct enterprise by reason of any arrangement, which includes, but is not necessarily limited to, an agreement, (1) that it will sell, or sell only, certain goods specified by a particular manufacturer, distributor, or advertiser, or (2) that it will join with other such establishments in the same industry for the purpose of collective purchasing, or (3) that it will have the exclusive right to sell the goods or use the brand name of a manufacturer, distributor, or advertiser within a specified area, or by reason of the fact that it occupies premises leased to it by a person who also leases premises to other retail or service establishments. *For purposes of this subsection, the activities performed by any person or persons—*

(1) in connection with the operation of a hospital, an institution primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective who reside on the premises of such institution, a school for mentally or physically handicapped or gifted children, an elementary or secondary school, or an institution of higher education (regardless of whether or not such hospital, institution, or school is public or private or operated for profit or not for profit), or

(2) in connection with the operation of a street, suburban or interurban electric railway, or local trolley or motorbus carrier, if the rates and services of such railway or carrier are subject to regulation by a State or local agency (regardless of whether or not such railway or carrier is public or private or operated for profit or not for profit),

shall be deemed to be activities performed for a business purpose.

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 3(r), the italicized material at the end was added by Sec. 102(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 529] [Enterprise Engaged in Commerce or in the Production of Goods for Commerce]

(s) "Enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce" means an enterprise which has employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, including employees handling, selling, or otherwise working on goods that have been moved in or produced for commerce by any person, and which—

(1) during the period February 1, 1967, through January 31, 1969, is an enterprise whose annual gross volume of sales made or business done is not less than $500,000 (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated) or is a gasoline service establishment whose annual gross volume of sales is not less than $250,000 (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated), and beginning February 1, 1969, is an enterprise whose annual gross volume of sales made or business done is not less than $250,000 (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated);

(2) is engaged in laundering, cleaning, or repairing clothing or fabrics;

(3) is engaged in the business of construction or reconstruction, or both; or

(4) is engaged in the operation of a hospital, an institution primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective who reside on the premises of such institution, a school for mentally or physically handicapped or gifted children, an elementary or secondary school, or an institution of higher education (regardless of whether or not such hospital, institution, or school is public or private or operated for profit or not for profit).

Any establishment which has as its only regular employees the owner thereof or the parent, spouse, child, or other member of the immediate family of such owner shall not be considered to be an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or a part of such an enterprise, and the sales of such establishment shall not be included for the purpose of determining the annual gross volume of sales of any enterprise for the purpose of this subsection.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(s) was amended by Sec. 102(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(s) 'Enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce' means any of the following in the activities of which employees are so engaged, including employees handling, selling, or otherwise working on goods that have been moved in or produced for commerce by any person:

"(1) any such enterprise which has one or more retail or service establishments if the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is not less than $1,000,000, exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated and if such enterprise purchases or receives goods for resale that move or have moved across State lines (not in deliveries from the reselling establishment) which amount in total annual volume to $250,000 or more;

"(2) any such enterprise which is engaged in the business of operating a street, suburban or interurban electric railway, or local trolley or motorbus carrier if the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is not less than $1,000,000, exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated;

"(3) any establishment of any such enterprise, except establishments and enterprises referred to in other paragraphs of this subsection, which has employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce if the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is not less than $1,000,000;

"(4) any such enterprise which is engaged in the business of construction or reconstruction, or both, if the annual gross volume from the business of such enterprise is not less than $350,000;

"(5) any gasoline service establishment if the annual gross volume of sales of such establishment is not less than $250,000, exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated:

Provided, That an establishment shall not be considered to be an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or a part of an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and the sales of such establishment shall not be included for the purpose of determining the annual gross volume of sales of any enterprise for the purpose of this subsection, if the only employees of such establishment are the owner thereof or persons standing in the relationship of parent, spouse, or child of such owner."

[¶ 530] [Tipped Employee]

(t) "Tipped employee" means any employee engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives more than $20 a month in tips.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(t) was added by Sec. 101(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 531] [Man-Day]

(u) "Man-day" means any day during which an employee performs any agricultural labor for not less than one hour.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(u) was added by Sec. 103(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 532] [Elementary School]

(v) "Elementary school" means a day or residential school which provides elementary education, as determined under State law.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(v) was added by Sec. 102(d) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 533] [Secondary School]

(w) "Secondary school" means a day or residential school which provides secondary education, as determined under State law.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(w) was added by Sec. 102(d) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 540] ADMINISTRATOR

[¶ 541] [Appointment]

Sec. 4. (a) There is hereby created in the Department of Labor a Wage and Hour Division which shall be under the direction of an Administrator, to be known as the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division (in this Act referred to as the "Administrator"). The Administrator shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall receive compensation at the rate of $20,000 a year.

[¶ 542] [Administrative Assistants]

(b) The Secretary of Labor may, subject to the civil-service laws, appoint such employees as he deems necessary to carry out his functions and duties under this Act and shall fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Secretary may establish and utilize such regional, local, or other agencies, and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services, as may from time to time be needed. Attorneys appointed under this section may appear for and represent the Secretary in any litigation, but all such litigation shall be subject to the direction and control of the Attorney General. In the appointment, selection, classification, and promotion of officers and employees of the Secretary, no political test or qualification shall be permitted or given consideration, but all such appointments and promotions shall be given and made on the basis of merit and efficiency.

[¶ 543] [Principal Office]

(c) The principal office of the Secretary shall be in the District of Columbia, but he or his duly authorized representative may exercise any or all of his powers in any place.

[¶ 544] [Annual Report]

(d) The Secretary shall submit annually in January a report to the Congress covering his activities for the preceding year and including such infor-

mation, data, and recommendations for further legislation in connection with the matters covered by this Act as he may find advisable. Such report shall contain an evaluation and appraisal by the Secretary of the minimum wages established by this Act, together with his recommendations to the Congress. In making such evaluation and appraisal, the Secretary shall take into consideration any changes which may have occurred in the cost of living and in productivity and the level of wages in manufacturing, the ability of employers to absorb wage increases, and such other factors as he may deem pertinent.

[¶ 545] [Investigation of Effects on Employment of Foreign Competition]

(e) Whenever the Secretary has reason to believe that in any industry under this Act the competition of foreign producers in United States markets or in markets abroad, or both, has resulted, or is likely to result, in increased unemployment in the United States, he shall undertake an investigation to gain full information with respect to the matter. If he determines such increased unemployment has in fact resulted, or is in fact likely to result, from such competition, he shall make a full and complete report of his findings and determinations to the President and to the Congress: *Provided,* That he may also include in such report information on the increased employment resulting from additional exports in any industry under this Act as he may determine to be pertinent to such report.

[¶ 550] SPECIAL INDUSTRY COMMITTEES FOR PUERTO RICO AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS [AND AMERICAN SAMOA*]

[¶ 551] [Recommendation of Subminimum Rates]

Sec. 5. (a) The Secretary of Labor shall as soon as practicable appoint a special industry committee to recommend the minimum rate or rates of wages to be paid under section 6 to employees in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, or in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or employed in any enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or the Secretary may appoint separate industry committees to recommend the minimum rate or rates of wages to be paid under section 6 to employees therein engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or employed in any enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, in particular industries. An industry committee appointed under this subsection shall be composed of residents of such island or islands where the employees with respect to whom such committee was appointed are employed and residents of the United States outside of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. In determining the minimum rate or rates of wages to be paid, and in determining classifications, such industry committees shall be subject to the provisions of section 8.

[¶ 552] [Appointment—Membership]

(b) An industry committee shall be appointed by the Secretary without regard to any other provisions of law regarding the appointment and compensation of employees of the United States. It shall include a number of disinterested persons representing the public, one of whom the Secretary shall designate as chairman, a like number of persons representing employees in the industry, and a like number representing employers in the industry. In the appointment of the persons representing each group, the Secretary shall give due regard to the geographical regions in which the industry is carried on.

* Section 5 also relates to American Samoa by reason of Section 6(a)(3) (¶ 563).

[¶ 553] [Quorum—Compensation]

(c) Two-thirds of the members of an industry committee shall constitute a quorum, and the decision of the committee shall require a vote of not less than a majority of all its members. Members of an industry committee shall receive as compensation for their services a reasonable per diem, which the Secretary shall by rules and regulations prescribe, for each day actually spent in the work of the committee, and shall in addition be reimbursed for their necessary traveling and other expenses. The Secretary shall furnish the committee with adequate legal, stenographic, clerical, and other assistance, and shall by rules and regulations prescribe the procedure to be followed by the committee.

[¶ 554] [Submission of Data—Witnesses]

(d) The Secretary shall submit to an industry committee from time to time such data as he may have available on the matters referred to it, and shall cause to be brought before it in connection with such matters any witnesses whom he deems material. An industry committee may summon other witnesses or call upon the Secretary to furnish additional information to aid in its deliberations.

[¶ 560] MINIMUM WAGES

[¶ 561] [Presently Covered Employees]

Sec. 6. *(a) Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, wages at the following rates:*

(1) not less than $1.40 an hour during the first year from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 and not less than $1.60 an hour thereafter, except as otherwise provided in this section;

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 6(a)(1) was amended by Sec. 301(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(a) Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce wages at the following rates—

"(1) not less than $1.15 an hour during the first two years from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, and not less than $1.25 an hour thereafter, except as otherwise provided in this section."

[¶ 562] [Homeworkers in Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands]

(2) if such employee is a homeworker in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, not less than the minimum piece rate prescribed by regulation or order; or, if no such minimum piece rate is in effect, any piece rate adopted by such employer which shall yield, to the proportion or class of employees prescribed by regulation or order, not less than the applicable minimum hourly wage rate. Such minimum piece rates or employer piece rates shall be commensurate with, and shall be paid in lieu of, the minimum hourly wage rate applicable under the provisions of this section. The Secretary of Labor, or his authorized representative, shall have power to make such regulations or orders as are necessary or appropriate to carry out any of the provisions of this paragraph, including the power without limiting the generality of the foregoing, to define any operation or occupation which is performed by such home work employees in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands; to establish minimum piece rates for any operation or occupation so defined; to prescribe the method and procedure for ascertaining and promulgating minimum piece rates; to prescribe standards for employer piece rates, including the proportion or class of employees who shall receive not less than the minimum hourly wage rate; to define the term "home worker"; and to pre-

scribe the conditions under which employers, agents, contractors, and subcontractors shall cause goods to be produced by home workers;

[¶ 563] [Workers in American Samoa]

(3) if such employee is employed in American Samoa, in lieu of the rate or rates provided by this subsection or subsection (b), not less than the applicable rate established by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with recommendations of a special industry committee or committees which he shall appoint in the same manner and pursuant to the same provisions as are applicable to the special industry committees provided for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands by this Act as amended from time to time;

[¶ 564] [Seamen on American Vessels]

(4) if such employee is employed as a seaman on an American vessel, not less than the rate which will provide to the employee, for the period covered by the wage payment, wages equal to compensation at the hourly rate prescribed by paragraph (1) of this subsection for all hours during such period when he was actually on duty (including periods aboard ship when the employee was on watch or was, at the direction of a superior officer, performing work or standing by, but not including off-duty periods which are provided pursuant to the employment agreement); or

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 6(a)(4) was added by Sec. 301(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Similar wording previously appeared in Sec. 6(b)(2).

[¶ 565] [Agricultural Employees]

(5) if such employee is employed in agriculture, not less than $1 an hour during the first year from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, not less than $1.15 an hour during the second year from such date, and not less than $1.30 an hour thereafter.

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 6(a)(5) was added by Sec. 302 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 570] [Newly Covered Employees]

(b) Every employer shall pay to each of his employees (other than an employee to whom subsection (a)(5) applies) who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and who in such workweek is brought within the purview of this section by the amendments made to this Act by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, wages at the following rates:

(1) not less than $1 an hour during the first year from the effective date of such amendments,

(2) not less than $1.15 an hour during the second year from such date,

(3) not less than $1.30 an hour during the third year from such date,

(4) not less than $1.45 an hour during the fourth year from such date, and

(5) not less than $1.60 an hour thereafter.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 6(b) was amended by Sec. 303 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(b) Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who in any workweek (i) is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, as defined in section 3(s)(1), (2), or (4) or by an establishment described in section 3(s)(3) or (5), and who, except for the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, would not be within the purview of this section, or (ii) is brought within the purview of this section by the amendments made to section 13(a) of this Act by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, wages at rates—

"(1) not less than $1 an hour during the first three years from the effective date of

such amendments; not less than $1.15 an hour during the fourth year from such date; and not less than the rate effective under paragraph (1) of subsection (a) thereafter;

"(2) if such employee is employed as a seaman on an American vessel, not less than the rate which will provide to the employee, for the period covered by the wage payment, wages equal to compensation at the hourly rate prescribed by paragraph (1) of this subsection for all hours during such period when he was actually on duty (including periods aboard ship when the employee was on watch or was, at the direction of a superior officer, performing work or standing by, but not including off-duty periods which are provided pursuant to the employment agreement)."

[¶ 571] [Other Workers in Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands]

(c)(1) The rate or rates provided by subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall be superseded in the case of any employee in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands only for so long as and insofar as such employee is covered by a wage order heretofore or hereafter issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a special industry committee appointed pursuant to section 5.

(2) In the case of any such employee who is covered by such a wage order and to whom the rate or rates prescribed by subsection (a) would otherwise apply, the following rates shall apply:

(A) The rate or rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued by the Secretary prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, increased by 12 per centum, unless such rate or rates are superseded by the rate or rates prescribed in a wage order issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under paragraph (C). Such rate or rates shall become effective sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 or one year from the effective date of the most recent wage order applicable to such employee theretofore issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a special industry committee appointed under section 5, whichever is later.

(B) Beginning one year after the applicable effective date under paragraph (A), not less than the rate or rates prescribed by paragraph (A), increased by an amount equal to 16 per centum of the rate or rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued by the Secretary prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, unless such rate or rates are superseded by the rate or rates prescribed in a wage order issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under paragraph (C).

(C) Any employer, or group of employers, employing a majority of the employees in an industry in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, may apply to the Secretary in writing for the appointment of a review committee to recommend the minimum rate or rates to be paid such employees in lieu of the rate or rates provided by paragraph (A) or (B). Any such application with respect to any rate or rates provided for under paragraph (A) shall be filed within sixty days following the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 and any such application with respect to any rate or rates provided for under paragraph (B) shall be filed not more than one hundred and twenty days and not less than sixty days prior to the effective date of the applicable rate or rates under paragraph (B). The Secretary shall promptly consider such application and may appoint a review committee if he has reasonable cause to believe, on the basis of financial and other information contained in the application, that compliance with any applicable rate or rates prescribed by paragraph (A) or (B) will substantially curtail employment in such industry. The Secretary's decision upon any such application shall be final. Any wage order issued pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under this paragraph shall take effect on the applicable effective date provided in paragraph (A) or (B).

(D) In the event a wage order has not been issued pursuant to the recommendation of a review committee prior to the applicable effective date under

paragraph (A) or (B), the applicable percentage increase provided by any such paragraph shall take effect on the effective date prescribed therein, except with respect to the employees of an employer who filed an application under paragraph (C) and who files with the Secretary an undertaking with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the Secretary for payment to his employees of an amount sufficient to compensate such employees for the difference between the wages they actually receive and the wages to which they are entitled under this subsection. The Secretary shall be empowered to enforce such undertaking and any sums recovered by him shall be held in a special deposit account and shall be paid, on order of the Secretary, directly to the employee or employees affected. Any such sum not paid to an employee because of inability to do so within a period of three years shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

(3) In the case of any such employee to whom subsection (a)(5) or subsection (b) would otherwise apply, the Secretary shall within sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 appoint a special industry committee in accordance with section 5 to recommend the highest minimum wage rate or rates in accordance with the standards prescribed by section 8, but not in excess of the applicable rate provided by subsection (a)(5) or subsection (b), to be applicable to such employee in lieu of the rate or rates prescribed by subsection (a)(5) or subsection (b), as the case may be. The rate or rates recommended by the special industry committee shall be effective with respect to such employee upon the effective date of the wage order issued pursuant to such recommendation but not before sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966.

(4) The provisions of section 5 and section 8, relating to special industry committees, shall be applicable to review committees appointed under this subsection. The appointment of a review committee shall be in addition to and not in lieu of any special industry committee required to be appointed pursuant to the provisions of subsection (a) of section 8, except that no special industry committee shall hold any hearing within one year after a minimum wage rate or rates for such industry shall have been recommended to the Secretary by a review committee to be paid in lieu of the rate or rates provided for under paragraph (A) or (B). The minimum wage rate or rates prescribed by this subsection shall be in effect only for so long as and insofar as such minimum wage rate or rates have not been superseded by a wage order fixing a higher minimum wage rate or rates (but not in excess of the applicable rate prescribed in subsection (a) or subsection (b)) hereafter issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendation of a special industry committee.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 6(c) was amended by Sec. 304 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(c) The rate or rates provided by subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall be superseded in the case of any employee in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands only for so long as and insofar as such employee is covered by a wage order heretofore or hereafter issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a special industry committee appointed pursuant to section 5: *Provided*, That (1) the following rates shall apply to any such employee to whom the rate or rates prescribed by subsection (a) would otherwise apply:

"(A) The rate or rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued by the Secretary prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, increased by 15 per centum, unless such rate or rates are superseded by the rate or rates prescribed in a wage order issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under paragraph (C). Such rate or rates shall become effective sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 or one year from the effective date of the most recent wage order applicable to such employee theretofore issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a special industry committee appointed under section 5, whichever is later.

"(B) Beginning two years after the applicable effective date under paragraph (A), not less than the rate or rates prescribed by paragraph (A), increased by an amount equal to 10 per centum of the rate or rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued by the Secretary prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, unless such rate or rates are superseded by the rate or rates prescribed in a wage order issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recom-

mendations of a review committee appointed under paragraph (C).

"(C) Any employer, or group of employers, employing a majority of the employees in an industry in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, may apply to the Secretary in writing for the appointment of a review committee to recommend the minimum rate or rates to be paid such employees in lieu of the rate or rates provided by paragraph (A) or (B). Any such application with respect to any rate or rates provided for under paragraph (A) shall be filed within sixty days following the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 and any such application with respect to any rate or rates provided for under paragraph (B) shall be filed not more than one hundred and twenty days and not less than sixty days prior to the effective date of the applicable rate or rates under paragraph (B). The Secretary shall promptly consider such application and may appoint a review committee if he has reasonable cause to believe, on the basis of financial and other information contained in the application, that compliance with any applicable rate or rates prescribed by paragraph (A) or (B) will substantially curtail employment in such industry. The Secretary's decision upon any such application shall be final. Any wage order issued pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under this paragraph shall take effect on the applicable effective date provided in paragraph (A) or (B).

"(D) In the event a wage order has not been issued pursuant to the recommendation of a review committee prior to the applicable effective date under paragraph (A) or (B), the applicable percentage increase provided by any such paragraph shall take effect on the effective date prescribed therein, except with respect to the employees of an employer who filed an application under paragraph (C) and who files with the Secretary an undertaking with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the Secretary for payment to his employees of an amount sufficient to compensate such employees for the difference between the wages they actually receive and the wages to which they are entitled under this subsection. The Secretary shall be empowered to enforce such undertaking and any sums recovered by him shall be held in a special deposit account and shall be paid, on order of the Secretary, directly to the employee or employees affected. Any such sum not paid to an employee because of inability to do so within a period of three years shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

"(2) In the case of any such employee to whom subsection (b) would otherwise apply, the Secretary shall within sixty days after the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 appoint a special industry committee in accordance with section 5 to recommend the highest minimum wage rate or rates in accordance with the standards prescribed by section 8, not in excess of the applicable rate provided by subsection (b), to be applicable to such employee in lieu of the rate or rates prescribed by subsection (b). The rate or rates recommended by the special industry committee shall be effective with respect to such employee upon the effective date of the wage order issued pursuant to such recommendation but not before sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961.

"(3) The provisions of section 5 and section 8, relating to special industry committees, shall be applicable to review committees appointed under this subsection. The appointment of a review committee shall be in addition to and not in lieu of any special industry committee required to be appointed pursuant to the provisions of subsection (a) of section 8, except that no special industry committee shall hold any hearing within one year after a minimum wage rate or rates for such industry shall have been recommended to the Secretary by a review committee to be paid in lieu of the rate or rates provided for under paragraph (A) or (B). The minimum wage rate or rates prescribed by this subsection shall be in effect only for so long as and insofar as such minimum wage rate or rates have not been superseded by a wage order fixing a higher minimum wage rate or rates (but not in excess of the applicable rate prescribed in subsection (a) or subsection (b)) hereafter issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendation of a special industry committee."

[¶ 572] [Equal Pay for Equal Work]

(d)(1) No employer having employees subject to any provisions of this section shall discriminate, within any establishment in which such employees are employed, between employees on the basis of sex by paying wages to employees in such establishment at a rate less than the rate at which he pays wages to employees of the opposite sex in such establishment for equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions, except where such payment is made pursuant to (i) a seniority system; (ii) a merit system; (iii) a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production; or (iv) a differential based on any other factor other than sex: *Provided,* That an employer who is paying a wage rate differential in violation of this subsection shall not, in order to comply with the provisions of this subsection, reduce the wage rate of any employee.

(2) No labor organization, or its agents, representing employees of an employer having employees subject to any provisions of this section shall cause or attempt to cause such an employer to discriminate against an employee in violation of paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(3) For purposes of administration and enforcement, any amounts owing to any employee which have been withheld in violation of this subsection shall be deemed to be unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation under this Act.

(4) As used in this subsection, the term "labor organization" means any organization of any kind, or any agency or employee representation committee or plan, in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work.

[¶ 573] [Contract Services to Federal Government]

(e)(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 13 of this Act (except subsections (a)(1) and (f) thereof), every employer providing any contract services (other than linen supply services) under a contract with the United States or any subcontract thereunder shall pay to each of his employees whose rate of pay is not governed by the Service Contract Act of 1965 (41 U. S. C. 351-357) or to whom subsection (a)(1) of this section is not applicable, wages at rates not less than the rates provided for in subsection (b) of this section.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 13 of this Act (except subsections (a)(1) and (f) thereof) and the provisions of the Service Contract Act of 1965, every employer in an establishment providing linen supply services to the United States under a contract with the United States or any subcontract thereunder shall pay to each of his employees in such establishment wages at rates not less than those prescribed in subsection (b), except that if more than 50 per centum of the gross annual dollar volume of sales made or business done by such establishment is derived from providing such linen supply services under any such contracts or subcontracts, such employer shall pay to each of his employees in such establishment wages at rates not less than those prescribed in subsection (a)(1) of this section.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 6(e) was added by Sec. 305 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 580] MAXIMUM HOURS

[¶ 581] [Overtime Pay—Presently Covered Employees]

Sec. 7. *(a)(1) Except as otherwise provided in this section, no employer shall employ any of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, for a workweek longer than forty hours unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.*

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(a)(1) was amended by Sec. 401 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(a)(1) Except as otherwise provided in this section, no employer shall employ any of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce for a workweek longer than forty hours, unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed; and"

[¶ 582] [Overtime Pay—Newly Covered Employees]

(2) No employer shall employ any of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or is employed in

an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and who in such workweek is brought within the purview of this subsection by the amendments made to this Act by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966—

(A) for a workweek longer than forty-four hours during the first year from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966,

(B) for a workweek longer than forty-two hours during the second year from such date, or

(C) for a workweek longer than forty hours after the expiration of the second year from such date,

unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(a)(2) was amended by Sec. 401 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(2) No employer shall employ any of his employees who in any workweek (i) is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, as defined in section 3(s)(1) or (4), or by an establishment described in section 3(s)(3), and who, except for the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, would not be within the purview of this subsection, or (ii) is brought within the purview of this subsection by the amendments made to section 13 of this Act by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961—

"(A) for a workweek longer than forty-four hours during the third year from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961,

"(B) for a workweek longer than forty-two hours during the fourth year from such date,

"(C) for a workweek longer than forty hours after the expiration of the fourth year from such date,

unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed."

[¶ 583] [Guaranteed Employment Exemptions]

(b) No employer shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) by employing any employee for a workweek in excess of that specified in such subsection without paying the compensation for overtime employment prescribed therein if such employee is so employed—

(1) in pursuance of an agreement, made as a result of collective bargaining by representatives of employees certified as bona fide by the National Labor Relations Board, which provides that no employee shall be employed more than one thousand and forty hours during any period of twenty-six consecutive weeks; or

(2) in pursuance of an agreement, made as a result of collective bargaining by representatives of employees certified as bona fide by the National Labor Relations Board, which provides that during a specified period of fifty-two consecutive weeks the employee shall be employed not more than two thousand two hundred and forty hours and shall be guaranteed not less than one thousand eight hundred and forty hours (or not less than forty-six weeks at the normal number of hours worked per week, but not less than thirty hours per week) and not more than two thousand and eighty hours of employment for which he shall receive compensation for all hours guaranteed or worked at rates not less than those applicable under the agreement to the work performed and for all hours in excess of the guaranty which are also in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under subsection (a) or two thousand and eighty in such period at rates not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed; or

(3) by an independently owned and controlled local enterprise (including an enterprise with more than one bulk storage establishment) engaged in the wholesale or bulk distribution of petroleum products if—

(A) the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is less than $1,000,000 exclusive of excise taxes,

(B) more than 75 per centum of such enterprise's annual dollar volume of sales is made within the State in which such enterprise is located, and

(C) not more than 25 per centum of the annual dollar volume of sales of such enterprise is to customers who are engaged in the bulk distribution of such products for resale,

and such employee receives compensation for employment in excess of forty hours in any workweek at a rate not less than one and one-half times the minimum wage rate applicable to him under section 6,

and if such employee receives compensation for employment in excess of twelve hours in any workday, or for employment in excess of fifty-six hours in any workweek, as the case may be, at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(b)(3) was added by Sec. 212(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Similar wording previously appeared in Sec. 13(b)(10), which read:

"(10) any employee of an independently owned and controlled local enterprise (including an enterprise with more than one bulk storage establishment) engaged in the wholesale or bulk distribution of petroleum products if (A) the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is not more than $1,000,000 exclusive of excise taxes, and (B) not more than 75 per centum of such enterprise's annual dollar volume of sales is made within the State in which such enterprise is located, and (C) not more than 25 per centum of the annual dollar volume of sales of such enterprise is to customers who are engaged in the bulk distribution of such products for resale; or".

[¶ 584] [Seasonal Industry Exemption]

(c) For a period or periods of not more than ten workweeks in the aggregate in any calendar year, or fourteen workweeks in the aggregate in the case of an employer who does not qualify for the exemption in subsection (d) of this section, any employer may employ any employee for a workweek in excess of that specified in subsection (a) without paying the compensation for overtime employment prescribed in such subsection if such employee (1) is employed by such employer in an industry found by the Secretary to be of a seasonal nature, and (2) receives compensation for employment by such employer in excess of ten hours in any workday, or for employment by such employer in excess of fifty hours in any workweek, as the case may be, at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(c) was added by Sec. 204(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A similar exemption previously appeared in Sec. 7(b)(3), which read:

"(3) for a period or periods of not more than fourteen workweeks in the aggregate in any calendar year in any industry found by the Administrator to be of a seasonal nature,"

[¶ 585] [Processing of Agricultural Products Exemption]

(d) For a period or periods of not more than ten workweeks in the aggregate in any calendar year, or fourteen workweeks in the aggregate in the case of an employer who does not qualify for the exemption in subsection (c) of this section, any employer may employ any employee for a workweek in excess of that specified in subsection (a) without paying the compensation for overtime employment prescribed in such subsection, if such employee—

(1) is employed by such employer in an enterprise which is in an industry found by the Secretary—

(A) to be characterized by marked annually recurring seasonal peaks of operation at the places of first marketing or first processing of agricultural or horticultural commodities from farms if such industry is engaged in the handling, packing, preparing, storing, first processing, or canning of any perishable agricultural or horticultural commodities in their raw or natural state, or

(B) to be of a seasonal nature and engaged in the handling, packing, storing, preparing, first processing, or canning of any perishable agricultural or horticultural commodities in their raw or natural state, and

(2) receives compensation for employment by such employer in excess of ten hours in any workday, or for employment in excess of forty-eight hours in any

workweek, as the case may be, at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(d) was added by Sec. 204(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A processing-of-agricultural-products exemption formerly appeared as Sec. 7(c) and read as follows:

"(c) In the case of an employer engaged in the first processing of milk, buttermilk, whey, skimmed milk, of cream into dairy products, or in the ginning and compressing of cotton, or in the processing of cottonseed, or in the processing of sugar beets, sugar-beet molasses, sugar cane, or maple sap, into sugar (but not refined sugar) or into sirup, the provisions of subsection (a) shall not apply to his employees in any place of employment where he is so engaged; and in the case of an employer engaged in the first processing of, or in canning or packing, perishable or seasonal fresh fruits or vegetables, or in the first processing, within the area of production (as defined by the Administrator), of any agricultural or horticultural commodity during seasonal operations, or in handling, slaughtering, or dressing poultry or livestock, the provisions of subsection (a), during a period or periods of not more than fourteen workweeks in the aggregate in any calendar year, shall not apply to his employees in any place of employment where he is so engaged."

[¶ 586] [Payments Excluded from "Regular Rate"]

(e) As used in this section the "regular rate" at which an employee is employed shall be deemed to include all remuneration for employment paid to, or on behalf of, the employee, but shall not be deemed to include—

(1) sums paid as gifts; payments in the nature of gifts made at Christmas time or on other special occasions, as a reward for service, the amounts of which are not measured by or dependent on hours worked, production, or efficiency;

(2) payments made for occasional periods when no work is performed due to vacation, holiday, illness, failure of the employer to provide sufficient work, or other similar cause; reasonable payments for traveling expenses, or other expenses, incurred by an employee in the furtherance of his employer's interests and properly reimbursable by the employer; and other similar payments to an employee which are not made as compensation for his hours of employment;

(3) sums paid in recognition of services performed during a given period if either, (a) both the fact that payment is to be made and the amount of the payment are determined at the sole discretion of the employer at or near the end of the period and not pursuant to any prior contract, agreement, or promise causing the employee to expect such payments regularly; or (b) the payments are made pursuant to a bona fide profit-sharing plan or trust or bona fide thrift or savings plan, meeting the requirements of the Secretary of Labor set forth in appropriate regulations which he shall issue, having due regard among other relevant factors, to the extent to which the amounts paid to the employee are determined without regard to hours of work, production, or efficiency; or (c) the payments are talent fees (as such talent fees are defined and delimited by regulations of the Secretary) paid to performers, including announcers, on radio and television programs;

(4) contributions irrevocably made by an employer to a trustee or third person pursuant to a bona fide plan for providing old-age, retirement, life, accident, or health insurance or similar benefits for employees;

(5) extra compensation provided by a premium rate paid for certain hours worked by the employee in any day or workweek because such hours are hours worked in excess of eight in a day or in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under subsection (a) or in excess of the employee's normal working hours or regular working hours, as the case may be;

(6) extra compensation provided by a premium rate paid for work by the employee on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, or regular days of rest, or on the sixth or seventh day of the workweek, where such premium rate is not

less than one and one-half times the rate established in good faith for like work performed in nonovertime hours on other days; or

(7) extra compensation provided by a premium rate paid to the employee, in pursuance of an applicable employment contract or collective-bargaining agreement, for work outside of the hours established in good faith by the contract or agreement as the basic, normal, or regular workday (not exceeding eight hours) or workweek (not exceeding the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under subsection (a)), where such premium rate is not less than one and one-half times the rate established in good faith by the contract or agreement for like work performed during such workday or workweek.

[¶ 587] [Guaranteed Weekly Pay for Variable Hours]

(f) No employer shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) by employing any employee for a workweek in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under subsection (a) if such employee is employed pursuant to a bona fide individual contract, or pursuant to an agreement made as a result of collective bargaining by representatives of employees, if the duties of such employee necessitate irregular hours of work, and the contract or agreement (1) specifies a regular rate of pay of not less than the minimum hourly rate provided in subsection (a) or (b) of section 6 (whichever may be applicable) and compensation at not less than one and one-half times such rate for all hours worked in excess of such maximum workweek, and (2) provides a weekly guaranty of pay for not more than sixty hours based on the rates so specified.

[¶ 588] [Overtime Computed on Piece, Hourly or Basic Rates]

(g) No employer shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) by employing any employee for a workweek in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under such subsection if, pursuant to an agreement or understanding arrived at between the employer and the employee before performance of the work, the amount paid to the employee for the number of hours worked by him in such workweek in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under such subsection—

(1) in the case of an employee employed at piece rates, is computed at piece rates not less than one and one-half times the bona fide piece rates applicable to the same work when performed during nonovertime hours; or

(2) in the case of an employee performing two or more kinds of work for which different hourly or piece rates have been established, is computed at rates not less than one and one-half times such bona fide rates applicable to the same work when performed during nonovertime hours; or

(3) is computed at a rate not less than one and one-half times the rate established shall be authorized by regulation by the Secretary as being in computing overtime compensation thereunder: *Provided,* That the rate so established shall be authorized by regulation by the Secretary of Labor as being substantially equivalent to the average hourly earnings of the employee, exclusive of overtime premiums, in the particular work over a representative period of time;

and if (i) the employee's average hourly earnings for the workweek exclusive of payments described in paragraphs (1) through (7) of subsection (e) are not less than the minimum hourly rate required by applicable law, and (ii) extra overtime compensation is properly computed and paid on other forms of additional pay required to be included in computing the regular rate.

[¶ 589] [Credits Against Overtime Pay]

(h) Extra compensation paid as described in paragraphs (5), (6), and (7) of subsection (e) shall be creditable toward overtime compensation payable pursuant to this section.

[¶ 590] [Exemption for Retail and Service Establishments]

(i) No employer shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) by employing any employee of a retail or service establishment for a workweek in excess of the applicable workweek specified therein, if (1) the regular rate of pay of such employee is in excess of one and one-half times the minimum hourly rate applicable to him under section 6, and (2) more than half his compensation for a representative period (not less than one month) represents commissions on goods or services. *In determining the proportion of compensation representing commissions, all earnings resulting from the application of a bona fide commission rate shall be deemed commissions on goods or services without regard to whether the computed commissions exceed the draw or guarantee.*

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 7(i) the last sentence was added by Sec. 402 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 591] [Hospital Employees]

(j) No employer engaged in the operation of a hospital shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) if, pursuant to an agreement or understanding arrived at between the employer and the employee before performance of the work, a work period of fourteen consecutive days is accepted in lieu of the workweek of seven consecutive days for purposes of overtime computation and if, for his employment in excess of eight hours in any workday and in excess of eighty hours in such fourteen-day period, the employee receives compensation at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(j) was added by Sec. 403 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 600] WAGE ORDERS IN PUERTO RICO AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS [AND AMERICAN SAMOA*]

[¶ 601] [Convening of Industry Committee]

Sec. 8. (a) The policy of this Act with respect to industries or enterprises in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce is to reach as rapidly as is economically feasible without substantially curtailing employment the objective of a minimum wage prescribed in paragraph (1) of section 6(a) in each such industry. The Secretary shall from time to time convene an industry committee or committees, appointed pursuant to section 5, and any such industry committee shall from time to time recommend the minimum rate or rates of wages to be paid under section 6 by employers in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, or in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or in any enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce in any such industry or classification therein. Minimum rates of wages established in accordance with this section which are not equal to the minimum wage rate prescribed in paragraph (1) of section 6(a) shall be reviewed by such a committee once during each biennial period, beginning with the biennial period commencing July 1, 1958, except that the Secretary, in his discretion, may order an additional review during any such biennial period.

[¶ 602] [Investigation of Conditions in Industry]

(b) Upon the convening of any such industry committee, the Secretary shall refer to it the question of the minimum wage rate or rates to be fixed for such industry. The industry committee shall investigate conditions in the industry and the committee, or any authorized subcommittee thereof, shall after due notice hear such witnesses and receive such evidence as may be necessary

* Section 8 relates to American Samoa by reason of Section 6(a)(3) added in 1956. See ¶ 563.

or appropriate to enable the committee to perform its duties and functions under this Act. The committee shall recommend to the Secretary the highest minimum wage rates for the industry which it determines, having due regard to economic and competitive conditions, will not substantially curtail employment in the industry, and will not give any industry in Puerto Rico or in the Virgin Islands a competitive advantage over any industry in the United States outside of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

[¶ 603] [Recommendations by Industry Committee]

(c) The industry committee shall recommend such reasonable classifications within any industry as it determines to be necessary for the purpose of fixing for each classification within such industry the highest minimum wage rate (not in excess of that prescribed in paragraph (1) of section 6(a)) which (1) will not substantially curtail employment in such classification and (2) will not give a competitive advantage to any group in the industry, and shall recommend for each classification in the industry the highest minimum wage rate which the committee determines will not substantially curtail employment in such classification. In determining whether such classifications should be made in any industry, in making such classifications, and in determining the minimum wage rates for such classifications, no classifications shall be made, and no minimum wage rate shall be fixed, solely on a regional basis, but the industry committee shall consider among other relevant factors the following:

(1) competitive conditions as affected by transportation, living, and production costs;

(2) the wages established for work of like or comparable character by collective labor agreements negotiated between employers and employees by representatives of their own choosing; and

(3) the wages paid for work of like or comparable character by employers who voluntarily maintain minimum wage standards in the industry.

No classification shall be made under this section on the basis of age or sex.

[¶ 604] [Recommendations Effective After Publication]

(d) The industry committee shall file with the Secretary a report containing its findings of fact and recommendations with respect to the matters referred to it. Upon the filing of such report, the Secretary shall publish such recommendations in the Federal Register and shall provide by order that the recommendations contained in such report shall take effect upon the expiration of 15 days after the date of such publication.

[¶ 605] [Contents of Orders—Effective Date]

(e) Orders issued under this section shall define the industries and classifications therein to which they are to apply, and shall contain such terms and conditions as the Secretary finds necessary to carry out the purposes of such orders, to prevent the circumvention or evasion thereof, and to safeguard the minimum wage rates established therein.

[¶ 606] [Notice of Hearing—Publication]

(f) Due notice of any hearing provided for in this section shall be given by publication in the Federal Register and by such other means as the Secretary deems reasonably calculated to give general notice to interested persons.

[¶ 610] ATTENDANCE OF WITNESSES

Sec. 9. For the purpose of any hearing or investigation provided for in this Act, the provisions of sections 9 and 10 (relating to the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents) of the Federal Trade Commission Act of September 26, 1914, as amended (U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 15, secs. 49 and 50), are hereby made applicable to the jurisdiction, powers, and duties of the Secretary of Labor and the industry committees.

[¶ 620] **COURT REVIEW**

[¶ 621] **[Wage Orders for Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands and American Samoa]**

Sec. 10. (a) Any person aggrieved by an order of the Secretary issued under section 8 may obtain a review of such order in the United States Court of Appeals for any circuit wherein such person resides or has his principal place of business, or in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, by filing in such court, within 60 days after the entry of such order a written petition praying that the order of the Secretary be modified or set aside in whole or in part. A copy of such petition shall forthwith be transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Secretary, and thereupon the Secretary shall file in the court the record of the industry committee upon which the order complained of was entered, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code. Upon the filing of such petition such court shall have exclusive jurisdiction to affirm, modify, or set aside such order in whole or in part, so far as it is applicable to the petitioner. The review by the court shall be limited to questions of law, and findings of fact by such industry committee when supported by substantial evidence shall be conclusive. No objection to the order of the Secretary shall be considered by the court unless such objection shall have been urged before such industry committee or unless there were reasonable grounds for failure so to do. If application is made to the court for leave to adduce additional evidence, and it is shown to the satisfaction of the court that such additional evidence may materially affect the result of the proceeding and that there were reasonable grounds for failure to adduce such evidence in the proceedings before such industry committee, the court may order such additional evidence to be taken before an industry committee and to be adduced upon the hearing in such manner and upon such terms and conditions as to the court may seem proper. Such industry committee may modify the initial findings by reason of the additional evidence so taken, and shall file with the court such modified or new findings which if supported by substantial evidence shall be conclusive, and shall also file its recommendation, if any, for the modification or setting aside of the original order. The judgment and decree of the court shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28 of the United States Code.

[¶ 622] **[Stay of Order by Filing Bond]**

(b) The commencement of proceedings under subsection (a) shall not, unless specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of the Secretary's order. The court shall not grant any stay of the order unless the person complaining of such order shall file in court an undertaking with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the court for the payment to the employees affected by the order, in the event such order is affirmed, of the amount by which the compensation such employees are entitled to receive under the order exceeds the compensation they actually receive while such stay is in effect.

[¶ 630] **INVESTIGATIONS, INSPECTIONS, RECORDS AND HOMEWORK REGULATIONS**

[¶ 631] **[Investigations and Inspections]**

Sec. 11. (a) The Secretary of Labor or his designated representatives may investigate and gather data regarding the wages, hours, and other conditions and practices of employment in any industry subject to this Act, and may enter and inspect such places and such records (and make such transcriptions thereof), question such employees, and investigate such facts, conditions, practices, or matters as he may deem necessary or appropriate to determine whether any person has violated any provision of this Act, or which may aid in the enforcement of the provisions of this Act. Except as provided in section 12 and in subsection (b) of this section, the Secretary shall utilize the bureaus and divisions of the Department of Labor for all the investigations and inspections

necessary under this section. Except as provided in section 12, the Secretary shall bring all actions under section 17 to restrain violations of this Act.

[¶ 632] [Utilization of State Agencies]

(b) With the consent and cooperation of State agencies charged with the administration of State labor laws, the Secretary of Labor may, for the purpose of carrying out his functions and duties under this Act, utilize the services of State and local agencies and their employees and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, may reimburse such State and local agencies and their employees for services rendered for such purposes.

[¶ 633] [Employer Record-Keeping Requirements]

(c) Every employer subject to any provision of this Act or of any order issued under this Act shall make, keep, and preserve such records of the persons employed by him and of the wages, hours, and other conditions and practices of employment maintained by him, and shall preserve such records for such periods of time, and shall make such reports therefrom to the Secretary as he shall prescribe by regulation or order as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act or the regulations or orders thereunder.

[¶ 634] [Homework Regulations]

(d) The Secretary is authorized to make such regulations and orders regulating, restricting, or prohibiting industrial homework as are necessary or appropriate to prevent the circumvention or evasion of and to safeguard the minimum wage rate prescribed in this Act, and all existing regulations or orders of the Secretary relating to industrial homework are hereby continued in full force and effect.

[¶ 640] CHILD LABOR PROVISIONS

[¶ 641] ["Hot Goods" Ban—Innocent Purchasers]

Sec. 12. (a) No producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall ship or deliver for shipment in commerce any goods produced in an establishment situated in the United States in or about which within thirty days prior to the removal of such goods therefrom any oppressive child labor has been employed: *Provided,* That any such shipment or delivery for shipment of such goods by a purchaser who acquired them in good faith in reliance on written assurance from the producer, manufacturer, or dealer that the goods were produced in compliance with the requirements of this section, and who acquired such goods for value without notice of any such violation, shall not be deemed prohibited by this subsection: *And provided further,* That a prosecution and conviction of defendant for the shipment or delivery for shipment of any goods under the conditions herein prohibited shall be a bar to any further prosecution against the same defendant for shipments or deliveries for shipment of any such goods before the beginning of said prosecution.

[¶ 642] [Investigations—Actions]

(b) The Secretary of Labor, or any of his authorized representatives, shall make all investigations and inspections under section 11(a) with respect to the employment of minors, and, subject to the direction and control of the Attorney General, shall bring all actions under section 17 to enjoin any act or practice which is unlawful by reason of the existence of oppressive child labor, and shall administer all other provisions of this Act relating to oppressive child labor.

[¶ 643] [Direct Prohibition of Child Labor]

(c) No employer shall employ any oppressive child labor in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or in any enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce.

[¶ 649] **EXEMPTIONS**

[¶ 650] **[Minimum-Wage, Equal-Pay and Overtime-Pay Exemptions]**

Sec. 13. (a) The provisions of sections 6 and 7 shall not apply with respect to—

[¶ 651] [Executive, Administrative, Professional Employees]

(1) any employee employed in a bona fide executive, administrative, or professional capacity *(including any employee employed in the capacity of academic administrative personnel or teacher in elementary or secondary schools)* or in the capacity of outside salesman (as such terms are defined and delimited from time to time by regulations of the Secretary, subject to the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act, except that an employee of a retail or service establishment shall not be excluded from the definition of employee employed in a bona fide executive or administrative capacity because of the number of hours in his workweek which he devotes to activities not directly or closely related to the performance of executive or administrative activities, if less than 40 per centum of his hours worked in the workweek are devoted to such activities); or

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 13(a)(1) was amended by Sec. 214 of the FLS Amendments of 1966 to add "(including any employee employed in the capacity of academic administrative personnel or teacher in elementary or secondary schools)".

[¶ 652] [Retail or Service Establishments]

(2) any employee employed by any retail or service establishment (except an establishment or employee engaged in laundering, cleaning, or repairing clothing or fabrics or an establishment engaged in the operation of a hospital, institution, or school described in section 3(s)(4)), if more than 50 per centum of such establishment's annual dollar volume of sales of goods or services is made within the State in which the establishment is located, and such establishment is not in an enterprise described in section 3(s) or such establishment has an annual dollar volume of sales which is less than $250,000 (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated). A "retail or service establishment" shall mean an establishment 75 per centum of whose annual dollar volume of sales of goods or services (or of both) is not for resale and is recognized as retail sales or services in the particular industry; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(2) was amended by Sec. 201(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment it read as follows:

"(2) any employee employed by any retail or service establishment, more than 50 per centum of which establishment's annual dollar volume of sales of goods or services is made within the State in which the establishment is located, if such establishment—

"(i) is not in an enterprise described in section 3(s), or

"(ii) is in such an enterprise and is a hotel, motel, restaurant, motion picture theater; or is an amusement or recreational establishment that operates on a seasonal basis, or

"(iii) is in such an enterprise and is a hospital, or an institution which is primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective, residing on the premises of such institution, or a school for physically or mentally handicapped or gifted children, or

"(iv) is in such an enterprise and has an annual dollar volume of sales (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated) which is less than $250,000.

"A 'retail or service establishment' shall mean an establishment 75 per centum of whose annual dollar volume of sales of goods or services (or of both) is not for resale and is recognized as retail sales or services in the particular industry; or"

[¶ 653] [Amusement or Recreational Establishment]

(3) any employee employed by an establishment which is an amusement or recreational establishment, if (A) it does not operate for more than seven months in any calendar year, or (B) during the preceding calendar year, its average receipts for any six months of such year were not more than 33⅓ per centum of its average receipts for the other six months of such year; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(3) was added by Sec. 201(b)(2) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A similar exemption previously appeared in Sec. 13(a)(2)(ii).

[¶ 654] **[Manufacturing Retailers]**

(4) any employee employed by an establishment which qualifies as an exempt retail establishment under clause (2) of this subsection and is recognized as a retail establishment in the particular industry notwithstanding that such establishment makes or processes at the retail establishment the goods that it sells: *Provided,* That more than 85 per centum of such establishment's annual dollar volume of sales of goods so made or processed is made within the State in which the establishment is located; or

[¶ 655] **[Fishing and Seafood]**

(5) any employee employed in the catching, taking, propagating, harvesting, cultivating, or farming of any kind of fish, shellfish, crustacea, sponges, seaweeds, or other aquatic forms of animal and vegetable life, or in the first processing, canning or packing such marine products at sea as an incident to, or in conjunction with, such fishing operations, including the going to and returning from work and loading and unloading when performed by any such employee; or

[¶ 656] **[Agricultural Employees]**

(6) any employee employed in agriculture (A) if such employee is employed by an employer who did not, during any calendar quarter during the preceding calendar year, use more than five hundred man-days of agricultural labor, (B) if such employee is the parent, spouse, child, or other member of his employer's immediate family, (C) if such employee (i) is employed as a hand harvest laborer and is paid on a piece rate basis in an operation which has been, and is customarily and generally recognized as having been, paid on a piece rate basis in the region of employment, (ii) commutes daily from his permanent residence to the farm on which he is so employed, and (iii) has been employed in agriculture less than thirteen weeks during the preceding calendar year, (D) if such employee (other than an employee described in clause (C) of this subsection) (i) is sixteen years of age or under and is employed as a hand harvest laborer, is paid on a piece rate basis in an operation which has been, and is customarily and generally recognized as having been, paid on a piece rate basis in the region of employment, (ii) is employed on the same farm as his parent or person standing in the place of his parent, and (iii) is paid at the same piece rate as employees over age sixteen are paid on the same farm, or (E) if such employee is principally engaged in the range production of livestock; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(6) was amended by Sec. 203(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment it read as follows:

(6) any employee employed in agriculture or in connection with the operation or maintenance of ditches, canals, reservoirs, or waterways, not owned or operated for profit, or operated on a share-crop basis, and which are used exclusively for supply and storing of water for agricultural purposes; or

[¶ 657] **[Learners, Apprentices, Students, and Handicapped Workers]**

(7) any employee to the extent that such employee is exempted by regulation, order, *or certificate* of the Secretary issued under section 14; or

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 13(a)(7) was amended by Sec. 215(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966 by adding the words "or certificate".

[¶ 658] **[Local Newspapers]**

(8) any employee employed in connection with the publication of any weekly, semiweekly, or daily newspaper with a circulation of less than four thousand the major part of which circulation is within the county *where published* or counties contiguous thereto; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(8) was amended by Sec. 205 of the FLS Amendments of 1966 by inserting "where published" in lieu of "where printed and published."

[¶ 659] [Motion Picture Theater Employees]

(9) any employee employed by an establishment which is a motion picture theater; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(9) was added by Sec. 207 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A similar exemption previously appeared in Sec. 13(a)(2)(ii).

[¶ 660] [Switchboard Operators]

(10) any switchboard operator employed by an independently owned public telephone company which has not more than seven hundred and fifty stations; or

[¶ 661] [Telegraph Message Service]

(11) any employee or proprietor in a retail or service establishment which qualifies as an exempt retail or service establishment under clause (2) of this subsection with respect to whom the provisions of sections 6 and 7 would not otherwise apply, engaged in handling telegraphic messages for the public under an agency or contract arrangement with a telegraph company where the telegraph message revenue of such agency does not exceed $500 a month; or

[¶ 662] [Seamen on Non-American Vessels]

(12) any employee employed as a seaman on a vessel other than an American vessel; or

[¶ 663] [Forestry and Logging Operations]

(13) any employee employed in planting or tending trees, cruising, surveying, or felling timber, or in preparing or transporting logs or other forestry products to the mill, processing plant, railroad, or other transportation terminal, if the number of employees employed by his employer in such forestry or lumbering operations does not exceed *eight;* or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(13) was amended by Sec. 208 of the FLS Amendments of 1966 by inserting "eight" in lieu of "twelve".

[¶ 664] [Shade-grown Tobacco]

(14) any agricultural employee employed in the growing and harvesting of shade-grown tobacco who is engaged in the processing (including, but not limited to, drying, curing, fermenting, bulking, rebulking, sorting, grading, aging, and baling) of such tobacco, prior to the stemming process, for use as cigar wrapper tobacco.

[¶ 680] [Overtime-Pay Exemptions]

(b) The provisions of section 7 shall not apply with respect to—

[¶ 681] [Motor Carriers]

(1) any employee with respect to whom the Secretary of Transportation has power to establish qualifications and maximum hours of service pursuant to the provisions of section 204 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935; or

[¶ 682] [Railroads, Express Companies, Pipeline and Water Carriers]

(2) any employee of an employer subject to the provisions of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act; or

[¶ 683] [Air Carriers]

(3) any employee of a carrier by air subject to the provisions of title II of the Railway Labor Act; or

[¶ 684] [Seafood Processing]

(4) any employee employed in the canning, processing, marketing, freezing, curing, storing, packing for shipment, or distributing of any kind of fish, shellfish, or other aquatic forms of animal or vegetable life, or any byproduct thereof; or

[¶ 685] **[Buyers of Poultry and Dairy Products]**

(5) any individual employed as an outside buyer of poultry, eggs, cream, or milk, in their raw or natural state; or

[¶ 686] **[Seamen]**

(6) any employee employed as a seaman; or

[¶ 687] **[Local Transportation]**

(7) any driver, operator, or conductor employed by an employer engaged in the business of operating a street, suburban or interurban electric railway, or local trolley or motorbus carrier, if the rates and services of such railway or carrier are subject to regulation by a State or local agency; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(7) was amended by Sec. 206(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(7) any employee of a street, suburban, or interurban electric railway, or local trolley or motorbus carrier; or"

[¶ 688] **[Hotel, Motel, Restaurant or Nursing Home]**

(8) any employee employed by an establishment which is a hotel, motel, or restaurant; or any employee who (A) is employed by an establishment which is an institution (other than a hospital) primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, or the mentally ill or defective who reside on the premises, and (B) receives compensation for employment in excess of forty-eight hours in any workweek at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(8) was added by Sec. 201(b)(1) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A similar exemption previously appeared in Sec. 13(a)(2)(ii).

[¶ 689] **[Radio and Television Employees]**

(9) any employee employed as an announcer, news editor, or chief engineer by a radio or television station the major studio of which is located (A) in a city or town of one hundred thousand population or less, according to the latest available decennial census figures as compiled by the Bureau of the Census, except where such city or town is part of a standard metropolitan statistical area, as defined and designated by the Bureau of the Budget, which has a total population in excess of one hundred thousand, or (B) in a city or town of twenty-five thousand population or less, which is part of such an area but is at least 40 airline miles from the principal city in such area; or

[¶ 690] **[Automobile, Aircraft, and Farm Implement Sales]**

(10) any salesman, partsman, or mechanic primarily engaged in selling or servicing automobiles, trailers, trucks, farm implements, or aircraft if employed by a nonmanufacturing establishment primarily engaged in the business of selling such vehicles to ultimate purchasers; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(10), which is similar to the wording that formerly appeared in Sec. 13(a)(19), was added by Sec. 209(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 691] **[Local Truck Deliveries]**

(11) any employee employed as a driver or driver's helper making local deliveries, who is compensated for such employment on the basis of trip rates, or other delivery payment plan, if the Secretary shall find that such plan has the general purpose and effect of reducing hours worked by such employees to, or below, the maximum workweek applicable to them under section 7(a); or

[¶ 692] **[Agriculture—Irrigation Projects]**

(12) any employee employed in agriculture or in connection with the operation or maintenance of ditches, canals, reservoirs, or waterways, not owned or operated for profit, or operated on a sharecrop basis, and which are used exclusively for supply and storing of water for agricultural purposes; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(12), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(6), was added by Sec. 203(c)(B) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 693] **[Livestock Auction Operations]**

(13) any employee with respect to his employment in agriculture by a farmer, notwithstanding other employment of such employee in connection with livestock auction operations in which such farmer is engaged as an adjunct to the raising of livestock, either on his own account or in conjunction with other farmers, if such employee (A) is primarily employed during his workweek in agriculture by such farmer, and (B) is paid for his employment in connection with such livestock auction operations at a wage rate not less than that prescribed by section 6(a)(1); or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(13), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(16), was added by Sec. 203(c)(B) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 694] **[Country Elevator Employees]**

(14) any employee employed within the area of production (as defined by the Secretary) by an establishment commonly recognized as a country elevator, including such an establishment which sells products and services used in the operation of a farm, if no more than five employees are employed in the establishment in such operations; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(14), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(17), was added by Sec. 204(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 695] **[Cotton Ginning and Sugar Processing Employees]**

(15) any employee engaged in ginning of cotton for market, in any place of employment located in a county where cotton is grown in commercial quantities, or in the processing of sugar beets, sugar-beet molasses, sugarcane, or maple sap, into sugar (other than refined sugar) or syrup; or

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 13(b)(15) was added by Sec. 204(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Similar wording previously appeared in Secs. 7(c) and 13(a)(18).

[¶ 696] **[Fruit and Vegetable Transportation Employees]**

(16) any employee engaged (A) in the transportation and preparation for transportation of fruits or vegetables, whether or not performed by the farmer, from the farm to a place of first processing or first marketing within the same State, or (B) in transportation, whether or not performed by the farmer, between the farm and any point within the same State of persons employed or to be employed in the harvesting of fruits or vegetables; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(16), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(22), was added by Sec. 204(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 697] **[Taxicab Drivers]**

(17) any driver employed by an employer engaged in the business of operating taxicabs; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(17), which has wording similar to that contained in former Sec. 13(a)(12), was added by Sec. 206(b)(2) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 698] **[Food Service Employees]**

(18) any employee of a retail or service establishment who is employed primarily in connection with the preparation or offering of food or beverages for human consumption, either on the premises, or by such services as catering, banquet, box lunch, or curb or counter service, to the public, to employees, or to members or guests of members of clubs; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(18), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(20), was added by Sec. 210(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 699] **[Bowling Establishments]**

(19) any employee of a bowling establishment if such employee receives compensation for employment in excess of forty-eight hours in any workweek at

a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(19) was added by Sec. 210(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 710] [Child-Labor Exemptions]

(c)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply with respect to any employee employed in agriculture outside of school hours for the school district where such employee is living while he is so employed.

(2) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall apply to an employee below the age of sixteen employed in agriculture in an occupation that the Secretary of Labor finds and declares to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children below the age of sixteen, except where such employee is employed by his parent or by a person standing in the place of his parent on a farm owned or operated by such parent or person.

(3) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply to any child employed as an actor or performer in motion pictures or theatrical productions, or in radio or television productions.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(c) was amended to read as above by Sec. 203(d) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(c) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply with respect to any employee employed in agriculture outside of school hours for the school district where such employee is living while he is so employed, or to any child employed as an actor or performer in motion pictures or theatrical productions, or in radio or television productions."

[¶ 711] [Newsboys and Wreath Production—Minimum Wage, Overtime Pay and Child-Labor Exemptions]

(d) The provisions of sections 6, 7, and 12 shall not apply with respect to any employee engaged in the delivery of newspaper to the consumer or to any homeworker engaged in the making of wreaths composed principally of natural holly, pine, cedar, or other evergreens (including the harvesting of the evergreens or other forest products used in making such wreaths).

[¶ 712] [Overtime-Pay Exemption for American Samoa]

(e) The provisions of section 7 shall not apply with respect to employees for whom the Secretary of Labor is authorized to establish minimum wage rates as provided in section 6(a)(3), except with respect to employees for whom such rates are in effect; and with respect to such employees the Secretary may make rules and regulations providing reasonable limitations and allowing reasonable variations, tolerances, and exemptions to and from any or all of the provisions of section 7 if he shall find, after a public hearing on the matter, and taking into account the factors set forth in section 6(a)(3), that economic conditions warrant such action.

[¶ 713] [Exemption for Certain Overseas Employment]

(f) The provisions of sections 6, 7, 11, and 12 shall not apply with respect to any employee whose services during the workweek are performed in a workplace within a foreign country or within territory under the jurisdiction of the United States other than the following: a State of the United States; the District of Columbia; Puerto Rico; the Virgin Islands; outer Continental Shelf lands defined in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (ch. 345, 67 Stat. 462); American Samoa; Guam; Wake Island; *Eniwetok Atoll; Kwajalein Atoll; Johnston Island;* and the Canal Zone.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(f) was amended by Sec. 213 of the FLS Amendments of 1966 by adding the words "Eniwetok Atoll; Kwajalein Atoll; Johnston Island."

[¶ 720] LEARNERS, APPRENTICES, STUDENTS, AND HANDICAPPED WORKERS

[¶ 721] Authority of Secretary of Labor

Sec. 14. *(a) The Secretary of Labor, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by regulations or by orders provide for the employment of learners, of apprentices, and of messengers employed primarily in delivering letters and messages, under special certificates issued pursuant to regulations of the Secretary, at such wages lower than the minimum wage applicable under section 6 and subject to such limitations as to time, number, proportion, and length of service as the Secretary shall prescribe.*

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 14(a) was amended to read as above by Sec. 501 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment it read:

"The Secretary of Labor, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by regulations or by orders provide for (1) the employment of learners, of apprentices, of messengers employed primarily in delivering letters and messages and of full-time students outside of their school hours in any retail or service establishment: Provided, That such employment is not of the type ordinarily given to a full-time employee, under special certificates issued pursuant to regulations of the Secretary, at such wages lower than the minimum wage applicable under section 6 and subject to such limitations as to time, number, proportion, and length of service as the Secretary shall prescribe, and (2) the employment of individuals whose earning capacity is impaired by age or physical or mental deficiency or injury, under special certificates issued by the Secretary, at such wages lower than the minimum wage applicable under section 6 and for such period as shall be fixed in such certificates."

[¶ 722] [Students in Retail or Service Establishments]

(b) The Secretary, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by regulation or order provide for the employment of full-time students, regardless of age but in compliance with applicable child labor laws, on a part-time basis in retail or service establishments (not to exceed twenty hours in any workweek) or on a part-time or a full-time basis in such establishments during school vacations, under special certificates issued pursuant to regulations of the Secretary, at a wage rate not less than 85 per centum of the minimum wage applicable under section 6, except that the proportion of student hours of employment to total hours of employment of all employees in any establishment may not exceed (1) such proportion for the corresponding month of the twelve-month period preceding May 1, 1961, (2) in the case of a retail or service establishment whose employees (other than employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce) are covered by this Act for the first time on or after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, such proportion for the corresponding month of the twelve-month period immediately prior to such date, or (3) in the case of a retail or service establishment coming into existence after May 1, 1961, or a retail or service establishment for which records of student hours worked are not available, a proportion of student hours of employment to total hours of employment of all employees based on the practice during the twelve-month period preceding May 1, 1961, in (A) similar establishments of the same employer in the same general metropolitan area in which the new establishment is located, (B) similar establishments of the same employer in the same or nearby counties if the new establishment is not in a metropolitan area, or (C) other establishments of the same general character operating in the community or the nearest comparable community. Before the Secretary may issue a certificate under this subsection he must find that such employment will not create a substantial probability of reducing the full-time employment opportunities of persons other than those employed under this subsection.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 14(b) was added by Sec. 501 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 723] [Students in Agriculture]

(c) The Secretary, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by certificate or order provide for the employment of full-time students, regardless of age but in compliance with applicable child labor laws, on a part-time basis in agriculture (not to exceed twenty hours in any workweek)

or on a part-time or a full-time basis in agriculture during school vacations, at a wage rate not less than 85 per centum of the minimum wage applicable under section 6. Before the Secretary may issue a certificate or order under this subsection he must find that such employment will not create a substantial probability of reducing the full-time employment opportunities of persons other than those employed under this subsection.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 14(c) was added by Sec. 501 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 724] [Handicapped Workers]

(d)(1) Except as otherwise provided in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection, the Secretary of Labor, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by regulation or order provide for the employment under special certificates of individuals (including individuals employed in agriculture) whose earning or productive capacity is impaired by age or physical or mental deficiency or injury, at wages which are lower than the minimum wage applicable under section 6 of this Act but not less than 50 per centum of such wage and which are commensurate with those paid nonhandicapped workers in industry in the vicinity for essentially the same type, quality, and quantity of work.

(2) The Secretary, pursuant to such regulations as he shall prescribe and upon certification of the State agency administering or supervising the administration of vocational rehabilitation services, may issue special certificates for the employment of—

(A) handicapped workers engaged in work which is incidental to training or evaluation programs, and

(B) multihandicapped individuals and other individuals whose earning capacity is so severely impaired that they are unable to engage in competitive employment,

at wages which are less than those required by this subsection and which are related to the worker's productivity.

(3)(A) The Secretary may by regulation or order provide for the employment of handicapped clients in work activities centers under special certificates at wages which are less than the minimums applicable under section 6 of this Act or prescribed by paragraph (1) of this subsection and which constitute equitable compensation for such clients in work activities centers.

(B) For purposes of this section, the term "work activities centers" shall mean centers planned and designed exclusively to provide therapeutic activities for handicapped clients whose physical or mental impairment is so severe as to make their productive capacity inconsequential.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 14(d) was added by Sec. 501 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 730] PROHIBITED ACTS; PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE

[¶ 731] [Unlawful Activities]

Sec. 15. (a) After the expiration of one hundred and twenty days from the date of enactment of this [original] Act, it shall be unlawful for any person—

(1) to transport, offer for transportation, ship, deliver, or sell in commerce, or to ship, deliver, or sell with knowledge that shipment or delivery or sale thereof in commerce is intended, any goods in the production of which any employee was employed in violation of section 6 or section 7, or in violation of any regulation or order of the Secretary issued under section 14; except that no provision of this Act shall impose any liability upon any common carrier for the transportation in commerce in the regular course of its business of any goods not produced by such common carrier, and no provision of this Act shall excuse any common carrier from its

obligation to accept any goods for transportation; and except that any such transportation, offer, shipment, delivery, or sale of such goods by a purchaser who acquired them in good faith in reliance on written assurance from the producer that the goods were produced in compliance with the requirements of the Act, and who acquired such goods for value without notice of any such violation, shall not be deemed unlawful;

(2) to violate any of the provisions of section 6 or section 7, or any of the provisions of any regulation or order by the Secretary issued under section 14;

(3) to discharge or in any other manner discriminate against any employee because such employee has filed any complaint or instituted or caused to be instituted any proceeding under or related to this Act, or has testified or is about to testify in any such proceeding, or has served or is about to serve on an industry committee;

(4) to violate any of the provisions of section 12;

(5) to violate any of the provisions of section 11(c) or any regulation or order made or continued in effect under the provisions of section 11(d), or to make any statement, report, or record filed or kept pursuant to the provisions of such section or of any regulation or order thereunder, knowing such statement, report, or record to be false in a material respect.

[¶ 732] [Employment as Prima Facie Evidence]

(b) For the purposes of subsection (a)(1) proof that any employee was employed in any place of employment where goods shipped or sold in commerce were produced, within ninety days prior to the removal of the goods from such place of employment shall be prima facie evidence that such employee was engaged in the production of such goods.

[¶ 740] PENALTIES; CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LIABILITY; WAIVER OF CLAIMS; ACTIONS BY SECRETARY; LIMITATION OF ACTIONS

[¶ 741] [Criminal Actions]

Sec. 16. (a) Any person who willfully violates any of the provisions of section 15 shall upon conviction thereof be subject to a fine of not more than $10,000, or to imprisonment for not more than six months, or both. No person shall be imprisoned under this subsection except for an offense committed after the conviction of such person for a prior offense under this subsection.

[¶ 742] [Wage Suits by Employees]

(b) Any employer who violates the provisions of section 6 or section 7 of this Act shall be liable to the employee or employees affected in the amount of their unpaid minimum wages, or their unpaid overtime compensation, as the case may be, and in an additional equal amount as liquidated damages. Action to recover such liability may be maintained in any court of competent jurisdiction by any one or more employees for and in behalf of himself or themselves and other employees similarly situated. No employee shall be a party plaintiff to any such action unless he gives his consent in writing to become such a party and such consent is filed in the court in which such action is brought. The court in such action shall, in addition to any judgment awarded to the plaintiff or plaintiffs, allow a reasonable attorney's fee to be paid by the defendant, and costs of the action. The right provided by this subsection to bring an action by or on behalf of any employee, and the right of any employee to become a party plaintiff to any such action, shall terminate upon the filing of a com-

plaint by the Secretary of Labor in an action under section 17 in which restraint is sought of any further delay in the payment of unpaid minimum wages, or the amount of unpaid overtime compensation, as the case may be, owing to such employee under section 6 or section 7 of this Act by an employer liable therefor under the provisions of this subsection.

[¶ 743] [Wage Collections by Government]

(c) The Secretary is authorized to supervise the payment of the unpaid minimum wages or the unpaid overtime compensation owing to any employee or employees under section 6 or section 7 of this Act, and the agreement of any employee to accept such payment shall upon payment in full constitute a waiver by such employee of any right he may have under subsection (b) of this section to such unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation and an additional equal amount as liquidated damages. When a written request is filed by any employee with the Secretary claiming unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation under section 6 or section 7 of this Act, the Secretary may bring an action in any court of competent jurisdiction to recover the amount of such claim: *Provided,* That this authority to sue shall not be used by the Secretary in any case involving an issue of law which has not been settled finally by the courts, and in any such case no court shall have jurisdiction over such action or proceeding initiated or brought by the Secretary if it does involve any issue of law not so finally settled. The consent of any employee to the bringing of any such action by the Secretary, unless such action is dismissed without prejudice on motion of the Secretary, shall constitute a waiver by such employee of any right of action he may have under subsection (b) of this section for such unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation and an additional equal amount as liquidated damages. Any sums thus recovered by the Secretary on behalf of an employee pursuant to this subsection shall be held in a special deposit account and shall be paid, on order of the Secretary, directly to the employee or employees affected. Any such sums not paid to an employee because of inability to do so within a period of three years shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts. In determining when an action is commenced by the Secretary under this subsection for the purposes of the *statutes* of limitations provided in section 6(a) of the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947, it shall be considered to be commenced in the case of any individual claimant on the date when the complaint is filed if he is specifically named as a party plaintiff in the complaint, or if his name did not so appear, on the subsequent date on which his name is added as a party plaintiff in such action.

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 16(c) was amended by Sec. 601(a) to insert the word "statutes" in lieu of "two-year statute".

[¶ 744] [Relief from Liability for Employers in American Samoa and Other Overseas Areas]

(d) In any action or proceeding commenced prior to, on, or after the date of enactment of this subsection [ch. 1035, 70 Stat. 1118, effective August 8, 1956], no employer shall be subject to any liability or punishment under this Act or the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947 on account of his failure to comply with any provision or provisions of such Acts (1) with respect to work heretofore or hereafter performed in a workplace to which the exemption in section 13(f) is applicable, (2) with respect to work performed in Guam, the Canal Zone, or Wake Island before the effective date of this amendment of subsection (d), or (3) with respect to work performed in a possession named in section 6(a)(3) at any time prior to the establishment by the Secretary, as provided therein, of a minimum wage rate applicable to such work.

[¶ 750] **INJUNCTION PROCEEDINGS**

Sec. 17. The district courts, together with the United States District Court for the District of the Canal Zone, the District Court of the Virgin Islands, and the District Court of Guam shall have jurisdiction, for cause shown, to restrain violations of section 15, including in the case of violations of section 15(a)(2) the restraint of any withholding of payment of minimum wages or overtime compensation found by the court to be due to employees under this Act (except sums which employees are barred from recovering, at the time of the commencement of the action to restrain the violations, by virtue of the provisions of section 6 of the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947).

[¶ 760] **RELATION TO OTHER LAWS**

[¶ 761] **[Compliance with Stricter Laws]**

Sec. 18. (a) No provision of this Act or of any order thereunder shall excuse noncompliance with any Federal or State law or municipal ordinance establishing a minimum wage higher than the minimum wage established under this Act or a maximum workweek lower than the maximum workweek established under this Act, and no provision of this Act relating to the employment of child labor shall justify noncompliance with any Federal or State law or municipal ordinance establishing a higher standard than the standard established under this Act. No provision of this Act shall justify any employer in reducing a wage paid by him which is in excess of the applicable minimum wage under this Act, or justify any employer in increasing hours of employment maintained by him which are shorter than the maximum hours applicable under this Act.

[¶ 762] **[Federal Employees]**

(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act (other than section 13(f)) or any other law, any employee—

(1) described in paragraph (7) of section 202 of the Classification Act of 1949 (5 U. S. C. 1082(7)) whose compensation is required to be fixed and adjusted from time to time as nearly as is consistent with the public interest in accordance with prevailing rates, and any Federal employee in the Canal Zone engaged in employment of the kind described in such paragraph (7), or

(2) described in section 7474 of title 10, United States Code, whose rates of wages are established to conform, as nearly as is consistent with the public interest, with those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity, or

(3) employed in a nonappropriated fund instrumentality under the jurisdiction of the Armed Forces,

shall have his basic compensation fixed or adjusted at a wage rate which is not less than the appropriate wage rate provided for in section 6(a)(1) of this Act (except that the wage rate provided for in section 6(b) shall apply to any employee who performed services during the workweek in a work place within the Canal Zone), and shall have his overtime compensation set at an hourly rate not less than the overtime rate provided for in section 7(a)(1) of this Act.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 18(b) was added by Sec. 306 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 770] **SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS**

Sec. 19. If any provision of this Act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

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WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH, 1966

Despite the much-publicized evidence of "white backlash" in the 1966 November elections, the growing Negro vote proved itself a major factor in elections across the South.

This was the finding in a post-election survey conducted during November by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Election results gathered by VEP in 11 Southern states show that Negroes supplied the winning margin for a U. S. senator, one and probably two governors, and at least two U. S. House members.

In addition, Negro voters helped throw the two party nominees in the Georgia governor's race into a deadlock. And they helped a Senate newcomer to outpoll an established political name in separate Senate races in Virginia.

Twenty Negroes were elected to state legislatures in the South---an increase of nine. And Negroes were elected to county-level posts---in one case, to the office of sheriff---in such Deep South states as Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi.

The Negro vote clearly provided the margin for Winthrop Rockefeller's election as governor of Arkansas. The Republican candidate received approximately 300,000 votes. The Democratic candidate, ardent segregationist Jim Johnson, got about 255,000 votes.

An estimated 80,000 to 90,000 Negroes voted, more than 90 per cent of them for Rockefeller. Thus Negroes supplied Rockefeller's margin of 45,000, with plenty to spare.

Negro registration in Arkansas is estimated at between 115,000 and 120,000. If the turnout is put at 80,000, which VEP sources say would be a conservative figure, this would be two thirds of the registration.

Negro voters in South Carolina plainly provided the margin for a U. S. senator and probably for a governor.

Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings was elected to the Senate over Republican candidate Marshall J. Parker by a mere 12,000 votes. Gov. Robert E. McNair defeated Republican challenger Joseph O. Rogers, Jr. by a more comfortable 72,000 votes.

The Negro turnout was estimated at 100,000---just over half the Negro registration of 191,000. The Negro vote went almost totally Democratic.

Bucking the tide was Sen. Strom Thurmond, a Republican who won reelection by over 100,000 votes despite the solidly Democratic Negro vote.

All the same, wrote one Carolina newsman: "One, and only one, general conclusion appears possible: Neither party can win statewide or congressional races in South Carolina without Negro voting support."

Commenting on his race, Hollings said Parker "generated the Negro bloc vote, insulted them on the basis that they could be bought" and thus "corralled them into my corner."

In North Carolina's Fifth Congressional District, Negroes provided the victory margin for Democrat Nick Galifianakis over Republican G. Fred Steele, Jr. Returns from eight predominantly Negro precincts in Forsyth County gave Galifianakis 5,156 votes to Steele's 284. Four predominantly Negro precincts in Durham County gave Galifianakis 2,400 and Steele 163. Galifianakis won by 5,300 votes.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH, 1966 -- 3.

In the Sixth Congressional District, Rep. Horace R. Kornegay found himself in a tight race as Greensboro Negroes switched their support on election eve to Republican Richard B. Barnwell. Kornegay, considered a solid favorite, had his victory margin trimmed to fewer than 2,700 votes. Kornegay has voted consistently against civil rights and Great Society programs.

Negroes provided the margin for Democrat Ray Blanton over Republican Julius Hurst in West Tennessee's Seventh Congressional District. Blanton won by about 2,700 votes, despite the fact that the district went for Republican Howard Baker in the U. S. Senate race by 3,000 votes. Nine predominantly Negro precincts in Memphis gave Blanton 7,824 votes to Hurst's 353.

Baker sought Negro support in his race against Democrat Frank Clement and thus cut into the latter's vote total across the state. Baker won decisively by 100,000 votes. Clement had edged Sen. Ross Bass in the Democratic primary by drawing away some Negro support from Bass in a close contest.

In Memphis, in the Ninth Congressional District, redistricting and a non-presidential year drop-off in the Negro turnout caused Rep. George W. Grider to lose to conservative Republican Dan Kuykendall. Grider lost by 4,000 votes.

Six Negroes were elected to the Tennessee Legislature ---an increase of five. Three are from Memphis, two from Nashville, and one from Knoxville. The latter was the only Democrat elected to Knox County's eight-man legislative delegation.

Returns from selected precincts indicated that about half of Georgia's 300,000 registered Negroes voted. Their votes were split about evenly between Republican Howard (Bo) Callaway and write-in candidate Ellis Arnall. Reports indicate that thousands of write-in votes were not counted because of misspellings and other technicalities.

Arch-segregationist Democrat Lester Maddox received a scattering of Negro votes. In some areas he was the beneficiary of straight-party voting, as was Mrs. Wallace in Alabama.

Neither Callaway nor Maddox received the required majority, and the whole issue immediately landed in the courts. Callaway got 451,032 votes and Maddox 448,598, with the Arnall write-in campaign receiving 57,832. However, Arnall leaders contended that only about half the write-in votes actually got counted and reported.

Negroes won 11 seats in the Georgia Legislature---an increase of one. The new legislator is from Augusta. The total includes Julian Bond of Atlanta, who again was elected to the seat that had been denied him by the Georgia House.

Negro county commission candidates were elected in Liberty, McIntosh and Hancock counties. In addition, a Negro was elected to the school board in Hancock County, which in the general election became the first Georgia county to have federal poll watchers.

Three Negroes were elected to the Legislature in Texas ---two in Houston and one in Dallas. One, Miss Barbara Jordan, a Houston attorney, was elected to the Senate. They are the first Negroes to be elected to the Texas Legislature in this century.

Alabama Negroes, faced with choosing between two segregationists who were the major candidates in the governor's race, did not turn out as heavily as they did in the May primaries. Returns from selected precincts and counties indicate that, in most cases, the Negro turnout was less than half the registration. The May 3 turnout was estimated at 74 per cent. Negro registration in Alabama stands at just under 250,000.

With no clear choice to make between the two major candidates, Negroes divided their votes between Democrat Lurleen Wallace, Republican Jim Martin, and independent Carl Robinson. Mrs. Wallace, wife of Alabama's stormy outgoing

governor, was an easy winner with more than 500,000 votes. Martin polled 252,000 votes and Robinson 46,000. In some areas Martin ran ahead in predominantly Negro boxes and in others Mrs. Wallace did. But in many cases, the front-runner among Negroes was the third candidate, Robinson.

In the Senate race, Negroes voted heavily for Sen. John Sparkman over Republican John Grenier. Sparkman won handily, 482,000 to 313,000.

Five Negroes were elected to office in Black Belt counties. Among them was Lucius Amerson, who turned back a write-in effort to be elected sheriff of Macon County.

In Dallas County, meanwhile, Sheriff Jim Clark's write-in campaign also failed. Clark, one of the nation's better-known segregationists, had been defeated in the May primaries by Wilson Baker, who had the help of Negro votes. Baker narrowly defeated Clark's general election write-in try.

In Lowndes County, an outnumbered but unified white vote prevailed over the independent Lowndes County Freedom Party ("Black Panther") slate. A light Negro turn-out and the fact that some Negroes voted for white candidates contributed to the defeat of the "Black Panther" slate. A 53-year-old Negro was assaulted in Lowndes, it was reported, as he waited to pick up an election clerk. There were charges that intimidation kept some Negroes from voting.

State Senator William B. Spong coasted to an easy victory in one of two Virginia contests for the U. S. Senate. Spong amassed about 425,000 votes, against some 243,000 for his Republican challenger and 58,000 for the Conservative candidate.

In Virginia's other U. S. Senate race Harry F. Byrd, Jr. won. However, Byrd ran considerably behind Spong with 383,000 votes. Spong had more than 58 per cent of the vote in his race, whereas Byrd had 54 per cent in his.

At least part of the difference is explained by the Negro support Spong received. Many Negroes who supported Spong voted for Byrd's Republican opponent, Lawrence M. Traylor.

With Negro support, Spong narrowly defeated Sen. Willis Robertson during the summer for the Democratic nomination.

However, George C. Rawlings, Jr., who last summer unseated congressional powerhouse Howard W. Smith with the help of Negro votes, was defeated in the general election by Republican William L. Scott in Virginia's Eighth District. Smith supporters teamed with Republicans to down Rawlings. Scott called it a "bipartisan victory," but he added that "many factors" were involved.

Similarly, Republican Claude Kirk was elected governor of Florida with the help of Gov. Haydon Burns, the incumbent Democrat who was defeated in the primary. Kirk rolled up 821,000 votes against Robert King High's 668,000.

"White backlash" undoubtedly helped Kirk. Florida voters last May rejected Burns' suggestion that they "follow the lead of the people of Alabama" after the big Wallace landslide. However, they proved more receptive to Kirk's somewhat more subtle position that "a man's home is his castle."

An estimated 50,000 to 55,000 Mississippi Negroes voted, out of approximately 170,000 registered. Their votes in the U. S. Senate race were split among Freedom Democratic Party-backed Clifton Whitley, Republican Prentiss Walker, and Democratic incumbent James O. Eastland. Sen. Eastland was reelected with about 230,000 votes, against Walker's 94,000 and Whitley's 28,000.

A Negro was elected to the school board in Jefferson County, becoming the first of his race to be elected to a county office in Mississippi since Reconstruction. A member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he downed a white candidate by a vote of 225 to 133. Negro candidates running in another half-dozen counties were

defeated. A Negro led a field of six in a race for supervisor in Leflore County, but he lost a runoff election in late November.

Louisiana Negroes gave heavy support---as did the state generally---to a proposal to permit Gov. John J. McKeithen to run for reelection in the 1967 campaigns. The amendment won by a vote of 436,761 to 192,819. Despite the lack of major statewide contests, a sampling of several Negro precincts indicated turnouts in the 50-60 per cent range.

A Negro was elected to the school board in West Feliciana Parish. However, a white write-in campaign defeated a Negro nominee for the school board in Madison Parish. Negroes had been elected during the summer to school boards in East Carroll and Iberville parishes. A Negro candidate also had been elected during the summer in West Feliciana.

Here and there across the South, racially conservative Republicans continued to nudge out moderate and liberal Democrats in congressional races. However, of seven Deep South Republicans who rode the Goldwater tide to victory in 1964, only three were reelected, all in Alabama. Three of the GOP congressmen---Callaway in Georgia, Martin in Alabama, and Walker in Mississippi---sought higher office, and one Republican incumbent in Alabama was defeated. The Callaway race is still undecided, and the Martin and Walker bids were unsuccessful.

Negro registration in 11 Southern states now stands at 2.7 million. In 1962 it was 1.5 million; in 1964, 2.2 million. Current white registration in the South is approximately 14.4 million.

In the 1964 presidential election, four of the six Southern states carried by Mr. Johnson would have gone to Sen. Goldwater if it had not been for the Negro vote. The five Southern states carried by Sen. Goldwater were those in which Negro registration was at or below the regional level.

Said Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., director of the Voter Education Project:

"The results of the 1966 elections plainly indicate the strength and influence of the Negro vote in the South. Yet this strength is far from what it ought to be. Only about half of the Negroes of voting age are registered in the South, whereas 70 per cent of the white adults are registered to vote. This is a gap that must be closed if Negroes are to have a fair share of the voice in Southern politics.

"The results also reflect, in several states, the impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As we stated on the first anniversary of the Act last August, the registration increases of the past year demonstrate the need for more federal examiners. This applies to the three affected states to which examiners have not been sent and to many counties in the four states to which examiners have been sent.

"The results also indicate the value of countless private efforts to stimulate registration and voting in the South. In that connection, the Voter Education Project is pleased to report that programs with which it had been associated have registered 100,000 voters during the year now ending."

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Voter Education Project is nonpartisan and endorses no parties or candidates. Mr. Jordan pointed out that voting in the South often crosses racial lines, with Negroes supporting white candidates in some races and whites supporting Negroes in others. He also pointed out that the 1966 elections again demonstrated that Negroes will vote freely across party lines, basing their choices on the stands of candidates rather than on party affiliation.

GROUP INSURANCE BENEFITS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

TO OUR EMPLOYEES:

It gives us considerable pleasure to announce to you that we have completed arrangements for a plan of Group Insurance offering benefits for you and your dependents.

Our Plan is being underwritten by Mutual Of New York, one of the oldest and strongest insurance companies in America.

The principal features of our Plan are described on the following pages, and we suggest that you read this description carefully so you will have a full understanding of the benefits provided.

You will be pleased to know that we will pay the entire cost of this additional security for you and your family.

We sincerely believe that the benefits offered are liberal and should be of great value to you and your dependents.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

SCHEDULE OF INSURANCE AMOUNTS

Classification	Life Insurance*	Accidental Death, Dismemberment & Loss of Sight*	Major Medical (Maximum)
Associate Director, Editorial Assistant, and Employees earning $6,500 or more	$10,000	$10,000	$10,000
All Other Employees	4,000	4,000	10,000
Dependents	–	–	10,000

*The amounts shown apply before the Plan Anniversary nearest your 65th birthday. Thereafter, the insurance shall be one-half of the schedule amount.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAN

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

PLAN DATE

The Plan became effective on May 1, 1966.

ELIGIBLE EMPLOYEES

You were eligible on the Plan Date if you were a full-time employee.

Full-time employees hired after the Plan Date become eligible on completion of 1 month of continuous service.

You become insured on the date you are eligible if you are actively at work. Otherwise, your insurance will be deferred until the day after you return to active work.

ELIGIBLE DEPENDENTS

The following dependents of an insured employee are considered eligible dependents under the Plan, unless they are entitled to benefits as employees:

(1) Wives and Husbands

(2) Unmarried children who have not reached their 23rd birthday. A child who has attained his 19th birthday shall not be considered an eligible dependent of an employee unless he is primarily dependent on the employee and is attending an accredited school or college.

LIFE INSURANCE

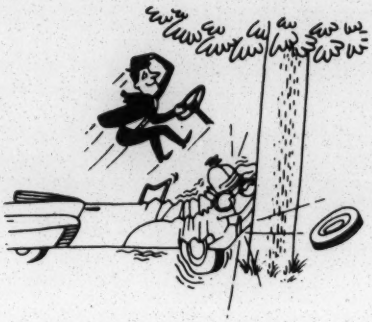
The life insurance is payable in event of your death from any cause anywhere while you are insured.

You designate the person to receive payment, and you may change this beneficiary at any time by written notice to the Insurance Company through us.

When you terminate employment, your life insurance remains in force for 31 days. During this 31 day period you may obtain an individual policy for the same amount by applying to the Insurance Company for one of its permanent plans – without taking a medical examination.

Should you become totally disabled while insured and before your 60th birthday, and continue so disabled until death, your life insurance will be payable – even if you die after the 31 day period – provided you have submitted to the Insurance Company the required proofs of disability and its continuance each year. Similarly, should you become totally disabled after your 60th birthday but before your 65th birthday, your life insurance will be payable in event of your death within one year after you terminate employment.

ACCIDENTAL DEATH, DISMEMBERMENT AND LOSS OF SIGHT



A benefit is payable in event of the loss of your life, limb or sight as a direct result of an accidental bodily injury sustained while you are insured, provided the loss occurs within 90 days of the accident – including losses resulting from occupational accidents.

The full amount for which you are insured will be paid for the loss of:

Life
Both Hands or Both Feet or Sight of Both Eyes
One Hand and One Foot
One Hand or Foot and Sight of One Eye

One-half the amount will be paid for the loss of one eye, one hand, or one foot.

A benefit is payable for each covered loss, but the total payments for any one accident may not exceed the full amount for which you are insured.

However, twice the benefit amount defined above will be payable if such loss results from riding as a passenger in an aircraft or other public conveyance being operated commercially to transport passengers for hire.

Losses resulting from suicide, war, certain aviation activities, and those attributable wholly or partly to disease are not covered under this benefit.

MAJOR MEDICAL BENEFITS

for Employees and Dependents

You will be paid a benefit for medical expenses incurred as a result of a non-occupational accident or a sickness for which benefits are not payable under any workmen's compensation law, as outlined below and on the following pages.

The Benefit

For benefit purposes each insured individual's eligible medical expenses are divided into Hospital Expenses, Surgical Expenses and Other Eligible Expenses. The benefit for each type of expense is as follows:

Hospital Expenses – The plan pays 100% of the first $500 of Hospital Expenses an individual incurs during each calendar year plus 80%* of any balance he incurs during the year.

"Hospital Expenses" means hospital charges for room and board (up to the daily limit provided by the plan), hospital charges for medical care and treatment while confined as a bed patient, hospital charges for out-patient medical care and treatment of an accidental bodily injury within 24 hours of an accident, physician's fees for anesthesia and its administration in a hospital while confined as a bed patient or during the 24 hour emergency, accident period, and charges by a professional ambulance service for transportation to a local hospital.

Surgical Expenses – The Plan pays 80%* of the Surgical Expenses an individual incurs each calendar year.

"Surgical Expenses" means surgeons fees in connection with a surgical operation (other than an obstetrical procedure).

Other Eligible Expenses – When an individual has incurred enough of these expenses within a calendar year to satisfy his Deductible, the plan pays 80%* of those he subsequently incurs during that year.

*100% after the first $2,000 of reimbursed expenses each year.

The total benefit payable for any person during his lifetime will not exceed his Maximum amount. However, a person may reinstate his full Maximum – after he has received benefits totalling more than $1,000 – by furnishing the Insurance Company with satisfactory evidence of his good health. In addition, up to $1,000 of the used portion of his Maximum will be automatically restored each January 1 regardless of his health.

Payment of the maximum benefit for yourself does not affect payment of benefits for any of your dependents.

The Deductible

The Deductible amount each calendar year is $100.

It is not necessary to satisfy the Deductible for each illness or accident – it is applied only once each calendar year against an individual's eligible expenses for all illnesses and accidents during the year.

The Deductible requirement is liberalized in the following instances, although the Deductible amount must nevertheless be satisfied by expenses incurred within 12 consecutive months:

Eligible medical expenses incurred and applied toward the Deductible in the last 3 months of a year may be used in satisfying the Deductible for the next year.

When two or more insured members of a family are injured in the same accident, only one Deductible applies to all eligible expenses resulting from the accident in that and the next year.

For those becoming insured during the first 31 days of the plan, expenses incurred from the preceding January 1 may be used in satisfying the Deductible for the first calendar year provided they would otherwise be eligible expenses.

Eligible Medical Expenses

Medical expenses eligible for benefits include charges for the following medical care and services, except as stated below, incurred while insured on the recommendation of a legally qualified physician as necessary for treatment of a sickness or injury:

1. Charges made by a hospital for room and board (including general or floor nursing care) up to the hospital's standard daily rate for a semi-private room.

2. Other charges made by a hospital for medical care and treatment.

3. Charges made by a legally qualified physician for diagnosis, treatment and surgery.

4. Charges made by a registered graduate nurse or physical therapist for nursing care or treatment.

5. Charges made for professional ambulance transportation to a local hospital, or for transportation within the United States and Canada by professional ambulance, railroad or regular commercial passenger aircraft flight to the nearest hospital equipped to furnish special treatment not available in a local hospital.

6. Charges for the following services and supplies:

   (a) X-ray examinations, and microscopic or laboratory tests;

   (b) Anesthesia, oxygen, and their administration;

   (c) X-ray and radioactive isotope therapy;

   (d) Drugs and medicines dispensed by a drug store and prescribed in writing by a legally qualified physician;

   (e) Blood, blood derivatives, and their administration;

   (f) Casts, splints, trusses, braces, crutches, surgical dressings, and artificial limbs or eyes;

   (g) Rental of iron lung or other mechanical equipment for treatment of respiratory paralysis, wheelchair, hospital-type bed, and equipment for the administration of oxygen.

The maximum amount of charges for professional medical services (other than charges made by a hospital on its own behalf for x-ray examinations, allergy testing, pathology and radio-

therapy) that will be considered as eligible medical expenses is based on a comprehensive Schedule of Allowances in the group policy – see partial schedule at end of this booklet. In determining any benefit for out-of-hospital expenses for mental and nervous conditions, the benefit percentage will be 50%.

Of course, charges which the individual is not legally obligated to pay or those in excess of what is customary and reasonable are not eligible. Nor are benefits payable for expenses in connection with the following:

1. Occupational injury or sickness, or an injury or disease resulting from war.

2. Pregnancy, except in connection with a Caesarean section or other specified complications of pregnancy.

3. Health or check-up examinations – unless necessary for treatment of a sickness or injury.

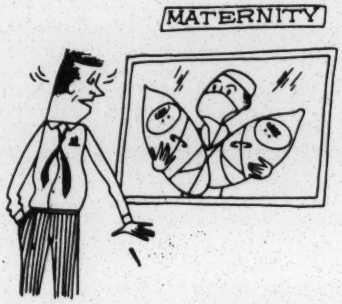
4. Dental work or treatment, eye examinations, eye glasses, hearing aids and cosmetic surgery – except for charges to treat an accidental injury which are incurred within 24 months after the accident, if the treatment giving rise to them begins within 90 days after the accident.

5. Alcoholism or narcotism – except for charges incurred while a bed patient in a hospital.

"Hospital" means an institution (other than federal or state) with 24-hour nursing, diagnostic and major surgical facilities. It does not include any institution or part thereof, used principally as a facility for rest, nursing, convalescence or the aged.

Records

To avoid delays in payment of claims, be sure to keep expense records and bills and submit your claim as explained in the "How to Present a Claim" instructions furnished you.



MATERNITY BENEFIT

for Female Employees and Dependent Wives

This benefit is available for expenses incurred in connection with a pregnancy while you and your spouse are insured or during the 9 months after your spouse's insurance terminates, provided the pregnancy began while your spouse was insured. (The requirement as to when pregnancy began does not apply, however, if your spouse became insured on the Plan Date or during the next 31 days.)

The benefit for each pregnancy is the amount of actual medical care expenses incurred on the recommendation of a legally qualified doctor – up to $200.

Medical care expenses are customary and reasonable charges for hospital room and board, hospital treatment while confined as a bed patient, doctor's charges for an obstetrical procedure, and anesthesia and its administration. "Hospital" means an institution (other than federal or state) with 24 hour nursing, diagnostic and major surgical facilities.

This benefit is not payable for expenses incurred after termination of the Plan or of this Maternity Benefit Coverage within 3 years of the Plan Date, unless your spouse's insurance terminated because of your termination of employment, nor is this payable with respect to a pregnancy for which Major Medical benefits are payable.

COORDINATION WITH OTHER COVERAGE

Our plan contains a provision coordinating its medical care benefits with medical care benefits provided by other plans. Other plan means (1) any group or franchise insurance, employee benefit, Blue Cross/Blue Shield or other group plan arranged through any employer, trustee, union or employee benefit association or (2) any program created by a national government or any agency thereof.

If any individual is also covered under another plan, medical care benefits under our plan will be payable as follows:

a. Full benefit amount if our plan is the "primary" plan. (Ours is the primary plan if the other plan also contains a coordination provision and ours insures the individual as an employee.)

b. Adjusted amount if our plan is not the "primary" plan. The adjusted amount is the full benefit reduced, when necessary, so that the total benefit from both plans does not exceed the total allowable expenses. Allowable expense means any necessary, reasonable and customary item of expense at least a portion of which is covered under one of the plans.

MEDICAL EXPENSE CONVERSION PRIVILEGE

When you terminate employment after being insured for at least 3 months, you may obtain an individual premium – paying policy providing medical care coverage for yourself only or, if you had dependents coverage under the Plan, for yourself and your dependents. To obtain this policy you must apply to the Insurance Company and pay the first premium within 31 days after your insurance under the Plan terminates.

The type, amount, duration and terms of the benefits available will depend on the policy form being offered by the Insurance Company for conversion purposes at the time you apply.

No evidence of insurability is required for the individual policy, but the Insurance Company reserves the right not to cover any person whose other medical care coverage together with that under the individual policy would result in overinsurance or duplication of benefits under its standards.

If your dependents are insured under the Plan, this privilege is also available to (a) your surviving spouse, with respect to such of your dependents as are insured, at your death and (b) a dependent child, with respect to himself, upon attaining the limiting age for dependents eligibility.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Application for Insurance

All eligible employees will be asked to fill out a simple enrollment card. Please complete all questions carefully as this card will be used in preparing your certificate.

No Medical Examination

No medical examination is required for your insurance unless you were previously insured under the Plan.

Policy and Certificate

This booklet is a brief summary of the principal features of the Plan and is not a contract. Operation of the Plan is governed by the terms of the contract issued by Mutual Of New York.

When you become insured, you will receive an individual certificate outlining the details of your coverages.

Termination

If you leave our employ, your insurance will terminate except as otherwise stated in your certificate.

Important

Please notify us at once when you acquire an additional eligible dependent - or when one of your dependents is no longer eligible.

SCHEDULE OF ALLOWANCES

The maximum amount for which Major Medical benefits are payable is determined by multiplying the schedule unit value by the dollar conversion factor in the following table for your basic annual earnings at the beginning of the calendar year. Some services and procedures, with their unit values, are set forth below. A more complete list will be included in your certificate of insurance.

Basic Annual Earnings	Dollar Conversion Factor
Under $7,500	$5.00
$7,500 but under $15,000	6.25
$15,000 and over	8.00

X-RAY

Examination	Unit	Examination	Unit
Fingers	1.5	Ribs, unilateral	3.0
Hip, complete study	4.0	Skull, complete study	5.0
Myelography, lumbar	8.0	Spine, entire survey study	8.0

PATHOLOGY

Procedure	Unit	Procedure	Unit
Blood count, complete	1.2	Spinal fluid, chemical microscopic	2.0
Blood sugar	1.0	Sputum, smear, direct	0.6
Electro-encephalogram	7.0	Urinalysis, microscopic	0.3

ALLERGY TESTING

Test	Unit*	Test	Unit*
Scratch or puncture tests:		Direct nasal tests, each test	0.40
first 60 tests, each test	0.10	Passive transfer tests (including cost of recipient), each test	0.30
each additional test	0.05		
Patch tests, each test	0.20		

*Minimum unit value for passive transfer tests is 10.0, for each other type of test shown 1.0.

RADIOTHERAPY

Treatment	Unit	Treatment	Unit
Low Voltage or Superficial X-Ray:		**Orthovoltage X-Ray (150-500 KVP):**	
Dermatoses, per treatment, 3 fields or less	1.5	Benign lesions, per treatment	2.0
more than 3 fields	2.0	Malignant lesions, per treatment	3.0
Benign tumors, per treatment	2.0	**Supervoltage X-Ray (incl. Cobalt Sources),** per treatment	4.0

(Continued on next page)

PSYCHOTHERAPY

While hospital confined as a bed patient – 5.0 units per hour for first 50 hours; maximum eligible expenses for each subsequent hour is $12.50.

All other psychotherapy – maximum eligible expenses is $20 for each day of visits, up to 50 days in any calendar year.

MEDICAL VISITS

Type Visit	Unit	Type Visit	Unit
Office Visit:		Home Visit:	
initial	2.0	initial	2.5
follow-up	1.0	follow-up	2.0

ATTENDING SURGEON

If two or more surgical procedures are performed at the same time through the same incision, the unit applicable will be the one for the procedure having the largest unit. If performed through different incisions, the unit applicable is the sum of the unit for the procedure having the largest unit and half the unit for each of the other procedures performed.

Procedure	Unit	Procedure	Unit
Appendectomy	40.0	Gastrectomy, total	100.0
Biopsy of breast	15.0	Gastrotomy	50.0
Dislocation, reduction of:		Hemorrhoidectomy, internal and external	30.0
elbow, simple, closed	5.0	Hernia:	
hip, simple, closed	20.0	inguinal, unilateral	35.0
Fractures, reduction of:		ventral, incisional	45.0
toe, simple, closed	5.0	Tonsillectomy:	
tibia and fibula, shafts, simple closed	30.0	under age 18	15.0
open	60.0	age 18 and over	20.0

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1966
JANUARY 1967

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
OR QUOTATION
WITHOUT PERMISSION

OFFICERS

1966

PRESIDENT

John H. Wheeler*

VICE PRESIDENTS

Josephine Wilkins*

Paul R. Christopher*

Rufus E. Clement*

Thomas W. Young*

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Raymond M. Wheeler, M.D., Chairman

James McBride Dabbs

Albert W. Dent

C. G. Gomillion

Mrs. Martin L. Harvey

Lucius M. Pitts

McNeill Smith

H. Franklin Williams

Marion A. Wright

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas*

PERSONNEL COMMITTEE

Raymond M. Wheeler, Chairman

FINANCE COMMITTEE

L. D. Milton, Chairman

SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

Charles G. Gomillion, Chairman

*ex-officio members of the Executive Committee

SENIOR PROFESSIONAL STAFF

- : -

Executive Director - Paul Anthony

Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Alexander

Director of Field Activities - J. Edwin Stanfield

Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Director of Information - Pat Watters

Managing Editor, SRC Publications - Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Writer in Residence - Margaret Long

Director, Voter Education Project - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Research Director, V.E.P. - Marvin Wall

Director, Labor Education - Emory F. Via

Director, Community Organization - Al Ulmer

Director, Urban Planning - Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA

Director, Crime and Rehabilitation - John O. Boone
(began appointment July 18, 1966)

Senior Research Assistant - Glenda Bartley

Librarian - Bernice Morrison

Executive Assistant - Edwyn Lewis, Jr. (Resigned, August 19, 1966)
- James N. Wood (Appointment effective January, 1967)

REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES
1966

In last year's report, a brief assessment of conditions in the region concluded with the following:

> "The year ended with an important question still unanswered. Given the commendable new awareness and the higher standards, were these conditions yet of sufficient quality and depth to meet the old need and the new promise? We will know much of the answer in 1966."

As the year ended we did, indeed, know much of the answer and such as we knew was not encouraging.

To be sure a few more jobs opened up, a few more Negro children transferred to "white" schools, and in some instances real and identifiable progress took place in communities. But the title of our school desegregation report for the year might summarize our evaluation of things generally. The report was entitled, School Desegregation 1966; The Slow Undoing.

As in years past statistics changed and generally for the better. But in years past we have cautioned that statistics did not tell the whole story and implied that more change was taking place than was statistically evident. And, so I believe, it was,

especially in understanding. White Southerners and, to a lesser but still an important degree, Negro Southerners have gone through an incredible educational experience during the past decade.

During 1966 there was at least a slowing and perhaps a retrogression in this process of understanding and the benefits which came from it. For fifteen years we have had in the region a formula for working slowly out of a terrible dilemma. Always delicately, sometimes with success, sometimes without, the scales which balanced order have painfully sought and found that position between what Negroes would demand and what whites would accept. And, the balance, as inadequate as it was, has gone slowly upward, quicker and quicker. More importantly, this formula worked -- achieving both progress and stability.

Essential to the formula was at least partial good will and some understanding on the part of many white Southerners, good leadership and phenomenal patience on the part of many Negro Southerners. Essential, too, was the substantial measure of self-interest to which whites particularly, but again both groups, responded.

Understanding, patience, sensible response to self-interest, these were all placed in jeopardy during 1966.

White Southerners have gone through an incredible revolution. It is not just that they believe it, it is so. Their whole society and all of its patterns have changed. With considerable justification many are proud of the way in which they have accommodated this change. They have changed structures, accepted laws, and become accustomed to radical tokenism. Now they are impatient, embittered, defiant, and confused that more would be demanded. This is because the typical white Southerner (and undoubtedly the typical white American) believes the Negro now has an equal chance, that this is the essence of American society -- as indeed it is -- and enough is enough.

1966 was the year when the white South decided it was going fast enough and perhaps much too fast. This is, of course, serious. And if, as seems to be the case from here, much of the nation agreed, then it is critical.

Negro Southerners are aware of this and to a degree which I have not heretofore witnessed, there

is a growing question among this part of our citizenry as to whether or not integration and the democratic society can ever be achieved.

To be sure such instances as the recent Georgia gubernatorial election -- or non-election -- may be too heavy an influence on our judgment. (The wags of the office say SRC may move its offices to Birmingham where there is "a more favorable climate.") The growing retreat into Negro society for Negro Southerners may be only the prelude to healthy independence. But, I think not.

We are not, of course, without a fundamental hope and optimism. Indeed, I trust that every working hour of the SRC staff and every function of the Council is, itself, an expression of hope, confidence, and optimism. The remainder of this report has as its purpose a summary documentation of that hope and our expressions of it.

However, as we review the events of 1966 it is difficult for me to conclude other than the sad analysis that we have yet many years of an essentially segregated society. One must wonder if we can stand that costly, costly moral burden.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Council Affairs

On recommendation of the Nominating Committee, the Members of the Council during the Annual Meeting in November unanimously reelected Mr. John H. Wheeler as President of the Council. The Members expressed their appreciation to Mr. Wheeler and to Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler who served as Chairman of the Executive Committee during 1966. A new chairman of the Executive Committee will be selected when that group holds its first meeting in 1967. To these expressions of the Members I should like to add my own word of deep gratitude. The year was a busy one, hectic in detail and most important in policy. It was also a good year, but it would not have been without the leadership of these two outstanding men and the thorough participation of all of the Members of the Executive Committee.

Elected as Vice-Presidents for the coming year were Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta; Dr. Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta; Mr. Paul R. Christopher of Knoxville; and Mr. Thomas W. Young of Norfolk. Mr. Joseph F. Haas of Atlanta was reelected Counsel.

Elected to the Executive Committee were Dr. Lucius Pitts of Birmingham; Dr. James McBride Dabbs of Mayesville; Dr. Albert W. Dent of New Orleans; Dr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute (Ala.); Mrs. Martin Harvey of Jackson (Miss.); Mr. McNeill Smith of Greensboro; Dr. H. Franklin Williams of Coral Gables; and Mr. Marion A. Wright of Linville Falls.

The officers of the Council also serve as ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

During the year the Council lost the leadership of Vice-President Stephen J. Wright who left the region to head the United Negro College Fund in New York, and two Members, Dr. James A. Colston who became President of Bronx Community College, New York, and Mr. Henry Lehmann who was transferred by his company, General Electric, from the region.

To fill these vacancies Mr. George Owens of Tougaloo was elected to the Class of 1967 and Mr. Brooks Hays of Little Rock was elected to the Class of 1968.

New Members elected to the Class of 1970 were: Mr. Brad Ansley, Sarasota, Florida; Mr. Edward Elson, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Jerome H. Holland, Hampton

Institute (Va.); Dr. Vivian Henderson, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Glen E. Laskey, Ruston, Louisiana; Mr. Alan Parker, Tuskegee, Alabama; Dr. Vascoe Smith, Memphis, Tennessee; and, Mr. Julius Chambers, Charlotte, North Carolina.

On recommendation of the Executive Committee the Council elected three Life Fellows: Father Theodore Gibson of Miami, Florida; Colonel Francis Pickens Miller of Charlottesville, Virginia, and Dr. Riley B. Montgomery of Lexington, Kentucky.

Sadly, the Council lost one of its Life Fellows -- and as one of its great spirits -- Miss Lillian Smith. The Members adopted a tribute to Miss Smith from which the following is excerpted:

> "Lillian Smith, Georgia author whose books on the South are acclaimed around the world, died September 28 in an Atlanta hospital in her last struggle of a 13-year-illness, concluding the career of a Southerner 'who never wanted to write about race, but just about people.'
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> "In her later years, Miss Smith studied, mused and wrote about vast and troubling changes in human life leading to 'the tremendous future' of man, and this year regretted, and withdrew her support from the new disciples of 'black power.' 'What we want,' she said shortly before her death, is 'human power.'

"Lillian Smith's friendships and influence reached to the powerful people of the earth and to humble neighbors on a Georgia mountainside. Students, politicians, writers from Europe, Asia and Africa visited her home on Old Screamer Mountain, as did American intellectuals, literary people, old friends and plain book-readers on pilgrimages to a brave thinker.

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"Lillian Smith paid the price it costs a prophet to tell the truth to his own country. STRANGE FRUIT brought her fame and money, and persecution and insult such as few women have sustained. Other books of importance were, she felt, killed by silent censorship North and South. And up from Clayton beneath Old Screamer Mountain, three times came enemies to burn down buildings, so that she lost a novel and other manuscripts and treasured notes, documents and household goods.

"The author summoned equal valor in her long fight with recurrent cancer, a trial she turned into a source of hope and courage for thousands with fatal illness and other ordeals.

"It is fitting that the Council honor the brave intelligence, the righteous judgments and the penetrating work of this Southern Regional Council life member."

Programs and Projects

1966 was the year of substantial expansion for the Council. Late in 1965 we began recruitment of staff for a second Voter Education Project and for a number of

specialists in such fields as urban planning, labor education, community organization, prison reform and criminal rehabilitation, and research and editing.

In addition to normal staff turnover, we have grown by some 60% during the year. Recruiting staff, working with them as programs are developed and incorporating individuals and projects into the SRC structure have been the demanding and priority responsibilities of the year.

While all of this has by no means been completed, we have made a reasonable amount of progress and the results are satisfying. This is particularly true in the caliber of people we have found and the degree to which they have been able to conceive of this agency's philosophy and method of work.

To those familiar with the Council, our growth in staff and funds is impressive. But, in this growth we have, I think, been able to preserve the idea of attempting to accomplish significant results with modest resources. For example, expenditures in excess of a million dollars is certainly substantial by SRC standards. Broken into its parts, however, puts the resources into better perspective: $33,000 for urban planning, $22,000

for community organization and $34,000 for prison reform, for instance. Given talented individuals, we believe these relatively limited funds for serious program areas are a challenge and sufficient to be effective; certainly, these relatively small amounts are not a liability.

The following program reports will attempt to describe -- by department and project -- the major interests and efforts of 1966. While space is too limited to do any of them justice, I trust this accounting will reflect the overlapping and cooperation of the various programs, the cooperation and support to sister agencies and others who share our concerns, and the integrity and skill of these SRC staff persons for whom I have sincere admiration and to whom I am grateful for that which has been accomplished during the year.

The Department of Field Activities

Service and assistance to the state Councils on Human Relations continues as the primary interest and responsibility of this department. During 1966, our grant-in-aid program for the state Councils increased significantly

to $150,000. In addition, approximately $50,000 was provided for an additional staff person for each of four state Councils to work exclusively in rural areas (The Rural Advancement Project, developed in cooperation with the National Sharecroppers Fund). This support, along with modest grants in a number of program areas brought our total aid to state Councils to well above $225,000 for the year.

We continue to hope and work toward the goal of having the state Councils self-sustaining in their basic operations, and substantial progress is being made toward that goal. Dues-paid membership now stands at about 11,500; an increase of 23% over last year. (The George S. Mitchell Award for the greatest percentage increase in membership went to the Arkansas Council, which grew by 95%.) The state Councils had 26 full-time, professional employees and we hope for a continued modest increase in this number. The Councils raised about $120,000 from local sources, an increase of 20%, and their operating budgets increased by about 25%, exceeding $400,000.

We continue to define and develop the relationship between SRC and the independent state Councils

on Human Relations which we organized more than a decade ago. In programs we have made considerable progress in cooperation and support. In areas such as school integration, court reform, welfare, and voter education we have been able to conduct joint programs and/or to offer each other support that has definitely enhanced the value and effectiveness of each agency. Many of these will be referred to throughout the remainder of this report.

(Ironically, much work has been required to make use of the resources available in the subject areas referred to above. We had been so many years without such resources that we had to work hard to get state and local Councils adjusted to the idea that relatively substantial staff and financial resources were available for local program development.)

In response to overtures from state Council directors and presidents, a special committee of SRC members and Council presidents was set up to consider the continuing relationship between the two groups. The committee has met twice and considerable thinking and discussion has gone into this work.

It is impossible within a brief report to do more than suggest the difference that increased growth and support of the state Councils has made in the lives of people. In Virginia, 1,075 religious leaders gathered in Richmond under the sponsorship of all major religious groups for a conference on "People, Religion, and A Changing Virginia." As one of the speakers put it, "We have never been here before." In Georgia, more than 30,000 copies of a booklet titled, Know Your Rights have been distributed to help poor people in dealing with the police; and, surprisingly, police departments from several cities and counties asked for copies to give to policemen. In Houston, 1,500 people have had a chance to air their complaints and discuss city problems with the mayor as a part of the Houston Council's "Meet the Mayor" program. In Arkansas, citizens' groups have been organized to secure fair and integrated housing and to work for better conditions and practices in the state's penal system. In Huntsville, Alabama, 120 maids have been helped to organize a union to secure fairer wages and working conditions and to form a credit union. Also in Alabama, hundreds of Negro farmers have

been taught how to participate in Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service elections, which means participation in determining their crop allotments -- and a few have for the first time been elected to community and county committees. And, in South Carolina, rural people from 30 of the state's 46 counties meet in ten Rural Advancement Project groups to work for economic improvement; and they are backed by 1,178 state Council members from 153 communities.

In the spring and early summer we cooperated with other private agencies and the United States Commission on Civil Rights in a series of conferences on school desegregation in each of the Southern states. This was a model of the potential of cooperation among private agencies and between private agencies and a public agency. In consultation with the private agencies the Commission set up programs to describe the laws and procedures of school desegregation. Private agencies saw to it that specialists and consultants were available and, more importantly, such groups as the state Councils, the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP and

others saw to it that concerned Negro parents got to these meetings where school superintendents, board members, and state officials were in attendance. SRC coordinated much of this and administered a special grant to provide modest travel funds for those who could not otherwise attend. This program brought together more than 7,000 people for these deliberations.

The field department, the state Councils, and the project on Crime and Corrections assisted a program on court reform developed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work. In the spring, Mrs. Tilly called together the leaders of some twenty national women's organizations asking for their support for such a program. The support was enthusiastically given and thereafter meetings were held in each of the states describing courts, prisons and procedures of justice, or the lack of it,to concerned women. We hope for considerable followup on these meetings and that from it will come a substantial program of court visitation, concern with such matters as jury selection and arrest procedures, and several statewide programs for prison reform.

We received during 1966 a grant of $25,000 for an experimental program in the distribution of paperback

books. Conducted for SRC by Miss Louise Cole, special assistant to the director, more than 58,000 volumes have been distributed to community centers, school libraries, tutorial projects, study halls in slum communities, and the like. The project, slow in developing, eventually provided books to more than 50 community programs and half-again that number had to be rejected for lack of funds.

Again in 1966 SRC was asked to serve as secretariat to the Southern Interagency Conference, the informal gathering four times each year of some forty agencies, church groups, and others with programs of race relations in the region. We consider this a highly valuable service of the Council and were happy that we were again asked to provide it.

Throughout much of the remainder of this report the involvement of this department and the work of the state Councils will be reflected. Were this not true much additional attention would have to be given to the cooperation among agencies, the considerable accomplishments of the several state Councils and, certainly, the excellence of the work of Edwin Stanfield, the SRC director of Field Activities.

Research and Information

We have continued the progress of merging these two departments into a single operation.

A major research and information effort has been reflected in the quarterly New South, first printed in this form with the Winter 1966 issue. Each issue has reflected a range of our several program interests and has been planned with this in mind. We have been particularly gratified at the quality of authors we have been able to attract. In addition to material prepared by the staff (most notably that of Pat Watters and Margaret Long) we have published works by persons such as James Silver, Vincent Harding, Leslie Dunbar, Robert Coles, Jack Patterson, Jack Nelson, August Meier, Robert Sherrill, Paul Good, Eric Lincoln and Frank Smith.

We have been pleased, too, at the critical reaction and the quality of subscribers. ("An impressive magazine," Granville Hicks) The number of subscribers is not as important to us as the nature of the reader, but we do have as a goal that paid subscriptions will cover the cost of printing and distribution by the end of 1968.

Most of the publications prepared and issued during the year are referred to elsewhere. Two, however, should be commented on. In the spring SRC, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, issued The Continuing Crisis - May 1966. This was an assessment and documentation of the new racial tensions in the South and our expression of concern that these tensions were being overlooked and misunderstood. The report was well received and we believe of value. (The Washington Post referred to it editorially as "thoughtful" and a "useful jar to complacency.")

Again in 1966 we attempted to issue a report on school desegregation in the region. Initially, we had planned to issue this report in late September or early October. We commissioned a group of reporters -- one in each state -- to assist us in collecting statistics on school desegregation and hoped for a prompt and factual report. This schedule was completely disrupted because of the difficulty we encountered in obtaining statistical information from school authorities. Eventually, we were able to collect much of this information and the delay proved fortunate. Our report, issued

in December, coincided with a peak of national interest in the Office of Education and it contributed, we believe, some measure of understanding and perhaps even sanity to a complicated and greatly misunderstood situation.

Late in the year a number of manuscripts and studies were completed that are being held for orderly and adequate distribution. These include: The Hidden Jobless in Unemployment Statistics (a study by Mrs. Sue Rusche); Mr. Mayor, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? (a memorandum for municipal leadership, prepared by the research firm Candeub, Fleissig and Associates); In Their Own Words (a study of school desegregation in Alabama, by Dr. Mark Chesler, University of Michigan); Neighbors, Inc. (a study of voluntary neighborhood programs in three cities, by Mrs. Margaret Price -- no title); a study of the Atlanta riots (by Wayne Kelly -- no title); and, a study of the Ku Klux Klan and the National States Rights Party (by Robert Sherrill -- no title.)

Our information gathering service, headed by Mrs. Glenda Bartley, Senior Research Associate, has had an extremely busy year with an increase in the

number of requests for assistance and some change from past years in their nature. Requests for information from the department have increased by about one-third during the past year, with telephone requests (especially from outside the South and from sources such as news media and law firms rather than students) accounting for most of the growth. The types of requests have changed too. More and more, people want information that cannot be obtained from newspaper clippings, though requests for specific news items or accounts of incidents have not diminished. The trend is toward statistical data, economics, and employment information, that must be gathered from government and federal reserve sources and other statistical sources in our library. Too, the nature of the research requests shows some shifting from "what do you know?" to "what do you think?" or "how do you interpret?" (Based on the fact that newspaper reporting is necessarily selective and evaluative, the new requests require evaluation and judgment by the researcher.) In general, the staff has been able to change to meet new requirements.

We have been able to cut down the number of daily newspapers to about twenty, but have increased the number of magazines and journals as well as the number of pamphlets and other publications dealing with specifics. Again, the trend during the past year has been toward expanding interests and coverage to respond adequately to increasingly sophisticated requests.

In preparation of this report, I asked Pat Watters, Director of Information and senior person in this department, to give me his comments on the year's work and the major needs for 1967. His memorandum seemed to me to be such an excellent summary and critique as well as an indication of the integrity and quality of the leadership of this important function of the Council, that it is reproduced here:

> "Much energy during the past year has gone into setting the new character of New South. That seems generally established now; the effort will be to keep it abreast of current trends, and sophisticated in approach to them.
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> "Special reports and publications have been of a high quality and something less probably than anticipated quantity. Part of this is explainable by the New South's using matter that in previous years would have gone into the report form. Part of it, too, reflects

the time and energy put into the VEP book which will be published by Harcourt, Brace and World in the fall of 1967. And part of it reflects a firm resistance to the temptation to publish for the sake of publishing, the publish or perish syndrome. If there has been in the past year a serious neglect, it seems to me to be in our ability to be flexible, to react to the unexpected acts and events that are always part of the fundamental change and reality of the area. We should have by now published balanced and perspicacious interpretations of black power and of the drastic diminishing of national-organization movement activity in the South. Both subjects should be dealt with early in the coming year. New South has dealt with them adequately in a current sense, but not in the depth required.

"The tone and thrust of publications may be somewhat altered by the schizophrenic situation now in the South -- the split between the ongoing efforts to build on the new law and opportunities, and the continuing, if not increasing racial hostility reflecting at its roots worsening economic, social and cultural deficiencies that are in a sense of the word, at crisis point. We must continue to emphasize "how to" build, while at the same time pointing to destructive forces, and forcefully fighting racism. In all of this, the demand on us is for a grasp of the fundamentals of a complex and still shifting set of social phenomena, and for more and more sophisticated knowledge and insight into them. The research department reflects and has responded admirably to these demands. There will be continuing effort to keep abreast of intelligent research and all the facts.

"Accuracy and balance remain the first responsibility. The success of our 'press relations' depends only on living up to that responsibility; to do so must remain our only 'public relations' program."

The Voter Education Project

During 1966 VEP was the single largest operation within SRC. The project operated on a budget slightly in excess of $350,000, and we hope for a similar operation during 1967. The project, directed by Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., has an excellent staff of six persons.

While initially the Project planned major emphasis on programs of citizenship education and leadership training, about 66 per cent of the programs funded during the year were voter registration programs. This fact does not reflect any failure on the part of the Project to stress citizenship education and leadership training; rather it evidences the Project's response to a tremendous volume of requests from communities throughout the region for funds with which to conduct registration programs. More than 400 requests for funds were submitted to the Project during 1966. In all but a few cases, the requests were for programs aimed principally at voter registration.

Two factors were largely responsible for the intense interest during 1966 in registration projects:

(1) the presence of federal examiners in some 40 southern counties to lend federal assistance for the first time to Negro registration; and (2) statewide primaries and elections, hotly contested local races, and a large field of Negro candidates, running in many communities for the first time, throughout the region.

The registration programs accounted for more than 100,000 newly registered voters in 11 states. By category, the number of projects funded was as follows:

Citizenship Education	6
Citizenship Education and Voter Registration	21
Leadership Training	7
Program Development and Technical Assistance	1
Program Development T/A and Statewide Program Coordination	1
Voter Registration	70
Total	106

The programs of citizenship education and leadership training funded during the past year leave the Project with valuable experience and "know-how" which can be applied on a broader basis in 1967. Our most striking finding was not the need for these programs

(we knew that) but the great interest in them and desire for them. In virtually every funded registration project, there has been a subsequent request for funds for citizenship education.

The most successful citizenship education programs have been the demonstrative type in which newly registered persons were given the opportunity to actually practice voting on a voting machine set up for use in a forthcoming election. Projects of this nature in Lee County, Alabama, sponsored by the Auburn League of Women Voters, and in Knox County, Tennessee, conducted by the Greater Knoxville Council on Human Relations, provided VEP -- through research reports and field trips -- with proven techniques for this kind of project.

Projects conducted by the Tuskegee Civic Association in Alabama and by the Southern Consumers Cooperative in Louisiana provide good examples of classroom-type citizenship education. Classes on citizenship responsibilities and governmental structure were welcomed by voters in those communities. The Voter Education Project, working with the Georgia chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, has

completed the first in a series of pamphlets to be used as teaching aids in citizenship education classes. The illustrated booklet entitled "Know Your Rights," will be distributed throughout the region. Several leaders of VEP-affiliated projects in Georgia attended a presentation of the booklet at a community meeting in the Vine City area of Atlanta. They later carried supplies of the booklet back home to their rural communities.

The second VEP teaching aid called "Know Your Local Government in Georgia," is nearing completion and soon will go to the printer. A similar booklet will be prepared for each state in the region. These booklets will be put into use in the spring and summer when registration and voting activities resume.

In Alabama and Georgia, VEP is testing techniques of citizenship education through use of the mass media. The Auburn League of Women Voters is writing, producing and distributing a series of three television programs on registration and voting in Alabama. The first show was carried October 29 by NBC stations in Montgomery and Decatur and was seen by an estimated 33,000 Alabama viewers. The second in the series soon will be ready for showing. Talent and advice from the

Auburn-Tuskegee area is used in producing the shows.

Another VEP grant made it possible for the Georgia League of Women Voters to produce and distribute a television spot on how to cast a ballot in the Georgia general election. The film demonstrated how to vote a straight ticket, how to vote a split ticket, and how to write-in. As in Alabama, stations provided free public-service time and talent was volunteered. Again, therefore, expenses were minimal. Seven stations with nearly a million viewers used the Georgia tape. The League also sent out radio spots which were used by several dozen stations with more than five million listeners.

The leadership training programs have been among the most useful and memorable efforts. Outstanding among these was a two-day seminar at the end of the year for Negro legislators from three states -- Georgia, Tennessee, and Texas. Of 20 Negro legislators now serving in the South, 19 attended some portion of the seminar. Authorities in such fields as welfare, corrections, economics, unemployment and individual rights addressed the seminar, which was held in Atlanta.

The occasion was historic; it was the first such meeting of Southern Negro legislators (none previously had been elected during modern times in Texas, and only one had in Tennessee). At the conclusion of the seminar, the legislators voted unanimously to ask VEP to hold another such meeting prior to the next legislative season. VEP chose not to publicize the Seminar, so that all discussions could be off-the-record and frank.

Other notable leadership training programs were conducted during the spring in Alabama and South Carolina. These were one-day institutes for Negro candidates and poll-watchers. Held in cooperation with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the institutes dealt with election laws and procedures and the duties and responsibilities of poll-watchers and candidates. Those who attended the institutes were in a position later to file several lawsuits charging election irregularities.

The first venture with a statewide leadership conference proved well worth the time, effort and money invested. This was a day-long conference held in cooperation with the South Carolina Voter Education

Project at the Wade Hampton Hotel in Columbia. More than 400 South Carolina Negro leaders and civil rights workers attended sessions on effective registration campaigns, state and federal election laws, the politics of poverty programs, and getting out the vote.

VEP supported a regional leadership training workshop which was sponsored by the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, Inc., and held July 20 - 24 at Frogmore, South Carolina. A recent grant to the regional office of the Urban League is providing leadership training in rural and urban settings. The grant was for pilot programs in Calhoun County, Alabama, and Jacksonville, Florida.

Student involvement through stipends and part-time employment in community organizations is a major effort of the Voter Education Project. Numerous projects used students as task force workers in registration campaigns. VEP supported student activities through such organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee. The latter organization has been engaged in impressive citizenship education work in

Southside Virginia. The Friends Service Committee likewise engaged in some citizenship education in Sumter, South Carolina.

Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta has agreed to employ the first VEP intern for part-time work at City Hall, beginning with the second semester of the current academic year. Arrangements are being made with the National YWCA for use of college students in registration campaigns during spring holidays in 1967. And discussions are underway with certain Peace Corps officials regarding the possible use of Peace Corps returnees as teachers for citizenship education classes in the South this summer.

Finally, the Project has been the main source of support for the South Carolina Voter Education Project, the only statewide organization of its kind in the South. Through the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the ground has been prepared for formation of an organization in Arkansas patterned after SCVEP. A Little Rock office with a full-time director already is being financed by VEP. It is expected that the statewide organization will be in operation by early spring. There is interest in such statewide organizations

in North Carolina and Florida. In the latter state, the Florida Council on Human Relations has agreed to coordinate the initial organizational work.

The VEP office in Atlanta supervised field activities, maintained financial records and provided vital election-year data to the news media. Numerous requests for information were answered throughout the year for the major networks, news magazines and the nation's leading newspapers. In addition to the election analysis, a booklet of registration statistics was published and a study was made on the effects of federal registrars.

Vernon Jordan, the project director, has been quite busy in a number of other activities as well; including serving on two Presidential commissions (the Planning Council of The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights," and the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service). He and the project staff have done an outstanding job, and they cannot be too highly commended.

Community Organization Project

This project, directed by Al Ulmer, has as its purpose to become informed of the interests and needs

of the innumerable urban and rural self-help and cooperative programs in the region sponsored by the poor, to share this information, to offer technical assistance and to attempt to bring together the interests and resources of private and public agencies and these self-help programs.

Early in the year an extensive survey -- largely through the travel of the project director -- was made of community organization efforts in the South. From this developed the first technical assistance offered and two publications: Poor People and Problems and Co-Ops, Credit Unions and Poor People.

Technical Assistance was offered to:

Wilcox County, Ala. (Farm cooperative effort)
Thomas County, Ga. (Self-help housing project, proposal to OEO for $56,000)
Baker County, Ga. (Credit Union - community group)
Huntsville, Ala. (Credit Union - Maids' union)
Reserve, La. (Credit Union - sugar cane workers)
Hale County, Ala. (Credit Union - three community groups)
Pinellas County, Fla. (Tenants' association)
Wilcox and Lowndes County, Ala. (Provided manager of Freedom Quilting Bee Co-Op for summer)
Hines County, Miss. (Co-Op education and managerial assistance for Poor people's Co-Op)

Opelousas, La. (Grand Marie Vegetable Co-Op)
YWCA Summer Project (Community involvement program)
North Carolina Fund (Community Action Program evaluation)
VISTA (Four training programs and two area-wide conferences)

The project provided work-scholarships for students working with groups in the slums of Atlanta and Nashville and for rural programs in Amelia County, Virginia, and Auburn, Alabama. There was tri-sponsorship of a conference on self-help housing in Florida with the American Friends Service Committee and the Florida Migrant Ministry. Under the project, SRC co-sponsored, with the Encampment for Citizenship, a program for high-school age young people in Barbourville, Kentucky. In Atlanta, the project encouraged and provided assistance to and experiment between a large Negro church and a large white church to determine if the two institutions, together, could develop a significantly funded and staffed program for work in a slum area.

Two other extremely important programs were developed during the year. Jointly with the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., we have called five meetings of members of low-income cooperatives, organizers and

co-op education experts to develop a program of cooperative education for self-help groups. The results are that a program has been developed and a grant of $850,000 is now being sought for this purpose under the sponsorship of the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation. Secondly, and partially as an outgrowth of these meetings, SRC is supporting an effort for a southwide "federation" of low income cooperatives.

Urban Planning Project

The Urban Planning Project has as its purposes to assess urban planning in the region, to encourage involvement of all the community in progressive programs, to encourage local governments to make all services available on an equal basis, and to evaluate the policies of and cooperate with the several federal agencies. The project is directed by Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA, and assisted by Susan Bresler.

Publications during the year were: Neighborhood Stabilization (a guide to a changing neighborhood); A Home of Our Own (a guide for the new home buyer); Mr. Mayor, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? (a guide for civic leadership); and, yet-to-be-published, studies

of housing in Atlanta and of neighborhood housing and community improvement volunteer efforts.

The project staff has been heavily involved in professional consultations with the leadership, official and unofficial, of a number of communities and with several of the local and state Councils on Human Relations. They have been requested and are giving professional analyses to the overall urban planning efforts of six southern cities. There have been a number of consultations with persons in the regional and national office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, as well as a meeting with Secretary Weaver. The staff and the Executive Director have worked with the staff of Doxiadis and Associates and have conferred with Dr. Doxiadis. From the conferences may come a proposal for an experimental metropolitan regional study.

In the hopes of encouraging a more realistic curriculum for students of architecture and urban planning, there have been several meetings with university faculties, particularly those of the Universities of Pennsylvania and North Carolina. We hope to continue and expand this work.

The Urban Planning Project epitomizes the SRC dilemma and opportunity: how, with very limited staff and resources, to develop programs that make a difference. We are encouraged with the first year's experimentation.

Labor Education Project

The project has as its purpose to develop educational materials for and offer professional services to the intermediate labor leadership in the region. Fortunately, we were able to persuade Dr. Emory Via to obtain a second year's leave of absence to continue directing this program.

Work has ranged from participation in single meetings through participation in weekend and one week institutes, to the direction of the one month National Institute of Labor Education Southern Union Staff Training Institute. This has included three institutes with the Steelworkers in Florida, Louisiana, and Kentucky; three weekend institutes in cooperation with the Alabama State AFL-CIO; two institutes with the ILGWU; and participation in the Tri-State Labor School, the Rubber Workers' School and the Kentucky Labor School.

Throughout the year the project director has had repeated occasion to have successful and detailed collaborative undertakings with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. This relationship has proved valuable to both parties.

The project director also served as a member of the Task Force of The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights." Thereafter, Dr. Via was selected as the spokesman for a panel which appeared before four sessions of The White House Conference itself.

Project on Crime and Corrections

This project is concerned with prison reform, criminal rehabilitation, crime prevention and juvenile delinquency. Because of the unique qualifications required for the project director, we were not able to fill this position until mid-year when John Boone and his assistant, William Farmar, joined the staff.

Shortly thereafter we asked a number of persons to attend a one-day meeting in Atlanta to review plans for the project and advise us on them. Among those attending were the directors of the prison systems of North Carolina, South Carolina and Oregon, the general

secretary of the American Correctional Association, and the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons. This was an excellent start for the project and we are deeply grateful for the contribution of all the advisory committee members, and hope for continuing cooperation with them.

The project has commissioned a study of prison systems of the Southern states, and the first draft is completed. We hope to publish in the spring this guide for interested professionals and lay persons. A second study on the culture of slum-dwelling teen-agers has also been commissioned.

In cooperation with the Arkansas Council, the project staff has prepared information on state prisons in Arkansas, one of the worst in the region. In October, a statewide group was convened to pursue this situation. Governor Rockefeller has expressed interest in reforming the entire system, and despite resistance reform appears likely.

In Alabama, the ACLU used data previously collected by the project in a brief seeking prison desegregation, and the project director was called as a witness for the plaintiff. The material and testimony were said to have been instrumental in securing the broad desegregation order issued by the Federal Court.

In Georgia, at the request of The United Churchwomen, a position paper was prepared by the project staff on the state prison system with particular attention given to the Boys' School at Alto. Presumably,

The United Churchwomen and others will use this information in seeking reform. A similar request has come from The United Churchwomen of Florida and is being processed.

The project director has been engaged as a consultant by a number of agencies and groups, and is a member of the Atlanta Police Training Advisory Committee. He is assisting in the development of a pilot project, sponsored by the YMCA, designed to help boys and young adults who have been prison inmates.

While we were anxious to have this project, the first six months of the program has demonstrated to us a potential substantially greater than we had hoped.

OTHER PROGRAMS IN BRIEF

Relationships with Federal Agencies

During the year there was a heavy involvement with federal agencies ranging from the Commission on Civil Rights to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Consultants for employee training were provided to HEW for hospital and school desegregation personnel, to VISTA for volunteers and supervisory persons and to the Post Office Department. We have cooperated with HUD in a study of federal housing

policies, developed materials describing federal assistance available and assisted local groups in applying for such assistance. Modest grants have been made to the Councils on Human Relations in Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Atlanta for analyses of anti-poverty programs in their areas. We have cooperated with the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty in establishing their Southern program and the Director served on the CCAP Board of Inquiry to investigate charges against the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

School Desegregation

The special report on school desegregation and the state-by-state conferences, in cooperation with the Civil Rights Commission, have been referred to. Again, during the year we enjoyed close cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee and their school desegregation task force. We helped finance and plan a statewide, six-month, staffed program of school desegregation in South Carolina sponsored by Penn Community Services. Dr. Mark Chesler, University of Michigan,completed research on the experiences of Negro children in initial school desegregation in Alabama.

The report will be published in January, 1967. Financial support was given to the Virginia Council for a statewide program on providing adequate and accurate textbooks and the materials developed by VCHR were made available to other states. School desegregation programs were developed and financially supported with Councils on Human Relations in North Carolina, Alabama, and Arkansas. Instructors and speakers were provided for teacher and supervisor training programs sponsored by five universities.

Welfare Programs

A study was made of welfare programs and expenditures in the Southern states and issued under the title of Public Assistance in the South. Follow-up is being given to encourage state and local councils and others to develop an interest in this area. Financial support was provided the Georgia Council for an excellent program developed by them in cooperation with the Columbia University School of Social Work. Program and financial assistance was also provided the Atlanta Council and the state Councils in Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama.

Technological Unemployment

Under the direction of Mrs. Sue Rusche a close relationship has been established with the U. S. Department of Labor. Fortunately for us, it was necessary for Mrs. Rusche to spend some months in Washington. Thus, we have had a liaison person with the Department at minimum cost to us. Mrs. Rusche has prepared the study The Hidden Jobless in Unemployment Statistics, to be issued in February, 1967. A follow-up study, of more detail and suggested re-training procedures, is now being developed.

Other

Continued cooperation with the National Student Association's Books for Equal Education, with assistance given in program, accounting, and office space. The director served on the program's advisory committee as well as that of the NSA's Southern Project.

From a special grant, financial assistance was given for work with Student Human Relations Councils through the state Councils in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and with the YWCA.

Approximately $2,000 was provided for consultants in housing in local communities.

In addition to those referred to elsewhere, seminars were sponsored and/or jointly sponsored and financed on SRC-state Councils relations; state Council staff and presidents' program seminars; a special conference of media leadership with the Southern Education Foundation; and, a meeting of the staffs of SRC and the North Carolina Fund.

There was heavy involvement of SRC staff and policy people in planning and participating in The White House Conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

We assisted in the recruitment of Negro students in the eighth grade who would be apt candidates for attendance with substantial scholarships to six top Southern "prep" schools in 1967.

There has been developed, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, a six-point study on Southern white opinion, and efforts being made to influence opinion. Three parts have been commissioned. A series of studies will be issued and the full report may be published in hard-cover.

SRC sponsored in Atlanta a luncheon for approximately 250 persons from throughout the region interested in voter registration at which Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was the speaker.

Work has begun with the Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta University, on preserving the records of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, SRC, and other documents of historical value. We began with Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, the taping of reports of SRC founders and other pioneers in race relations work.

Through a special grant for that purpose, Joan Titus has been commissioned to do a biography of Lillian Smith.

The first few pages of this report attempted to analyze the region and its posture at the end of the year. The remainder has been a report of our work and hopes.

Yet, I remain unsatisfied with it. It may be adequate for recording our efforts during the year. It does not do justice to the Southern Regional Council. Perhaps no limited set of words can; certainly I do not have them.

This report -- given reality -- pays little enough respect to the 40 people in Atlanta who are the SRC staff; to their talents, their dedication, their life-time-built (young and old) experience, their

determination. It doesn't even mention humanly the jockeying for office space or the status of a window, the demand for wages and hours, the chucking of it all as the whole staff stuffs envelopes long after hours during a mail room crisis. It has none of the frustrations of those who travel and miss home at nights and on weekends, or of the madness of being trapped on an airplane with a seatmate who tells of the good schools the "colored" of his community have. It tells nothing of late night and weekend phone calls that remind you a staff is not working at but living a job. It tells nothing of the confused, frantic, excessive, varied traffic through an office, the mountain of paper which cannot be shuffled fast enough, the satisfaction -- seldom but just often enough -- of knowing it makes a difference.

And, if the staff was not fully in focus, the Council leadership was more grievously ignored. The staff of SRC has great responsibility, but in the eleven years I have been with this agency there has been no time, to my knowledge, when the Council's leadership was not essential; when it did not indeed

lead and guide this agency. (In fact, the staff, as we all agree, is fortunate. We are paid to do what we want an opportunity to do. Our policy leadership gives without remuneration; at least without monetary remuneration.)

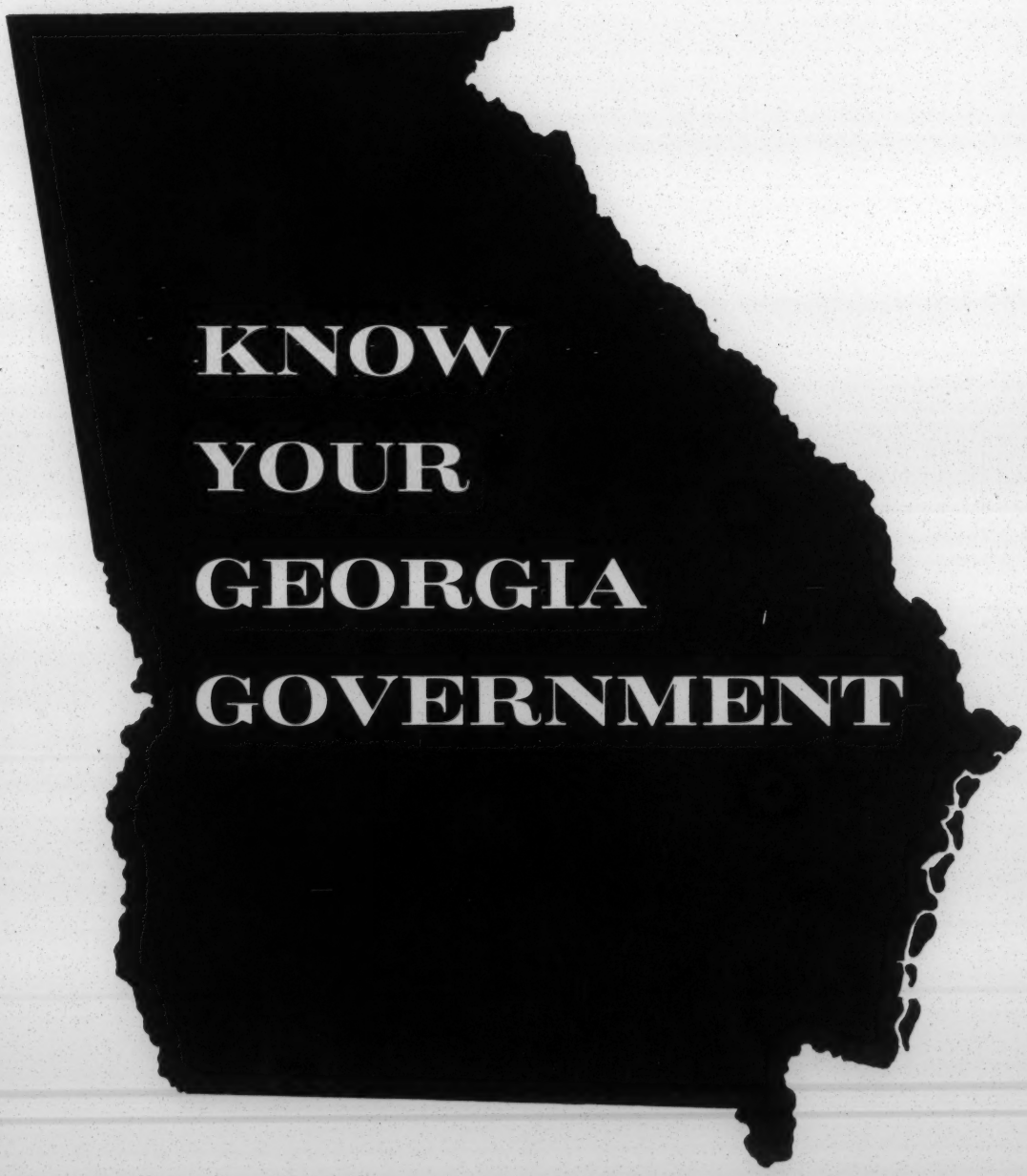
Therefore, this report does not to any degree reflect the life of the busy banker, incredibly overworked, who leads this agency and works seriously at it. It does not reflect the willingness of the time given -- the phone calls and the days away from home and practice -- of the busy physician. There is no mention of the lady who might be traveling extensively -- and wants to -- but instead worries about whether or not this Council can be supported. There is the gentleman from Tuskegee who comes repeatedly to Atlanta leaving job and family complications to serve. And these are but examples of the many.

Beyond this of course there are our friends. The good people who send us small personal -- and deeply valuable -- contributions even though we never solicit them. The foundation officials who know we are not givers and receivers but partners in a common cause; they responsible to see that we do it right and we careful to prove it -- but partners nevertheless.

There are, finally, not only staff and members and friends, but basic policy as we see it, which is a part of the inadequately reported section of this report. These include the concern that we not become bureaucratic, that we help others find resources rather than attract them for ourselves (while still hoping to pay the rent), the determination that we preserve the skills and approaches we have developed over more than twenty years, and that we not succumb to the temptation, if we could, of becoming grandiose and swollen.

Every year one is tempted to fall back on the cliché of "a good year." But 1966 was a good year. And, I am sincerely grateful to those -- the Council Members, the staff, our friends and colleagues -- who made that good year possible.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director



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I. Introduction

It's a great feeling to be a voter. Having a vote means you have power —power to help decide who is going to run your city, your county and your state. Whom you elect determines the sort of government, good or bad, you will have.

This booklet explains, as briefly as possible, how our government works. Thousands of people have been voting in this state for years and years, and they still don't know how their government works. So we hope you'll want to share your information with your neighbors and friends.

In Georgia, we have three kinds of government: city, county and state. Of course, everybody comes under the state government. It has more power than the other two.

But not everybody lives in a city under a city government. If you live on a farm or in a home outside the city's borders, or in a town too small to have its own government, your local affairs will be run by the county government.

II. Cities

Six out of ten people in Georgia live in cities. We have two kinds of city government in Georgia:

1. A mayor serving with a city council or board of aldermen. This is the most common and best-known form of city government. The mayor is elected by all the voters in the city. Sometimes the aldermen or councilmen are each elected from their own home district. Often, however, they are elected by the whole city.

2. A city manager government. The people elect commissioners (or councilmen), and the commissioners hire a city manager. The commissioners make the decisions and the city manager carries them out and also runs the everyday business of the city. The commissioners can fire the city manager any time they don't like what he is doing.

But no matter what the type of government, all Georgia cities are limited in their powers. The state Legislature gives permission for a place to form a city. As we'll see later, the state has much of the say about important things.

Here are some things that city governments can do:

- Appoint heads of departments like chief of police, fire chief, director of water supply department, director of sanitation department and so on.
- Pass local laws about city affairs—local traffic ordinances, building codes, sanitary codes, zoning rules, sewer and street maintenance.
- Regulate and run city services and properties like parks, pools, libraries, jails, airports, auditoriums and so on.
- Decide which city employees will be hired and how much they will be paid.
- Set up police courts to try people for breaking city ordinances and traffic laws.

In a few cities, the city government operates its own schools. But in most Georgia communities, education comes under the county government. And all schools are at least partly run and partly paid for—indeed, largely paid for—by the state.

Where does the money come from to pay for city government? We'll talk about this later when we look into taxes.

III. Counties

Georgia has 159 counties. The Georgia Legislature decides how counties shall be governed. The State Constitution says that all counties must be run alike, but some exceptions have been made for the big counties such as Fulton, DeKalb and Chatham.

Most counties are run by a county board of commissioners. There can be as many as eight commissioners or as few as one. Most counties have three.

These commissioners can do the following:

- Hire and fire county employees.
- Keep up county roads and public buildings.
- Name (with state okay) the people who run the county welfare system.
- Run county jails and work camps.
- Set county tax rates.

The commissioners, however, do not hire sheriffs. Unlike city police chiefs who are appointed to their jobs, sheriffs are elected by the voters in each county. Their salaries and those of their deputies are paid for out of county funds. In addition, a few counties hire a police force to work alongside the sheriff's office.

Besides the sheriff, several other important county officials—such as the tax commissioner and the coroner—are elected by the voters.

IV. State

Our state government is divided into three parts:

- The executive branch, which means the governor, the officials appointed by him, and the various elected department heads.

- The legislative branch, which means our state Legislature—called the General Assembly. This is the body which passes our state laws.

- The judicial branch, which means our courts of law, including the Supreme Court of Georgia which has the power to decide whether or not the laws passed by the General Assembly are in line with the State Constitution.

Georgia's form of state government is similar to that of the United States government. In Washington there is an executive branch headed by the President, a legislative branch which is the United States Congress, and a judicial branch headed by the United States Supreme Court.

The reason for this division of powers is that no one branch should become so strong that it runs the country—or the state—by itself. With these three branches of government, one branch can check and balance the power of the others.

Let's look now at each of these branches.

V. Governor and Executive Branch

The governor of Georgia holds the highest political office in the state. He has power to appoint people to important jobs. With the okay of the Senate, he can appoint members of:

- The State Board of Education (it oversees the public schools).

- The Board of Regents, which appoints a director called the chancellor (it supervises the state-owned colleges).

- The Board of Corrections (which runs the prisons and decides what prisoners are to be assigned to which prisons).

- The Board of Pardons and Paroles (which decides when prisoners shall be released from jail).

- The Board of Industry and Trade (to bring new business to Georgia).

He also can appoint heads of state departments without anybody's consent. Among these important jobs are:

- The director of the Family and Children Services Department (Welfare Department), which runs welfare services in Georgia.

- The supervisor of purchases. This department buys all the printing and office supplies for the state, and rents or buys all the services and property the state needs.

- The revenue commissioner. He collects the state taxes which are discussed in a later chapter.

- Director of the Department of Parks, which operates all state-owned park land.

In addition, the governor is commander of the state militia, and the State Patrol is directly under his control. The State Patrol is a state police force that is used mostly for catching traffic offenders on state roads. But the governor can have the State Patrol take over law enforcement in a county or town if a local sheriff or police chief is not doing his job.

Because the governor can make so many appointments, his power in his political party is very great. Generally he is the state leader of his party. People are willing to work for the party if they know they stand a chance of getting good jobs and power if their candidate wins.

But the power of the governor only begins with his power to appoint people to jobs. He also helps make laws with the following *legislative* powers:

- He can call a special session of the Legislature. If he has some matter he wants the legislators to take up that they didn't do when the regular session was going on, he can call them back to act on it. A special session is limited to ten weeks, but it can be less.

- He can end the regular session of the Legislature. If the two houses of the Legislature—the Senate and the House of Representatives—cannot agree on when to adjourn, the governor can set the time.

- He submits the state budget to the Legislature. He tells the legislators how much money he thinks the state has to spend, and what he thinks they ought to spend it on.

- He recommends bills to the Legislature. At the beginning of each legislative session, the governor makes a speech, telling the legislators

what condition the state is in and what bills he thinks are needed. He can also send special messages on particular bills to the Legislature. Then, various legislators introduce the bills that the governor wants. Of course, a bill that everybody knows the governor is backing gets much more serious attention than one that is backed by just one or two legislators.

• He can *veto* a bill. Veto means "I forbid." Even after the Legislature passes a bill, the governor can veto, or forbid, it. Then, if the legislators still want it, they must pass it again. But this time, two-thirds of the members must vote for it—not just a simple majority.

In the *judicial* branch, the governor has the power to:

• Hold up a death sentence until the Pardons and Paroles Board reviews the case.

• Appoint judges to vacancies in the Supreme Court of Georgia, the Georgia Court of Appeals and the state Superior Courts until the next regular election.

• Tell the attorney general to bring law suits in the state's name. He may also ask the attorney general to give him a ruling on whether or not some action or some law is unconstitutional. The attorney general's ruling normally is followed until somebody questions it in court.

* * *

Although, as we have seen, the governor has the right to appoint many officials, not everybody in the executive branch is appointed by him. Twelve executive department heads are elected by the voters. Here are some of the most important ones:

• Commissioner of Labor. This office is important because the commissioner of labor runs the State Employment Service. If all Negroes get sent out to apply for jobs as janitors or laborers and nothing else, the commissioner of labor ought to hear about it. Remember that the State Employment Service is entirely paid for by the federal government, and under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it is not supposed to discriminate against anybody.

• Attorney General. He is the lawyer for the state in all cases in the Supreme Court where the death penalty is involved and in many other kinds of cases, too. He can start an investigation when he hears that a state employee is dishonest or is doing something seriously wrong. He represents the state in court actions. And as we said before, he gives opinions on whether certain official actions are permissible.

• Superintendent of Schools. As already explained, the governor appoints the Board of Education. But the superintendent of schools is elected by the voters. Since the superintendent's job is full-time and the board's is not, the everyday direction of the public schools is left to the superintendent. He and the board together make the rules for running the schools, decide what shall be studied, and decide what books and materials the schools will use. The superintendent and the board also have the power to stop giving state money to a school district which does not follow standards of health, safety and the proper number of teachers, as well as other rules. Although they have this right, they hardly ever use it.

• Comptroller General. The comptroller general has many duties. He keeps records of the money appropriated to state departments. Also, he regulates insurance companies. He is the state fire safety commissioner, which means that he is in charge of fire prevention laws. And he also handles the laws for small-loan companies. If you think a small-loan company is a "loan shark"—that is, charging interest that is too high or making unfair charges—tell the comptroller general's office about it. The same goes for complaints about insurance.

• Secretary of State. The secretary of state supervises state elections and is in charge of certain chartering and licensing functions of the state.

Another important elected official is the lieutenant governor. The lieutenant governor replaces the governor if the governor dies or resigns. But the lieutenant governor's main job is to preside over the State Senate when the Legislature is in session.

VI. Legislature

The Legislature—the General Assembly—makes the laws we live under in Georgia. There are two houses in the Legislature: a House of Representatives and a smaller Senate. Both houses must pass a bill before it can become a law.

The laws these men pass must not violate the Constitution of the State of Georgia and of the United States. When a citizen feels that a law violates the State Constitution, he may sue in the state courts to have it declared unconstitutional. If he feels that a law or a part of the Georgia State Constitution violates the United States Constitution, he may sue in a federal court.

For instance, a suit in federal court changed the way we elect our Legislature. It used to be that every county, no matter how small in population, had at least one representative. A big county, even if it had 100 times as many people in it as a small one, had only three representatives. This meant that the vote of a person living in a county with very few people counted for much more than the vote of a person living in a city.

A group of Georgians felt that each person's vote, no matter where he lived, should count the same as each other person's vote. They sued in federal court to get equal representation for all citizens. The court agreed with them and ruled that every legislator must represent the same number of people. This idea is called "one man, one vote." Under the federal court's ruling, the state was divided up into new House districts and new Senate districts. This division, called *reapportionment,* gives city people their fair share of representatives.

VII. How Laws Are Made

Even though you are not a legislator, you—as a voter—can play a part in enacting good laws in Georgia. Let's take a look at a bill that was introduced last year into the Senate and follow its progress to see what part the legislators played and what part the citizens played in its outcome.

As our example, we shall use the bill to cut down the number of crimes which can be punished by the death penalty.

During the 1965 General Assembly, a resolution was adopted creating a special Senate committee to study the death penalty. This committee was appointed because more and more people in Georgia want to do away with the death penalty, and they told their legislators about this. Much of the feeling for getting rid of the death penalty comes from Negro groups, who know that Negroes are sentenced to death in Georgia more than four times as often as whites.

The reapportioned Legislature meant that for the first time there were two Negro senators, and they made the wishes of their voters known. So voters played an important part in having the special committee created.

When a special committee is created by the Senate, the lieutenant governor, who is the chief officer of the Senate, appoints the members to serve on it. In the House, committee members are appointed by the speaker of the House. In this case, the lieutenant governor appointed ten senators.

The special committee decided to study the death penalty by getting in touch with all the other states and finding out whether those dropping it had more crime or less, and any other facts the other states could tell them.

As a second and more important step, it held public hearings in Athens, Rome, Albany, Macon, Savannah and Atlanta. At these hearings, people for and against the death penalty got up and told how they felt and why.

If you hear or read in the paper that a public hearing on a bill that interests you is going to be held, you can write to the chairman of that committee and ask for a chance to speak. But keep in mind that it means

much more if you are speaking for a whole group of people, such as a church or club or civic improvement association.

After the hearings, the special Senate committee wrote a report. As happens many times, all the members did not agree. Six of them felt that the death penalty should be kept; four felt it should not be. So the report had a section where the six—the majority—stated their opinion, and the four—the minority—stated theirs. Then they all got together and agreed on a bill which would reduce the number of crimes which can be punished by the death penalty.

The steps that a bill goes through are:

1. The bill is introduced into the Senate (or into the House; either way the procedure is the same) and only the title telling what the bill is about is read.

2. The bill is referred to a committee dealing with that subject.

3. Then public hearings may be held, such as the ones about the death penalty. But there is no law that says public hearings *must* be held. So if you think a particular bill ought to have public hearings, you should write to your legislator and ask him to see that they are held.

4. After a bill goes to committee, one of several things can happen to it:

- It can be sent back to the Senate (or House) floor to be passed, just as it is.
- It can be sent to the Senate (or House) floor to pass, but with some changes.
- It can be sent out with no recommendation, either to pass it or not to pass it.
- It can be sent out with a recommendation that it do not pass.
- It can be held in the committee so that no debate will take place in the Senate (or House). By holding a bill this way, the committee can kill it.

5. When the bill comes to the floor, the whole bill is read. Then the legislators debate it, make changes in it, if necessary, and finally vote on it. To pass the Senate (or House), a bill must have the votes of a majority of the members.

6. If the bill is passed in the Senate (or House), it then goes to the House (or Senate) for the same routine. Of course, if it is defeated, that is the end of it for that session of the Legislature. Any changes made by either house must be approved by the other house.

7. If the bill is passed by both houses, it goes to the governor for his signature. We have seen that he can either sign it into law or veto it.

In the case of the bill to reduce the number of crimes which could be punished by death, it was passed by both houses and signed into law by the governor.

In future sessions, bills to abolish the death penalty probably will come up again. For even though a bill may be defeated in one session, there is nothing to prevent it being introduced in the next session and the next.

VIII. The State Constitution

The constitutions of some states are short, because they are meant to be used as a guide to the people and the legislators for general policy. But Georgia's Constitution goes into great detail about a lot of different matters.

As a result, many laws cannot be passed because they do not agree with some part of the State Constitution. A constitutional amendment was necessary, for example, before action could be taken on a school lunch program, or special treatment for juvenile delinquents, or consolidating school districts.

Any legislator may bring up an amendment to the Constitution. If it is approved by two-thirds of the members of the House and the Senate, it is placed on the ballot at election time for the voters to pass on. In the 1966 election, voters had to pass on 20 statewide amendments, plus local amendments.

Some amendments affect only the people of one county, not everybody. These are voted on only by the people in the county or counties involved. These are the local amendments we mentioned above.

As a result of all the restrictions in the Constitution, it has had to be amended almost 400 times since 1945.

IX. Courts

Georgia has three kinds of courts: inferior or lower courts, superior courts, and appellate courts. Let's take them one by one.

1. *Inferior Courts* (lower courts)

These are courts which try small civil (non-criminal) cases and misdemeanors. A misdemeanor is a small crime like being drunk and disorderly. There are several kinds of inferior or lower courts, and the kind of court depends in part on the community. There are:

- Justices of the Peace. Georgia has 1,600 justices of the peace, most elected from rural areas. They can try civil cases where up to $200 is involved. They cannot try any criminal cases, but they can issue a warrant for a suspect's arrest. They can also question the suspect and hold him for a criminal court. Justices of the peace don't have to be lawyers or have any legal training.

- Police Courts. Most cities no longer have justices of the peace. In part they have been replaced by police courts, which are most often run by a judge or official with some kind of legal training. These courts can try traffic offenses and persons accused of breaking city laws.

- City and County Courts. These courts can rule on civil cases like contracts and suits for damages. They can also try misdemeanors.

- Courts of the Ordinary. Every county has an ordinary. Part of his job is to be in charge of issuing marriage licenses, pistol-carrying permits and other licenses. He also is in charge of county elections. The other part of his job is to be a judge and rule on wills, estates, guardianships and insanity hearings. The ordinary can also try misdemeanors and traffic cases in counties where there are no city or county courts.

- Small Claims Courts. These courts are new. They only handle civil cases up to $500. The idea is that people can come into them without having a lawyer and the judge will settle the quarrel between them.

2. *Superior Courts*

Superior Courts try civil cases involving more money than those in lower courts, and certain special kinds of civil cases such as land title cases and divorces.

They can try criminal cases where felonies are charged. A felony is a more serious crime than a misdemeanor, ranging from robbery to murder, or any crime where the defendant might be sent to the state prison or given the death penalty.

Superior courts also have *appellate* powers. This means that if you feel the decision of a lower court such as justice of the peace or police court is wrong in your case, you may take the case (appeal it) to a Superior Court, and it has the power to overrule the lower court.

Superior Court judges are elected. Almost all of them serve four-year terms.

- Juvenile Courts. Every county over 50,000 in Georgia has to have a juvenile court, and those with less people can have one if grand juries in those counties recommend it. Here are two important things to think about in our juvenile court set-up:

Many people have the idea that a juvenile must be tried in a juvenile court in a county where there is one. This is not true. A Superior Court judge can take the child out of the hands of the juvenile court and try him as though he were a grown-up. The judge can send him to a regular prison, not a juvenile home. The Georgia Supreme Court has said that a Superior Court judge may do this.

Juvenile court judges are appointed by the Superior Court judge in that district, and they do not conduct their courts in the regular way. They try to be informal, and do away with all the rules which might stop them from understanding what is best for the child. By relaxing the rules to help the child, the court often takes away his right to have a lawyer and to question witnesses, and to defend himself. However, the U. S. Supreme Court recently has said that a child has a right to have a lawyer in juvenile court, although this does not mean that the trial has to be carried out under adult rules.

3. *Appellate Courts*

If you feel that the decisions of the lower courts are wrong in your case, you may take the case to a higher, or appellate court. One appellate court is the Georgia Court of Appeals. The highest appellate court is the Georgia Supreme Court. Both of these courts hear appeals from all over the state.

X. Jury System

If you are being tried for overtime parking, or breaking some city law, you don't usually ask for a jury trial, although it is your right to have one. If you do, your case might be held for the Superior Court, since not all lower courts have juries. Those lower courts which do have juries have six-man juries. Superior Courts have 12-man juries.

How is a juror picked? The judge or judges of the Superior Court appoint a jury commission for each county in that area. Members of this jury commission serve six years. They make up a list of jurors from the voter registration list. Whenever a jury is called for, the names are taken from this list. A special list is taken from this larger list to be members of the grand jury. We'll talk now about the difference between a grand jury and a trial jury (petit jury).

• The grand jury is composed of from 18 to 36 people. The grand jurors have two jobs:

They hear evidence against a defendant charged with a felony and decide whether it is enough to hold him for a trial. They listen to the policeman who arrested him and the witnesses against him. They don't decide whether the defendant is guilty, just whether it is reasonable to think he might possibly be guilty. If they feel that there is enough evidence against him to bring him to trial, they *indict* him. This is also called *returning a true bill.* If they feel there isn't enough evidence against him, they return a *no bill,* and the defendant is let go.

The grand jurors also look into public matters. They can investigate the honesty of public officials, make recommendations about county roads, education, public morals, political events, needed laws, and a whole lot of other things. Their opinions—called *presentments*—are not laws and do not have to be obeyed. But they sometimes get a lot of public attention.

• The trial jury (petit jury) decides questions in the trial itself. It listens to the facts and decides the case. All twelve people on a jury must agree on the decision or verdict.

• The Solicitor General. The lawyer who *prosecutes* (tries) the criminal case for the state, both before the grand jury and the trial jury, is called the solicitor general. He is elected for four years, and there is one solicitor general for each Superior Court district.

XI. Education

Here are some facts to remember about Georgia's educational system:

• All public schools are under the State Board of Education and the state superintendent of schools.

• Every county is a school district. Therefore, we have 159 school districts, plus 36 more independent school districts set up for some of the cities. This means that a small county with not many school children in it has to have a grammar school and a high school in it whether it has enough pupils or not. An amendment to the Constitution voted in 1966 permits two or more counties to combine their school systems if they want to. This is called *school consolidation.*

• Schools are paid for by the county or city, plus the state, plus the federal government. Out of every ten dollars the state spends, six are spent on education. On the other hand, the counties put up a relatively small amount. The federal government gives increasingly large amounts of money—for school lunches, special educational programs, and anti-poverty programs. Federal money can be taken away from a school district that refuses to stop segregating its pupils.

• Despite all the local, state and federal funds provided for Georgia's public schools, the amount of money being spent on each child is a good deal less than is spent in most states.

• Our teachers are paid less than the national average salary for teachers. Many have less training than they should.

It's pretty plain that there is much to be done to improve education in Georgia. That is why it is so important to take part in local school board elections. Just as important as voting in school board elections is having people who care about education go to school board meetings. If school board members know that the voters are watching them, they are much more likely to do a good job.

XII. Welfare

The Welfare Department—now called the Department of Family and Children Services—gives the following services:

- Hospital care to the old, the blind and the disabled.
- Money to support needy old and disabled people.
- Relief money to families with small children who have no one to support them.
- Homes for children who have gotten into trouble with the law or who have been abandoned.
- Help to unmarried mothers.
- Adoption services and foster homes.
- Licensing of maternity homes, adoption agencies and day-care centers and nurseries.

Most of the money for these welfare services—seven dollars out of every ten—comes from the federal government, which gives it to the state to spend.

The State Department of Family and Children Services has the power to supervise how welfare is run. But actually, the everyday running of welfare is left in the hands of county welfare departments.

XIII. Highways

Every time you buy a gallon of gas, you pay a state gasoline tax. All of this money, under the Georgia Constitution, must be spent on highways and roads. This means that there is a great deal of money to spend for this purpose.

The State Highway Department decides where state roads shall be built. Then the department gets a road contractor to build it. The road contractor is picked among several who bid on the job, and the one who puts in the lowest bid gets the contract. Or, the individual county makes a contract with the Highway Department to build a road, and it often goes out and hires its own road contractor.

The State Highway Board has 10 members—one from each congressional district. The Highway Board members are elected by the members of the Legislature in each congressional district.

XIV. Taxes

The money to run our city, county and state governments comes from taxes. Every time you buy something—food, gasoline, a pack of cigarets, or something to wear—you are paying taxes. There are also taxes on owning property and earning money. Often you are paying taxes without even realizing it.

Most of the state's money comes from sales taxes. There is a general sales tax of three cents per dollar on almost everything you buy in Georgia. Then there are special taxes on such items as gasoline, cigarets, beer and whisky. The state government gets a relatively small amount of money from such things as corporation and personal income taxes, although the income tax is a major source of revenue for the federal government.

The major source of income for cities and counties is the property tax. This tax is supposed to be levied on an equal basis on your house, your land, your car and everything you own. If you feel that the valuation on your house or land or other property is unfair, the agency to see is your local board of tax assessors.

Cities also take in fairly large sums of money from such things as business licenses, water bills, and street and sewer assessments.

XV. Conclusion

Most of the officials we have been talking about in this booklet are elected. That means that you have a chance to vote on whether or not they hold office.

A governor, for example, is elected every four years. Most of the sheriffs, judges, county commissioners, and others, state and local, also are elected every four years. There are a few—for example, U. S. representatives—who run every two years. And U. S. senators are elected every six years.

This means some sort of election is held in the summer and fall of every even-numbered year. And other elections, such as those for mayors and city councilmen, often come in between. Then there are bond issues for borrowing money and elections on policy matters (which are called *referendums).*

So there are many, many elections. You should make it your business to vote in every one of them.

How do you find out about these elections? You keep your eyes and ears open. You stay interested in your government. You try to find out as much as you can—from newspapers, from radio, from television, and from people you know and trust—about when elections are held and who is running. Stay informed about issues, problems and needs.

This booklet doesn't tell you all you need to know about government. No booklet can do that.

When all is said and done, it is up to you to find out as much as you can about what is going on. It is up to you to let representatives and other officeholders know how you feel. It is up to you to register and vote.

This is the job of a citizen, and we are all citizens.

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BLUEPRINT FOR SEGREGATION: A SURVEY OF ATLANTA HOUSING

BY SAMUEL L. ADAMS

Mr. Adams, former director of research for the Southern Regional Council and reporter for the St. Petersburg TIMES, is now doing research in the behaviorial sciences as a Russell Sage Fellow at the University of Wisconsin. He was a national finalist in 1965 for the Lane Bryant Volunteer Service Awards. He will return to newspaper work this summer.

In approaching the subject of Negro housing in Atlanta, I do so with a certain sense of trauma. I remember—more vividly sometimes than I wish—my family's experiences as the single Negro family on an otherwise all-white street in a Southwest Atlanta neighborhood. I remember the first night—the sound of gunshots fired above the house, the sight of cherry bombs and Molotov cocktails tossed on the lawn. I remember returning home with my wife and two children after a short trip to the city to find windows broken and streams of toilet paper decorating the front yard. I remember the sight of my trembling teenage daughter telling her mother and me of an attempt by a white teenage motorist to run her down as she walked along the road from school. I remember the words of my six-year-old son telling us of being chased by larger white boys. "I wish I was white so they wouldn't do it." It is not possible to erase such memories.

Yet I would add, too, that such things could have occurred in any city of the United States; for when it comes to housing discrimination, no city in this country can cast the first stone. The study that follows, then, is not intended to be an indictment of Atlanta, but rather a survey of the forces at work in any urban environment to produce and maintain segregation in private and public housing. Atlanta was chosen partly because it was my home, but also because of its importance as a bellweather city of the South, and its many similarities to industrial centers of the North. It was thought, too, that last year's racial clashes in Atlanta—shattering the city's carefully cultivated public image as a model of white and Negro co-existence—gave new urgency to attempts of concerned organizations to meet the city's housing crises, and that hopefully this survey could be of value to them.

When I first sought a home in Atlanta in the summer of 1965, I talked by telephone with white real estate agents, sometimes asking them about specific houses I knew were vacant. Not knowing they were talking to a Negro, some of the agents advised me against considering homes in certain so-called "fringe" areas because, as they put it, "the niggers have started moving in there." After seeing me, these realtors would either refer me to Negro real estate firms or to white firms which sold and rented property in Negro areas. Often white agents candidly told me that they did not handle property for Negroes.

The role of white realtors in promoting segregated housing is thus easily seen. The part Negro realtors play is less obvious perhaps because they are victims of the system perpetuated by whites. One Negro realtor interviewed in connection with this article said that when a group of whites attempting to maintain racial balance in their neighborhood asked him to cooperate by discouraging further Negro purchases in the area, he refused because he believes in open occupancy. But in the absence of a federal open occupancy law permitting Negroes to live wherever their financial resources permit and thus discouraging the migration of race-conscious whites seeking lily-white neighborhoods, the practical result of his refusal will be to help bring about total transition of the neighborhood, in other words, to perpetuate segregation. Asked exactly how he would proceed in handling a transaction involving the entry of a Negro family into an all-white neighborhood where no pattern of transition previously existed, he indicated that he would move with great caution. First, he said, he would impress upon the family the hazards of what it was doing, the possibility of violence, the probability of social snubs. He said if anything violent should occur the first question his friends and associates would ask him was why he let the transaction go through. They would look upon him as having exploited the Negro buyer. This, he said, could hurt his business.

All evidence indicates that segregation is increasing in Atlanta housing. According to the Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission, one of every four housing units occupied by Atlanta Negroes in 1964 were located in census tracts in which not a single white family lived. This compares with a ratio of one in seven only four years earlier. Over half of all Negro housing units in 1964 were located in tracts which were 95 per cent or more Negro-occupied, the Commission says. In 1960, the proportion was 50.6 per cent. A recent study[1] of Negro housing in major American cities showed that the index of segregation in Atlanta increased between 1940 and 1950 from 87.4 per cent to 91.5 per cent and to 93.6 per cent in 1960.

Atlanta has one of the largest concentrations of Negro millionaires in the nation. The city also has a sizeable Negro bank, and a savings and loan association (both with neighborhood branches) as well as Negro insurance companies, a mortgage-purchasing firm and many real estate establishments. This Negro money and business acumen has influence, but it has not kept whites from controlling land inside and outside the Negro community and developing most of the Negro housing (close to 90% according to some key real estate leaders).

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[1]*Negroes in Cities—Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change,* by Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1965. This was a block by block examination of Negro housing.

Other mechanisms from outside the Negro community that influence housing patterns in the city discussed in this study include the following:

- Street closures and the planning of thoroughfares that do not facilitate easy travel between Negro and white residential areas.
- Placement of cemeteries, public housing projects, and open green areas where they inhibit any spill-over of Negroes at the fringes of the crowded ghetto.
- Violence and intimidation, including some thirty bombings in recent years.
- Differential zoning and application of land clearance and condemnation regulations that combine to make Negro areas less desirable.

In the absence of federal open occupancy legislation, Atlanta Negroes are faced with extremely difficult problems of land acquisition. Despite the fact that in the past five years the Negro population of the city has increased from 38 per cent of the total to 43 per cent, Negroes still occupy less than 20 per cent of available land. What they do occupy has not come to them easily. A little historical background is instructive here.

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION LIVING INSIDE AND OUTSIDE CITY LIMITS OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960

Race	Total	Inside City Limits	Outside City Limits	Per Cent Inside City Limits
Total	1,017,188	487,455	529,733	47.9
Negro	232,169	186,464	45,705	80.5
White	785,019	300,991	484,028	38.3

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960

Atlanta's origins as a railroad center established early residential patterns that persist today. Property near railroad yards was generally considered by whites to be undesirable and was thus more easily available for Negro occupancy. A look at an Atlanta map shows a heavy concentration of Negro occupancy along the Atlantic Coast Line routes on the west, the Southern routes on the south, and the Georgia Railway on the east. Railroad tracks, it should be noted, provide ready-made barriers useful as buffer zones between white and Negro sections, a fact that land developers and city planners historically have utilized.

Negro expansion from the central city until after World War I was to the east, but—meeting white resistance in the twenties—turned westward. This was a trend due primarily to the enterprising efforts of Negro businessman Herman E. Perry. Perry began a home-building program on Atlanta's west side with an original plot of some 200 acres. A Pittsburgh *Courier* feature story on Perry in October, 1931, said that 511 homes had been built on the land with costs ranging between $3,000 and $8,000. Nine years later in 1940, almost 40 per cent of the city's Negroes lived on the west side and the westward trend was thus firmly set.

Negro expansion into the westside white community of Mozley Park established precedents of action by Negro and white real estate interests. The section is located approximately three miles from downtown Atlanta, and is situated al-

most in the middle of the Negro expansion path of the twenties and thirties. As early as 1937, a Negro doctor bought some land in the community, but failed to build on it due to threats from white residents. From then until shortly after World War II, the community waged a successful cold war to remain all-white. In this resistance, they sometimes had the overt cooperation of City Hall. Longtime Negro residents of surrounding areas, for instance, recall that the streets leading from West View Drive into Negro areas were unpaved for the first one hundred yards or so. West View Drive was a main thoroughfare which white residents of Mozley Park insisted be a Negro-white demarcation line.

In 1948, a Negro war veteran who had inherited some land in Mozley Park decided to build there. Despite white threats, he refused to be intimidated and proceeded with construction plans. A Negro real estate broker meanwhile bought three nearby homes from white owners and sold one to a Negro minister. When the minister moved in, 200 or so angry whites were on hand to make their displeasure known. The minister moved shortly thereafter and the Georgia Real Estate Commission revoked the broker's license for allegedly misrepresenting to his clients that all of the houses on the block were going to be occupied by Negroes.

When the Negro veteran occupied his house in 1949, all three houses were back in white hands. Gradually, however, over the next few years some white owners—lured by the prospect of selling their homes at inflated prices—sold out to Negro buyers. It was thus obvious to most real estate men of both races that Mozley Park had become a neighborhood "in transition." City officials—deciding that this transition should come about as peacefully as possible—organized a biracial group (without, however, any official status) to act as a kind of ex-officio mediation board between white and Negro residents. Out of the committee's efforts grew an agreement between the all-Negro Empire Real Estate Board and the real estate committee of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, the practical result of which was that Negroes in exchange for the entire Mozley Park residential section plus a city park and city school located in the community voluntarily agreed not to expand Negro occupation beyond the limits of the western boundary of West View Drive.[2]

The agreement at the time was hailed by many as a model example of how white and Negro interests could work together for the good of both races. By comparison with the inaction of other southern cities faced with similar problems of Negro expansion, certainly the agreement was unique. Overlooked—or, more probably, deliberately ignored—was the fact that the committee operated strictly within the framework of segregation. The business of the committee was to effect "peaceful transition," not neighborhood stabilization or peaceful integration. Also it was commonly acknowledged that few white sellers failed to sell at a good profit. More important, some Negro civil rights leaders now say, was that the acceptance of an artificial demarcation line beyond which Negroes would not move, in effect, was an admission by Negro real estate interests of the inevitability of segregation. When—a few years later—Negro expansion needs again reached a critical state, the agreement was seen to have had only short-term benefits.

In the forties when expansion in the western area of the city was still held

[2]For more detailed background on this agreement, see *Housing and Minority Groups*, edited by Nathan Glazer and Davis McEntire; the University of California Press, 1960; pp. 26-34.

back to a considerable degree by the white settlement in Mozley Park, Negro development had already begun to by-pass and encircle the area. Negroes settled in the Bennett subdivision in 1946, the Simpson Heights subdivision in 1947, and the Porter Drive-Leathers Circle Subdivision in 1948-49. In 1949 the Fairhaven subdivision located to the west and north of Mozley Park was developed. It is instructive here to note the role of the Atlanta Transit System in protecting white interests in Mozley Park. Those who were active in bringing about the Fairhaven development recall now their impatience with the transit company in not providing a direct bus route into Fairhaven, which contained some 233 new homes. The most efficient route pattern, they point out, would have been to extend the West Hunter Street bus through the contested Mozley Park area and on into Fairhaven. Despite repeated requests for such a routing, the transit company refused and commuting Negroes living in Fairhaven were forced to walk to and from the terminal point of the Westview Drive bus line to the south and west of Mozley Park.

An effort in 1962 by a Negro doctor to move beyond the limitations set by the earlier agreement of Negro realtors into the bordering white upper middle class neighborhood of Peyton Forest resulted in the notorious Peyton Road barricade. The street was literally blocked off by the city with no pretense at any motivation other than to prevent further Negro expansion on Peyton Road. A city ordinance was passed to legalize the closing. Called everything from the Berlin Wall to the Warsaw Ghetto, the barricade was so deeply resented by Atlanta Negroes that today, five years later, many scoff at the city's national image as a paragon of fair and just race relations. The barricade, they said, convinced them that despite high-sounding public pronouncements, the city government will betray them when their needs are in conflict with white prejudices.

The Peyton Road barricade did not withstand a court test. A Fulton County Superior Court struck down the ordinance and city officials—alarmed by the reaction to the barricade within the Negro community (Negro voters were responsible for the election of moderate Mayor Ivan Allen over arch-segregationist Lester Maddox, who has since been elected governor of Georgia) did not appeal the case. Legal barriers to Negro entrance into Peyton Forest were eliminated but white residents were not prepared to give up without a fight.

Resisting an anticipated Negro invasion, the all-white Southwest Citizens Association put together a $200,000 war chest with which it hoped to purchase property from whites who were threatening to place their homes on the Negro market. The white group, however, did not have the city's big financial muscle behind it and could not match the combined resources of Negro insurance companies, banks, and real estate firms. Peyton Forest racial barriers were broken but the cost to Negro capital was high. One white owner, for instance, was able to bid up his property between the two groups from $65,000 to $105,000.

The so-called Peyton Road affair resulted in a code of ethics between a group of white and Negro realtors which made the following points:

1. All listings would be accepted regardless of color.
2. The brokers would cooperate and meet when tensions developed in transitional neighborhoods.
3. There would be no physical barriers erected to further segregation.
4. There would be no deliberate blockbusting.

TABLE 2
POPULATION OF ATLANTA, 1960, 1964, 1965
AND NET CHANGE 1960-65

	1960	1964	1965	Net Change 1960-65	
Total	487,455	506,200	504,600	Plus	17,145
White	300,991	298,658	284,719	Minus	16,272
Negro	186,464	207,542	219,881	Plus	33,417

SOURCE: Computed from U. S. Census data and estimates of Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission

Some Atlanta Negroes today believe that had major white capital really wanted to block Negro entrance into the area, it could have done so either by outbidding the Negroes or exerting enough indirect pressure on them to force them to give up. But apparently these white interests decided that keeping Peyton Forest all-white was not worth a major power play and certainly they were wise enough to see that Negro occupancy of the area represented a natural extension of Negro neighborhoods. Had Negro financial interests been attempting to buy property in Buckhead, Sandy Springs, or Paces Ferry Road—all gilt-edged white neighborhoods—the story would doubtless have been different.

It takes a great deal of capital to develop what the real estate man calls "dead land," more capital than Atlanta Negroes are able to muster independently of whites. White financial institutions, consequently, are depended upon by Negro real estate men and builders for making loans to their clients. This role obviously gives white capital a heavy hand in determining where Negroes live. An arbitrary limit was placed on the amount that would be lent to a Negro, according to a Negro attorney who moved to Atlanta in the early 1960's and sought money to build a sprawling $40,000 home. The lawyer said the limit was $20,000. But the head of a lending institution said limits are based on considerations of both the borrowing individual and the location of the house he wants to build. In other words, bankers will not lend as much to build a house adjacent to a railroad track or next to a fertilizer plant, locations in which Negro residences are more likely to be than whites, and locations which are not of their own choice.

White apologists for the locations of Negro residential areas like to say that Atlanta "just grew" and that no conscious efforts have been exerted by city planners to create a Negro ghetto. This is difficult enough to accept in view of the Peyton Road barricade just referred to, but there is other equally persuasive evidence to the contrary. Drive from downtown Atlanta six miles southwest through Atlanta's bulging westside Negro community on out into the unincorporated areas of Fulton County, and you will find exactly three streets that provide fairly direct access between the Negro area to the northwest and the white area to the southwest. In a city the size of Atlanta which always is struggling to relieve traffic congestion problems, this is a situation difficult to fathom on any sound or logical basis. Moreover, it is evident from driving through many Negro areas that land planners have also used railway tracks without under or overhead passes, parks, planting strips, and cemeteries to complicate the process of going from Negro neighborhoods to white. What strikes the observer most strongly about Atlanta street patterns, however, is that there is presently no circular route of travel and

TABLE 3

HOUSING INCREASES IN ATLANTA, 1960-65

	1960	1964	1965	Net Change 1960-65
Total	154,224	168,717	164,492	10,268
White	97,967	103,928	103,111	5,144
Negro	48,044	55,793	61,381	13,274
Vacant	8,213	8,996	9,040	827

SOURCE: Calculated from field data supplied by Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission

transportation. Virtually all public transportation terminates in or near the heart of the city; transfers from lines serving the Negro community to lines serving the white community generally require a walk of several blocks. At about 8 a.m. on regular work days, the downtown sidewalks are crowded with Negro domestic workers making their way to work in white homes, a trip that may take up to two or three hours each day if the waiting periods are included. The normal economic and commercial interests of the city would be served by an efficient circulation system. The city is presently constructing a circumferential highway that will permit circular travel at the edge of the city, but the benefit here is for motorists rather than public transportation.

In Atlanta, special land-use permits sometimes speed neighborhood change from white to Negro. It is not unusual for land owners to seek permits to intensify land-use in a community once a few Negroes move in. The erection of multi-units and the changing character of the area by the addition of light business and commercial buildings help speed the remaining whites on to suburban or other areas not threatened by change. But cooperation of Negroes and whites in the newly integrated West Manor community recently caused the failure of an attempt to re-zone land for more intense use in a transitional area. The land owners sought to change the zoning from single family residences so that an apartment building could be constructed. A white woman who lived in the area told the zoning committee at a hearing in July, 1966: "I don't want these apartments in; I want our neighborhood to be as nice as possible because I don't want to move out. I have a Negro family next door to me, but I will not move."

Zoning ordinances, Negro leaders say, also have had the effect of producing buffer zones and also of blocking Negro expansion. Thus, according to one Negro realtor, undeveloped land bordering so-called fringe neighborhoods has sometimes been zoned for light industry with the tacit understanding, he believes, that no industry is actually to be so located. Near Peyton Forest, he said, such a zoning took place prior to the barricade, but later when Negroes began moving into the area, the land was re-zoned for apartments and duplexes.

Whether there is differential enforcement of building code inspections between white and Negro developers is not easily documented. Many Negroes suspect that such is the case since whites do most of the developing in both Negro and white areas. The city has no Negro building inspectors, a fact that leads some observers to suspect that white developers of Negro housing are permitted certain short cuts or borderline violations more frequently than Negro builders.

Even in some agreed-upon growth directions, some affected whites have

taken matters into their own hands and resisted Negro encroachment. Explosives were planted near several newly purchased fringe area homes as Negro migration threatened the Edgewood and Bankhead areas in the eastern and western portions of the city. The blasts came frequently in the first half of the 1950's, tapered off for several years and increased again in the early 1960's. Bombings have represented only part of the intimidation and harassment meted out to Negro families who jump racial barriers in Atlanta. Cross-burnings and telephone threats have also been used to keep housing boundaries intact. How effective are such methods? The answer has to be qualified. They do not stop migration altogether, but they do serve as a strong deterrant and delaying tactic. No one is anxious to subject his family to post-midnight blasts or threats.

More sophisticated whites have sometimes tried to retain the prestige of not living on the same streets as Negroes by having their street's name changed. Thus, Hunter Road becomes Mozley Drive at Chappel Road. As Negro expansion crept toward Ponce de Leon in the central northeast area a few years ago, the part of Boulevard Avenue beyond Ponce de Leon was renamed Monroe Drive and the extension of Parkway beyond the Negro residences was renamed Charles Allen Drive.

During much of the last decade, federal government activity has increased both population and housing change in Atlanta. An article in the Atlanta *Journal* of November 4, 1965, noted these revealing facts and figures:

> Government activities have displaced 15,500 families during the past nine-and-one-half years, statistics show. From 9,000 to 12,000 of these families were in income brackets low enough to qualify for public housing. Yet during the same period from January 1, 1956, to June 30, 1965, only slightly more than 4,000 new low-cost units of housing were made available. That leaves a housing deficit of 5,000 to 7,000 units for poorer Atlanta families.

Enforcement of the city's minimum housing code displaced approximately 2,240 additional families according to the *Journal* article. Actually, the deficit is probably even higher. The figures do not reflect what is generally accepted as a significant population increase among poor Atlanta Negro families.

In large measure, those forced to relocate are on the lower income rung, and that is indicative of the fact that greater economic problems are created for low income families. Extremely hard pressed are those Negroes of small means, especially those who need but are unable to qualify for the inadequate supply of public housing.[3] Private Atlanta rentals run approximately 20% higher than low-rent projects charge for comparable facilities. And developers have built few homes in the city for prices less than $10,000. In a spot check of the cost of lots in the Negro community, none sold for less than $3,000, even though some were extremely small. The high land cost tends to make construction of modest homes more expensive to buyers and less profitable to builders.

Contrasting with the increased Negro share of the total city population is the lagging growth in the number of Negro housing units. Despite a drop in the per-

[3]Some persons whose earnings are below the maximum prescribed for public housing cannot qualify for admission for such reasons as: No steady job, no husband in family, common-law marriage and, most significant, no vacancy for large family in project applied for. Policy militates against placing a large family in an undersized apartment.

centage of whites in the total population, white housing units increased significantly. This suggests a continuing shift of families with children to suburbia and a counter movement of childless couples and single persons into high-rise apartments in the central city. At least one of these high-rise apartments in the upper middle income brackets was built on land from which deteriorating Negro housing was removed in urban renewal projects, and some of the cleared land was converted to industrial use.

The pinch that this trend of slum removal and the concomitant restrictions against open occupancy are making on Negroes is accentuated by a variety of programs considered progressive when properly administered—i.e., highway construction, condemnations to make way for public buildings.

Evidence that highway construction and urban renewal are among factors influencing crowding of low income Negroes is reported in the 1963 annual report of the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services. Entitled *Appalachia in Atlanta,* the report states that bulldozing for renewal and highways has indeed cleared away some slums, but a result has been the pushing of many slum dwellers back to the fringes of the areas cleared, making their overcrowded conditions even more crowded.

This is not reflected in the overall tract figures of census data, for the units are too large. And no block-by-block analysis was undertaken. Nevertheless, field trips to hard-core poverty pockets suggest increasing density of some of the poorest families; for example, the Welfare Department's report discloses that " . . . for five years prior to 1960, 102 welfare recipients lived on Merritts Avenue, N. E. (adjacent to an urban renewal area), while during the last five years, 192 welfare recipients have lived on the same street." That latter figure represents about a 90 per cent increase in the density of Merritts Avenue welfare recipients.

According to *Appalachia in Atlanta,* "the physical condition of the shelter occupied by 54 per cent of welfare recipients is classified as ranging from fair to very poor; 76.84 per cent of them are living in unsanitary conditions, and 55.08 per cent are residing in housing needing renovation or repairs." Moreover, since much of the Negro housing migration tends to be into low income white fringe areas, old, formerly white houses newly purchased by Negroes are likely to deteriorate rapidly. This is especially true of borderline homes like those Negroes are buying in Atlanta's West End and Kirkwood areas and, more recently, the Center Hill area.

While the overall quantity of Negro housing is inadequate and the Negro's proportional share of land use falls far below Negro population percentages, an equally important problem is the condition of the housing that Negroes occupy. The 1960 Census of Housing showed that three of every four units occupied by Negroes is rented compared with two of every four for whites. Of this number of rented houses, only 48 of every 100 occupied by Negroes were classified as standard. The proportion for whites was 78 per 100 units. Twenty per cent of Negro rental housing was classified as dilapidated which by Bureau of Census definition means "does not provide safe and adequate shelter in its present condition and endangers the health, safety or well being of the occupants." Only five per cent of white rental shelter was so classified. Of houses occupied by Negro

owners, 29 per cent were classified as below standard, compared with six per cent for white.

Not only is the Negro disadvantaged from the standpoint of availability and quality of housing, he must pay premium prices for the inadequate facilities available to him. These prices are rising. Between 1950 and 1960, median rentals to Negro families in the Atlanta area more than doubled their cost, rising from $23.72 to $52.00. Most Negro families pay from $40.00 to $59.00 a month in rent.

In absolute terms, cost of housing does not seem to be high for Negroes in the Atlanta area, but when the costs are related to his small income, they seem to constitute a heavy drain. Average income for all families in Atlanta in 1959 was $5,758, but the average income for non-white families was only $3,033. Although the non-white family income is about half the average for all families, the non-white family pays only $15.00 less then the average rent. On a proportional basis, the non-white family pays substantially more rent than the white Atlantan.

One cannot point to slums and deteriorating housing and at the same time deny that housing renewal is desirable. But we have come close to that by indicating that urban renewal and other federal programs, as presently constituted, often create more problems than they solve because of a refusal on the local level to come to grips with causal factors. Unless precautions and programs are undertaken when slums are bulldozed and high-rise projects are erected in new areas, the already inadequate social integration that formerly existed in the slum community is replaced by complete social normlessness that may contribute to dislocation, crime, hopelessness, despair, low self-concept, violence, and hate. In other words, it takes more than leveling slums to destroy slum values. On the other hand, dissolution of the slum, getting rid of the concentration that feeds the slum subculture, is a possible action that would strike at the heart of the problem and its causes. So bold action, not limited to improvement of existing housing, must be undertaken to revitalize the slum and to redistribute its people throughout the city, not in concentrated pockets or enclaves.

If the area is revitalized, there may be a two-way street, some people with more desirable values and higher socio-economic status moving in and some slum dwellers moving out. Meanwhile, the revitalization itself, if it involves the people

TABLE 4

AMOUNT OF GROSS RENT PAID BY NON-WHITE RENTERS IN STANDARD METROPOLITAN ATLANTA IN 1960

Amount	Number	Per Cent
Less than $20.00	1,153	2.9
20-39	8,617	21.7
40-59	15,357	39.0
60-79	10,096	25.4
80-99	2,625	6.6
100 or more	426	1.1
No Cash Rent	1,299	3.3
	39,637	100.0

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population and Housing

of the community, also may contribute directly toward changing values, the most important of which relates to the importance of education and self-help and political activity.

Chances are high that if one knocks on the door of a slum home during schools hours, he will find school-aged children inside caring for younger siblings. Other such children may be found roaming the streets of their neighborhood, missing valuable time needed for continuing their already lagging education. Schools, properly used, are the most effective community institutions for upward mobility in that they fit people for better jobs. Some improvement of ghetto schools is taking place, but there also is some retrogression, especially in the Negro schools where principals select their best teachers to transfer to white schools where some token desegregation of faculties is taking place. In return, they sometimes get white teachers who were having trouble on the job prior to being transferred to ghetto schools. What is needed is a system-wide effort to find the very best teachers regardless of their race, to wrestle with the knotty problem of educating youngsters whose shoulders still are weighted with centuries of discrimination and deprivation. So outstanding should be the teachers and the program that parents from other districts will seek to have their children enrolled in these special demonstration schools.

The same tack should be taken regarding services and amenities. Street paving, lighting, municipal services, and a tax structure that would encourage home improvement are examples of programs that might be undertaken to revitalize the area and to attract outsiders whose values will infiltrate and help alter the existing value systems of people who need to be taught that they too are human and do count for something.

Political pressures being what they are, the kind of program I am suggesting cannot be undertaken with politicians calling the shots. Neither should it be left completely in the hands of activists who have the commitment but do not understand the subtleties of the problem. One innovation for programs such as these are authorities headed by a professional who has been trained for the job and who is being paid for producing.

But to get the job done, he must know something about community organization and be able to motivate mass action. While some knowledge about urban planning would be desirable, it would be secondary to the ability to work with people and effect programs.

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, a New York City based non-profit agency, has suggested an innovation that might be equally effective. NCDH believes that fair housing centers that help people in the ghetto

TABLE 5

CHANGE IN NON-WHITE HOUSING IN ATLANTA BY AREA

Year	Central	West	East	South	North West	South West	North	North West
1960	35,256	4,631	2,061	3,249	1,954	456	270	167
1965	34,738	9,760	4,136	3,315	2,420	987	267	170
Net Change	-518	5,129	2,075	66	466	531	-3	3

SOURCE: Candeub, Fleissig, Adley, and Associates—Planning Consultants

to find housing in various other areas of the city should be the initial program for any dissolution of the ghetto.

But no matter which approach is taken, what must be remembered is that the responsible group—the fair housing center, the fair housing authority, or whatever—must not be so tied to the political and financial power structure that its professional workers are blocked from doing the job. It won't be easy. And the effort will be expensive. But the gains will be many times over the cost if the programs are successful. Because of the ominous threats of slum violence and property destruction, and because of the losses to the GNP caused by social and housing deprivation and related ills, urban centers, and indeed the nation, cannot afford any long delay from bold corrective action.

ATLANTA RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Urban Planning Project Publication No. 6

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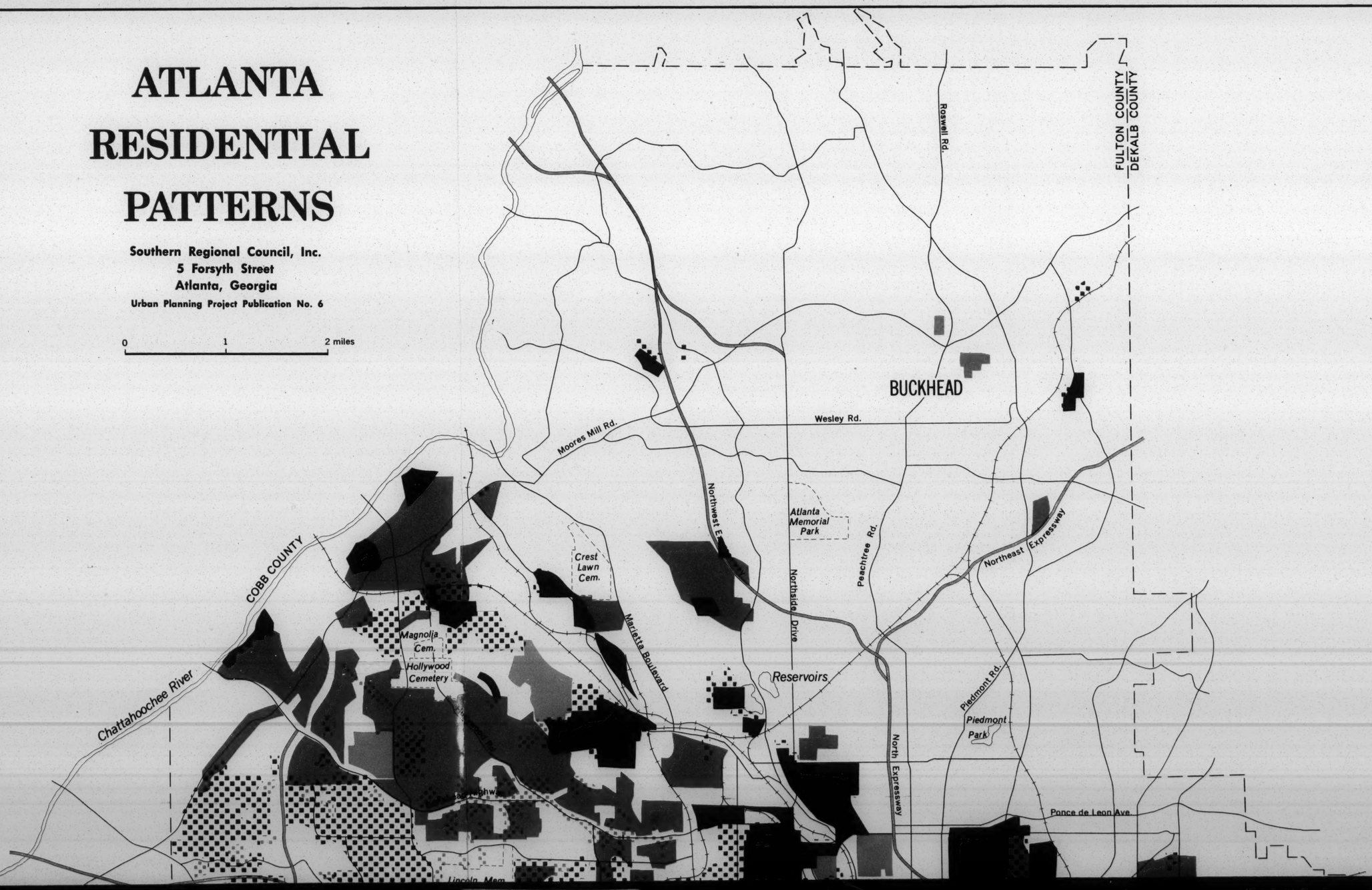

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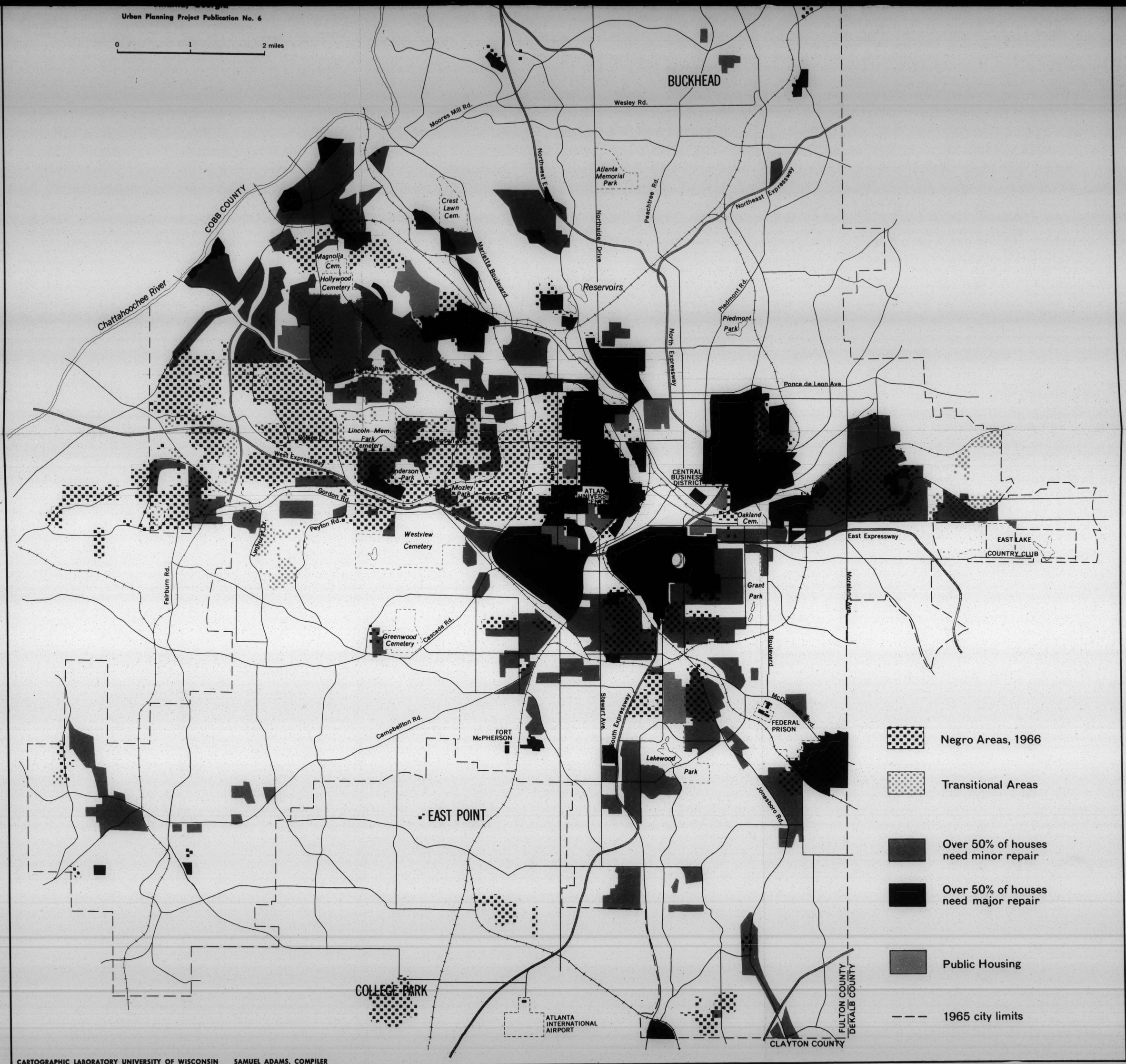

CARTOGRAPHIC LABORATORY UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN SAMUEL ADAMS, COMPILER

Mr. Mayor:
Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma?

SLUM GHETTOS

IN YOUR TOWN

Urban Planning Project Publication No. 3

GHETTOS
IN YOUR TOWN

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
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INTRODUCTION

This study was prepared by John A. Brown and C. Bron Cleveland of Candeub, Fleissig and Associates, under the direction of Morris B. Fleissig, Supervising Principal. This firm and its research unit, Triad Institute for Urban Research, have nationwide experience in the field of housing and community development. Triad Institute is now in the process of preparing a detailed handbook on slum problems for the Southern Regional Council.

PAUL ANTHONY
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
February, 1967

MR. MAYOR: CAN WE SOLVE OUR HOUSING DILEMMA?

American cities today face mounting social, economic and physical problems with the increasing formation and enlargement of housing ghettos. Housing ghettos aren't new; they have existed for generations and have become more complex and difficult to cope with over the years, especially as they relate to the overall economic and social status of Negroes.

On the one hand, some Negroes are making economic progress through better jobs, better education, more political representation and a relative prosperity resulting from the prosperity of the nation as a whole, although gains for Negroes are not proportional to those for whites. On the other hand, many Negroes haven't been able to attain their democratic rights for equal opportunity in America because of increasing segregation in housing. This type of segregation clearly separates Negroes from the society which they seek to become a part of. It makes other forms of segregation easier to apply or brings about "de facto" segregation. Though gains are made in integration of buses, schools, public accommodations and public facilities, Negroes still find themselves segregated because of where they live. Thus, Negro neighborhoods are often served by "Negro" schools, "Negro" parks and "Negro" shops (often owned by whites), and Negroes often ride to and from work on buses carrying only Negroes.

Regardless of the specific factors which have created segregated housing, neighborhoods and ghettos, the following problems require attention:

1. *In-migration.* In-migrants to urban areas find themselves in an unfamiliar environment. The in-migrant seeks a measure of security by living with people of the same racial or ethnic background.

2. *Declining Neighborhoods.* Many neighborhoods are declining be-

cause of inadequate planning, a low level of city services, substandard community facilities, insufficient code enforcement and rehabilitation activities and a lack of organization at the neighborhood level.

3. *Inadequate Housing Supply.* There is inadequate housing for low-income and moderate-income families, and not enough housing at any price for Negroes either in the city or in the suburbs. Home and home improvement financing is generally not available to people living in declining neighborhoods.

In addition, urban growth, which takes place at an increasingly larger scale than before, frequently results in the removal of smaller Negro communities near white communities as new business, industries and subdivisions take over large tracts of land. There is also a general trend toward separation of families by income, regardless of race, especially in single-family housing. Finally, we must recognize that, in some cases, there are conscious efforts by whites to avoid any social contact with Negroes and vice versa due to racial prejudice, ignorance or fear.

The implications of further housing segregation include:

1. Further alienation of frustrated Negroes and alarmed whites and a further breakdown in communications between the two.

2. Severe housing shortages for Negroes resulting in over-use of the existing limited housing supply and the formation of new slums at a rapidly accelerating rate.

3. Economic losses for white families who abandon their homes because they fear integration of their neighborhoods. (See "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," a Special Report by the Southern Regional Council, May, 1966, which discusses this problem.)

4. Creation of central city (and occasionally suburban) ghettos of enormous size which rapidly become physical and social slums and result in severe economic losses to the city and its taxpayers.

Regardless of personal, political, or philosophical feelings on racial matters, leaders in American cities must face housing problems forthrightly and evolve solutions to them. Here is a three-point program designed to help local leaders to find a solution for their individual cities. This program deals primarily with in-migration, neighborhood stabilization, and the provision of adequate housing for all citizens.

IN-MIGRATION

The Problem:

Both Negro and white families and individuals are moving to cities from rural areas in droves. Much like the immigrants who built our country, they both flee one way of life and are ill-prepared for another. Most come with high hopes which are frequently shattered soon after arrival.

Generally, only limited attention is paid to the problems of accommodating and acculturating rural in-migrants. The problems of these people are either ignored or treated without reference to the total need which must be satisfied if they are to adjust properly to the new environment. The in-migrant finds himself a stranger in a new city with little or no idea of where to go for needed help. He may need major assistance in job training, housing, consumer education, urban living, public health, and health, education and welfare services generally. Without proper assistance he may become an unproductive liability to the community. High concentrations of such people contribute materially to housing and ghetto problems.

Steps Toward a Solution:

A new approach is required to meet these problems. It might include the development of an organization or agency specifically charged with the responsibility of working with in-migrants. The objectives of such an agency might include the following:

1. To become familiar with each family and help each family to adjust to its new environment.

2. To aid families in acquiring housing of adequate size within their financial means in a decent neighborhood.

3. To maintain contact with all families for a year or more as they adjust to inner city living.

4. To aid in-migrants in finding jobs or job training, remedial education, and any other special aids which may be required and are available.

5. To work closely with the planning commission, the housing authority, the welfare department and other social agencies on comprehensive physical and social development plans for the areas where in-migrants live (receiver areas).

6. To identify gaps in existing social services and coordinate available services to make them available to in-migrants.

This agency could also establish and staff in-migrant centers in receiver areas. The centers should be closely coordinated with the all-purpose neighborhood centers discussed in a later section. The proposed agency and in-migrant centers might be funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity or other federal aid programs, the local department of welfare, board of education, the United Appeal, private contributions from civic and professional organizations, or a combination of these sources.

It is especially important to recognize the problem of rural in-migration as a special problem requiring special attention, rather than treating it as part of other problems. The method of handling the problem will vary from city to city depending on size, rate of in-migration, availability of services and other factors. In some cities it will apply to both Negro and white families.

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION

The Problem:

The supply of existing housing is limited. In most cities adequate housing for low-income Negroes is in extremely short supply. Adequate housing for all low-income families is generally not being built rapidly enough to meet the demand. As a result existing housing is being overcrowded and abused. Until the supply can be increased, existing housing must be maintained and made more livable.

Property improvements in declining areas must be made more worthwhile. Existing neighborhoods must be protected so they will remain good places to live and raise a family. No areas of our cities can be "written off" or city services and facilities abandoned even if future demolition seems certain. Lending agencies should be discouraged from "writing off" whole neighborhoods from improvement or repair loans. Particularly, schools, school programs and school equipment must be well maintained since fear of a decline in the quality of schools is a major factor in the loss of middle-income families. Neighborhoods must gain physical stability, social stability and economic stability.

Steps Toward a Solution:

In order to accomplish the goal of neighborhood stabilization, a number of steps can be taken:

1. *Neighborhood Planning.* The neighborhood can be designed to provide a better living environment. Neighborhood plans should build in amenities and eliminate adverse influences. Amenities include adequate parks, playgrounds, schools, streets and city services. Adverse influences include heavy traffic, noxious odors, vibration and noise, flashing signs and such. The addition of a new public facility such as a special school, neighborhood center,

library or cultural facility can frequently have a major stabilizing effect on a neighborhood. New housing, public housing for the elderly, and even luxury housing can be used as a catalyst to spark a general uplift of an area.

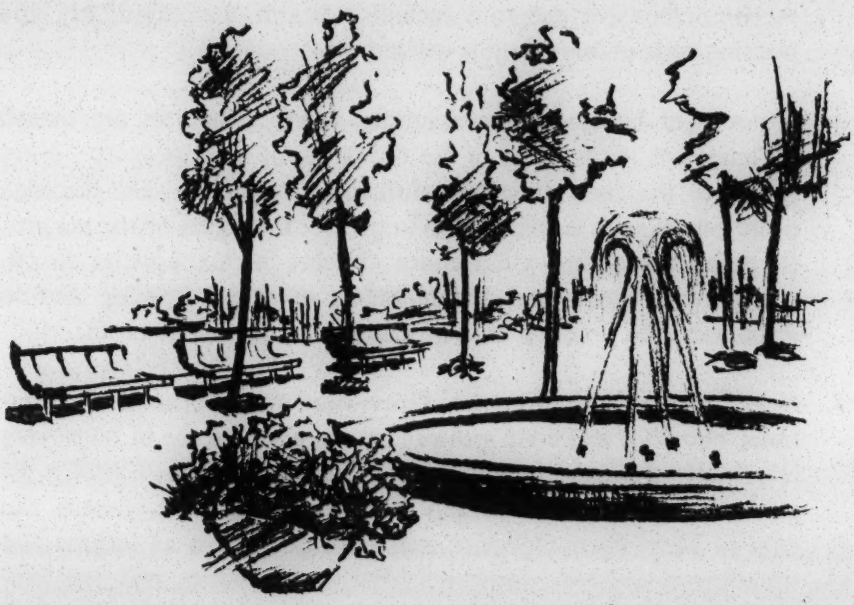
Of course, luxury housing in such areas will not be attractive to developers unless bonuses in terms of reduced land costs and the protection of a strong plan are provided.

It is clear that simply building new homes or rehabilitating older homes and moving families to such homes is not adequate to meet our current problems. In every case, steps need to be taken to improve the human resources of the families within the city. While environmental amenities are being re-examined, plans for strengthening the social services of the neighborhood should also be formulated. The agencies engaged in social planning and those involved in physical planning should better collaborate their respective efforts. Meaningful neighborhood plans should not be prepared in a vacuum; they should reflect both social and physical objectives.

2. *City Services.* In addition to neighborhood planning, a major increase in city services is needed in declining neighborhoods: stepped-up street cleaning and maintenance, improved trash and garbage removal, more convenient welfare services, enriched school curricula, and improved transportation services, to name just a few, will add to environmental improvement.

   Where needed, welfare centers in each neighborhood (as part of the total neighborhood center) would bring this service closer to home and provide a more personal relationship between the agency and the families than centralized welfare agencies. Enriched school curricula would tend to reduce the exodus of stable families from the neighborhood while providing extra help for low-income families where needed most. Similarly, poor transportation service to low-income residential areas limits job opportunities and causes undue hardships. Transportation planning must take into consideration the job opportunities and the employment needs of all families, especially those of low income.

   Cities have sometimes cut back sharply on services such as street cleaning and maintenance, garbage and trash removal and transportation in certain areas because of pending urban renewal action or overwhelming problems of blight. This has been unwise even though revenues are not obtained to the extent necessary to support services.



3. *Community Facilities.* At the same time improvements to physical facilities such as schools, parks and libraries are needed. Physical facilities tend to decline as neighborhood housing declines. Overcrowding of residential structures generally follows physical decline. This overcrowding results from an influx of lower income families who occupy housing units converted (usually illegally) to accommodate more families. Families with more children and less income to spend on leisure time activities overtax existing public facilities in such areas. The need for facilities improvement and enlargement must be recognized and provided for in neighborhood stabilization efforts.

   Rehabilitation of existing public structures and new landscaping of older parks and public grounds can be a significant addition to stabilization efforts. In addition, new facilities should be built where needed. Schools and school grounds in declining areas and areas of racial transition are of particular importance since fear of a decline in the quality of school facilities is also a major factor in the loss of middle-income families.

4. *Code Enforcement and Rehabilitation.* Varying levels of rehabilitation and code enforcement are needed to effectively carry out programs which will maintain the existing supply of housing available to low-income families. The standards for both rehabilitation and code enforcement must be realistically geared to the capabilities for carrying out such programs and in many cases may require different levels of improvement based upon the condition of the structures, the capabilities of the families to pay and other factors.

A comprehensive program including health, sanitation, fire and housing code enforcement is needed.

In areas of housing code violations where structures are owned by landlords specializing in the operation of slum property, every aspect of the code must be enforced constantly to take the high profit out of such activities and to protect the rights of the tenants. In many areas this will require changes in tax policies to encourage the repair and rehabilitation of rental housing and to discourage the practice of taking all of the income as profit.

5. *Neighborhood Organizations.* Grass-roots neighborhood organizations, churches and civic groups* can be a vital force in improving conditions through organized neighborhood efforts. Existing organizations should be utilized where possible. Such groups can help to keep the community well informed, serve as forums and sounding boards for airing neighborhood concern, and can provide needed feedback and guidance to the city's leaders in their decisions regarding each neighborhood. When properly organized and assisted by responsible social agencies, they serve to strengthen all other stabilization efforts.

   Wherever possible, especially in declining areas, total neighborhood centers should be established to serve as public information centers, recreation centers and social service centers. They should be staffed to assist with area-wide home improvement projects, promote cultural interchange among families of varying backgrounds, and coordinate social services available in the city at large. These centers could be run in conjunction with the facilities proposed for in-migrants and welfare recipients mentioned above and should be a major element in the neighborhood planning program.

*Including PTA's, professional associations, service clubs, taxpayers' associations, improvement organizations, fraternal organizations and women's clubs.

HOUSING

The Problem:

In addition to neighborhood stabilization, cities need new supplies of housing to accommodate new families and to replace aging units and units being demolished. Current efforts by cities to supply this housing are obviously not meeting the need as reflected by generally inadequate housing and shortages of housing for families of varying incomes. In many cases, both the housing and the neighborhoods are rapidly declining.

Public housing projects have often been too large and have lacked the amenities needed to make them part of viable living communities. These amenities include shopping facilities, parks and open spaces, transportation services and school facilities. They have frequently been built on low-cost, left-over land in areas which are not suitable for family living by virtue of being surrounded by slums, being isolated from the facilities and services offered in the central area of the city or being located in predominantly commercial or industrial areas. In some instances, they have become institutional in character, partly because of their design and partly because of the structure of admission requirements and "project" administration.

New private housing is generally not being built to meet the needs of lower income groups. Most of the housing that is now being built by private developers for low-income groups is of poor quality, is not geared to current family sizes, and frequently is crowded onto insufficient land.

Often there also exists a dual housing market for Negroes and whites which frequently makes housing more expensive for Negroes. In spite of being more expensive, Negro housing is often located away from places where Negroes work, in areas where public facilities are declining and where industries and businesses detract from the residential

suitability of the neighborhood. Housing for Negroes, at any price, is extremely limited. The supply which does exist is mostly hand-me-down housing; unit size is not adequate to meet family needs, and the units have often been improperly converted from larger apartments or private homes.

Low-income families also often have problems in acquiring loans for new homes and home improvements. In many cases, interest rates are higher for Negroes than they are for white families, regardless of income. In other cases, no money is available to Negroes because they lack good credit references.

Steps Toward a Solution:

Any program to improve housing must be geared to and emphasize the needs of low and moderate-income families. Such a program should consider the following:

1. *Formation of a Local Development Group.* To meet the overall housing needs of our communities, it may be necessary to supplement the normal activities of local housing development. In many cases the formation of a public-spirited local development group can help to meet these needs. Such a group should include representatives of leading financial institutions, businessmen, builders, utility companies, architects and planners and realtors. The function of this group would be to carry out activities in support of a comprehensive program of housing for all of the community's citizens. For example, they could help to find sponsors for low- and moderate-income housing and assist in attaining necessary financing. They could also purchase and hold land for housing, serve as non-profit sponsors themselves, and provide technical assistance in the total housing effort.

2. *Suburban Homes for Negroes.* Negro families generally have aspirations similar to those of white families. As their incomes and family sizes increase they often prefer the type of family amenities that suburban living offers. Housing should be made available in the suburbs for Negroes. If Negro families live throughout the urban areas in patterns similar to white occupancy, the trend toward panic selling and movement away from integrating areas will diminish. Success in providing more suburban housing for Negroes will rest on many of the other recommendations in this program.

3. *An Increased Scale of Code Enforcement and Rehabilitation.* In addition to stabilizing neighborhoods, increased code enforcement and rehabilitation is essential if existing housing supplies are to be

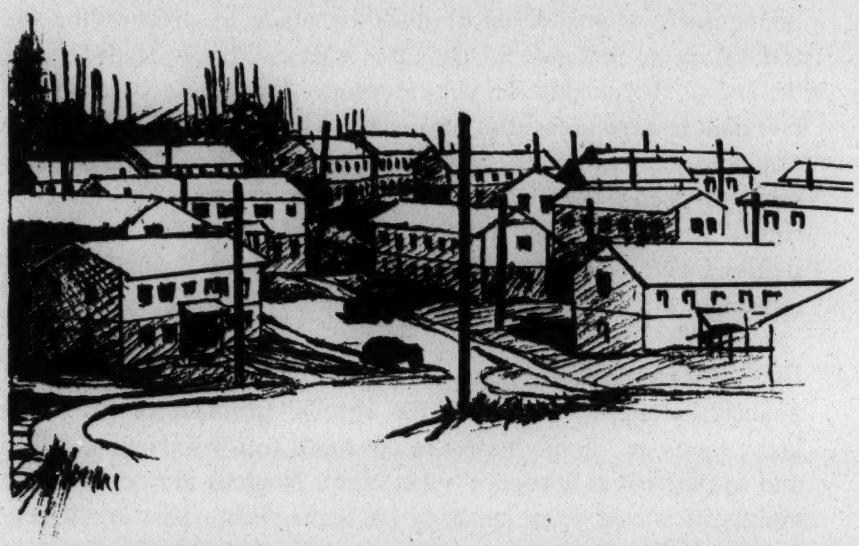
maintained. A greater effort must be made to prevent the deterioration of individual structures that so often leads to the decline of the neighborhood as a whole. Immediate steps should be taken to save areas that have started to slip. In some cities the practice of "writing off" certain sections of the city that show signs of decline has created major slum ghettos. This practice should be stopped, and rehabilitation and code enforcement activities increased so as to maintain a supply of livable housing, especially where housing is in short supply.

4. *Improved Home Financing and Home Improvement Financing.* A financial group to deal with the specific problem of providing home loans and home improvement loans to low-income families and to Negroes is needed in most cities. Negroes are occasionally unduly penalized when applying for loans due to past credit performance. The financial group proposed could influence existing lending practices to assist deserving families in getting needed money. This group could also provide financial counseling to low-income families.

5. *Fair Housing Legislation.* Fair housing legislation on the local level is the most effective way to provide more housing for Negro families. Local fair housing legislation will assure a legal basis for opening housing facilities to all families and will eliminate dual Negro and white housing markets. It is also important to try to obtain fair housing legislation at the state and federal levels, especially where it is not immediately possible to obtain it on the local level.

6. *Sponsored Moderate-income Housing.* To provide a balanced supply of housing, efforts by private and public agencies can be supplemented by employee and employer groups, religious groups, fraternal organizations, and similar organizations. These organizations can help to provide housing for moderate- and low-income families. The provisions of Section 221(d)(3) of the National Housing Act permit such sponsorship and provide very favorable interest rates. This type of housing might be particularly appropriate in urban renewal areas where such housing would replace slum housing.

7. *Public Housing.* A number of changes in public housing policies would further most cities' overall housing needs. Utilization of the newer forms of public housing assistance to purchase FHA or VA foreclosures and other private housing for use as public housing would be especially helpful in distributing low-income families throughout the community.



Combinations of public and private housing facilities can be used to increase the total supply of public housing. Rent supplements can be used by cities to reduce the need for additional public housing facilities, to place public housing families in private housing such as Section 221(d)(3) units, and to provide units needed for extra large families. Local public housing agencies can increase their total number of public housing units by direct purchase of privately constructed units. Such agencies can also sponsor, co-sponsor or lease, Section 221(d)(3) units for use as both low- and moderate-income housing.

The construction of smaller, scattered public housing projects throughout the community is also recommended. Smaller public housing projects are advantageous because they reduce the institutional atmosphere of public housing and meet family and social needs better than the traditional projects of the past.

The historical design of public housing does not meet the needs of the present pressing housing problems. Unit sizes are frequently too small to accommodate the families now in need of housing. Many older public housing projects should be rehabilitated to reflect larger family sizes and to provide community facilities, shopping, health facilities and the other aspects of full community life.

In many cities, public housing projects are racially segregated. In other cities, while direct segregation is not taking place, projects are not racially balanced and admission practices and placement procedures tend to create segregated projects. Such practices should be stopped if these projects are to serve the full needs

of the community. Although the federal government requires a policy of desegregated public housing, local housing authorities must make the effort to integrate projects. A policy commitment by local political leadership can also be effective in integrating public housing.

8. *Relocation.* Urban renewal, highway construction, and other public programs have often displaced numbers of families without replacing demolished housing resources. Providing relocation housing should be a major aspect of any community's housing program. Unless carried out adequately, relocation only creates housing shortages and increases housing problems in other areas. Relocation can be the impetus for the construction of new public and/or private housing to meet low-income family needs. Since public programs often require the relocation of large numbers of Negroes, overall housing efforts must take into consideration the needs of such displacees. Agencies responsible for relocation of these families should seek housing throughout the city rather than limiting their efforts to the so-called Negro housing market.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The proposed programs involve many different agencies of local government and many federal agencies. In addition, new governmental agencies may be needed to carry out some aspects of recommendations discussed here. Obviously, a new agency will be needed to implement a comprehensive program for rural in-migrants in most cities. Neighborhood centers, fair housing commissions and fair housing centers do not now exist in most cities. The new programs will require a great deal of initiative and follow-through to achieve the desired results.

Inherent in any major improvement program today is the need for strong municipal leadership by the elected representatives of the people and an informed citizenry. The programs proposed here can only be developed by a combination of public and private groups working jointly with and through the political leadership of the locality. The proposed top-level development group and improved home improvement financing will require the cooperation of business leaders in the community. Sponsorship of low- and moderate-income housing by employer and employee organizations, religious associations, fraternal groups and other non-profit groups will require a commitment from informed citizens. At the same time, the program should build in provisions for citizen involvement at the grass roots level. Existing and new neighborhood organizations and civic clubs can be the nuclei for neighborhood participation.

The proposals can only serve as a guide. No programs can be developed or be successful unless local people realize the need for them and design them to suit the needs of their particular communities.

APPENDIX

Financial Assistance for Neighborhood Improvement and Housing

A wide range of public assistance programs has been approved by the Congress in recent years. These programs can provide major impact to neighborhood stabilization efforts if applied imaginatively and in coordination with one another. Coordination of resources at the local level is needed to stop the decline of neighborhoods. Some of these programs can be used to help finance new facilities. Others provide direct assistance to private property owners where public programs are underway.

A partial listing of federal financial assistance programs available for carrying out many of the actions recommended here include the following:

In-migration

- Low-income housing demonstration grants are available from the Department of Housing and Urban Development under Section 207 of the National Housing Act.

- Community Action Program funding is available from the Office of Economic Opportunity. Such funds can be used to establish a program expressly for helping in-migrants adjust to urban living.

- Funds for adult basic education are available from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

- Assistance with manpower development and training activities is available from the Department of Labor.

Neighborhood Stabilization

- The Department of Housing and Urban Development has a number of programs available that can help to finance neighborhood stabilization efforts. Here is a partial listing:

  Grants for neighborhood facilities, such as neighborhood and community centers, youth centers, health stations and other public buildings to provide health or recreational or similar social services.

  Grants for urban planning assistance, including preparation of comprehensive community plans, and programming and scheduling of capital improvements (Section 701 of the National Housing Act).

  Open space and beautification grants, to provide parks and other recreation, conservation, and scenic areas or preserve historic places. Urban beautification and improvement includes such activities as street landscaping, park improvements, free planting, and upgrading of malls and squares.

  Code enforcement, rehabilitation and redevelopment grants, to upgrade blighted areas through combinations of repair of salvageable structures and demolition of economically irreparable structures, improvements to facilities and services including streets, sidewalks and utilities.

- Neighborhood service centers may be funded under Community Action Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Housing

- In addition to or in conjunction with code enforcement, rehabilitation and redevelopment grants mentioned above, direct housing assistance is available as follows:

  FHA mortgage insurance under the National Housing Act can be obtained for: (a) private loans for housing in urban renewal areas for sale or rent to moderate-income families under Section 220; (b) loans made by private lenders for repairs of existing housing under Section 220 (h); and (c) loans to finance low-cost homes for families displaced through governmental action.

FHA programs for families of low and moderate income in general are provided under Section 221 (d)(3) of the National Housing Act. These include: (a) insurance of mortgages to finance construction of rental and cooperative housing within the means of displaced families and families of low or moderate income; (b) insured below-market interest rate loans for rehabilitation rental and cooperative housing and; (c) rent supplements. Rent supplements are to provide decent housing for low-income individuals and families who are either elderly, handicapped, displaced from their homes by government action, are occupants of substandard housing, or are occupants or former occupants of homes extensively damaged or destroyed by a natural disaster. The housing must be owned by a private nonprofit, limited distribution, or cooperative mortgagor and financed with a mortgage insured by FHA after August 10, 1965, under its market-interest rate program for low- and moderate-income families.

Low-rent Public Housing Assistance, to aid communities to provide decent housing for low-income families who cannot afford standard private housing.

The 1965 Housing Act provides for 60,000 public housing units a year—240,000 in four years. Of these, an estimated 35,000 a year will be the traditional new construction. However, the new provisions permit an estimated 15,000 units a year to be bought from existing housing and rehabilitated if necessary, and an estimated 10,000 units a year will be leased from existing housing for short term use in meeting particular needs.

- *Other loans and grants specifically for urban renewal areas,* including direct grants of up to $1,500 to low-income homeowners and direct loans with maximum interest rate of 3 percent to property owners for rehabilitation of residential or business structures.

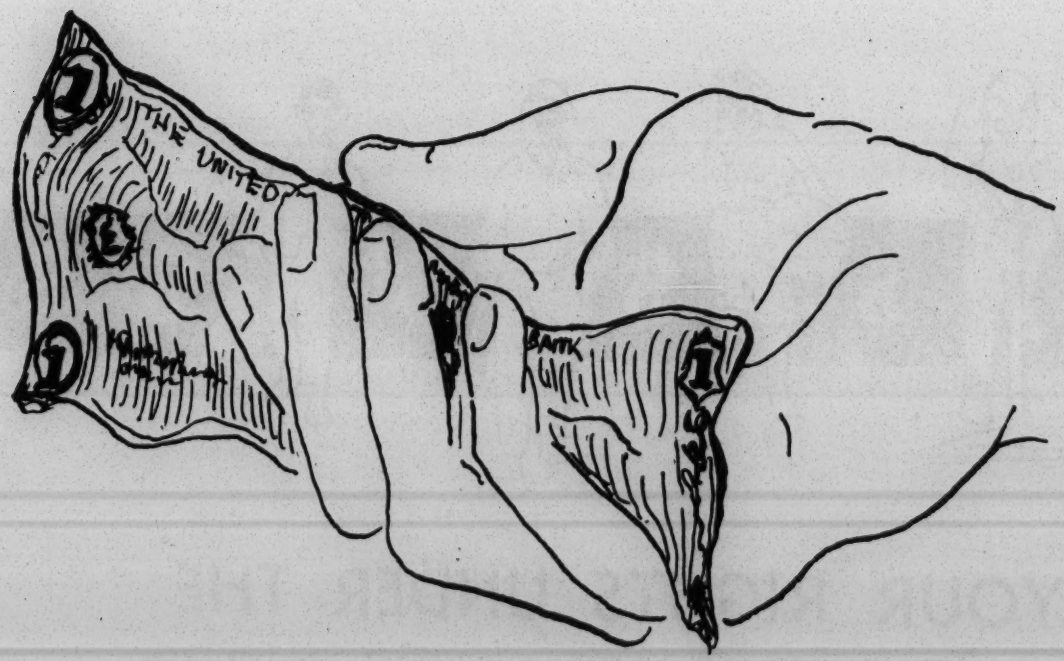
- *The Demonstration Cities Act* recently passed by the Congress will provide a new tool for major cities to attack housing problems on a comprehensive basis at a scale impossible up to this time.

For further information on programs for neighborhood stabilization and housing see "A Guide to Programs for Better Homes and Neighborhoods" by the Southern Regional Council, 1967.

MORE MONEY FOR YOU?

YOUR RIGHTS UNDER THE MINIMUM WAGE LAW

Labor Program
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303


THE UNITED
BANK

We have a new federal law that may mean
more pay for you.

It is called the Fair Labor Standards Act, or the
Minimum Wage Law.

You should know what the new Fair Labor Standards Act
says about your job.

You should know what to do to get the wages the law
says you are supposed to get.

Read this pamphlet for more information. See the back
of this pamphlet for the name of someone to help you.

$ 40 a week pay

8 A.M – 12:00
1 P.M – 5:00 = 8 hrs. a day

½ hr. change clothes
and clean up = 8½ hrs. a day

work 5 days a week X5

42½ hrs. a week

$.94 an hour

42½ hrs. work ⟌$40 a week pay

How much is your weekly pay before deductions?

If you don't know for sure, ask your boss.

How many hours a week do you work?

When you figure your hours count in —

- time to change your clothes where you work if you are required to wear a uniform or work clothes
- time to get your work ready
- time to clean up your work
- time spent doing errands for the boss even if it is on your lunch hour.

Now divide the hours you work into your weekly pay (before overtime is figured).

The figure you get is your hourly rate.

If your pay is less than $1 an hour—
or if your pay is exactly $1.25 an hour—

you may be entitled to
a raise in your hourly rate.

If you work more than 44 hours in a week
or if you work more than 40 hours in a week
you may be entitled to overtime pay.

Does your son work in the kitchen
of a big restaurant?

Are you a porter in a school?

Does your sister or daughter work in
a laundry or dry cleaners?

Is your wife a cook in a hospital?

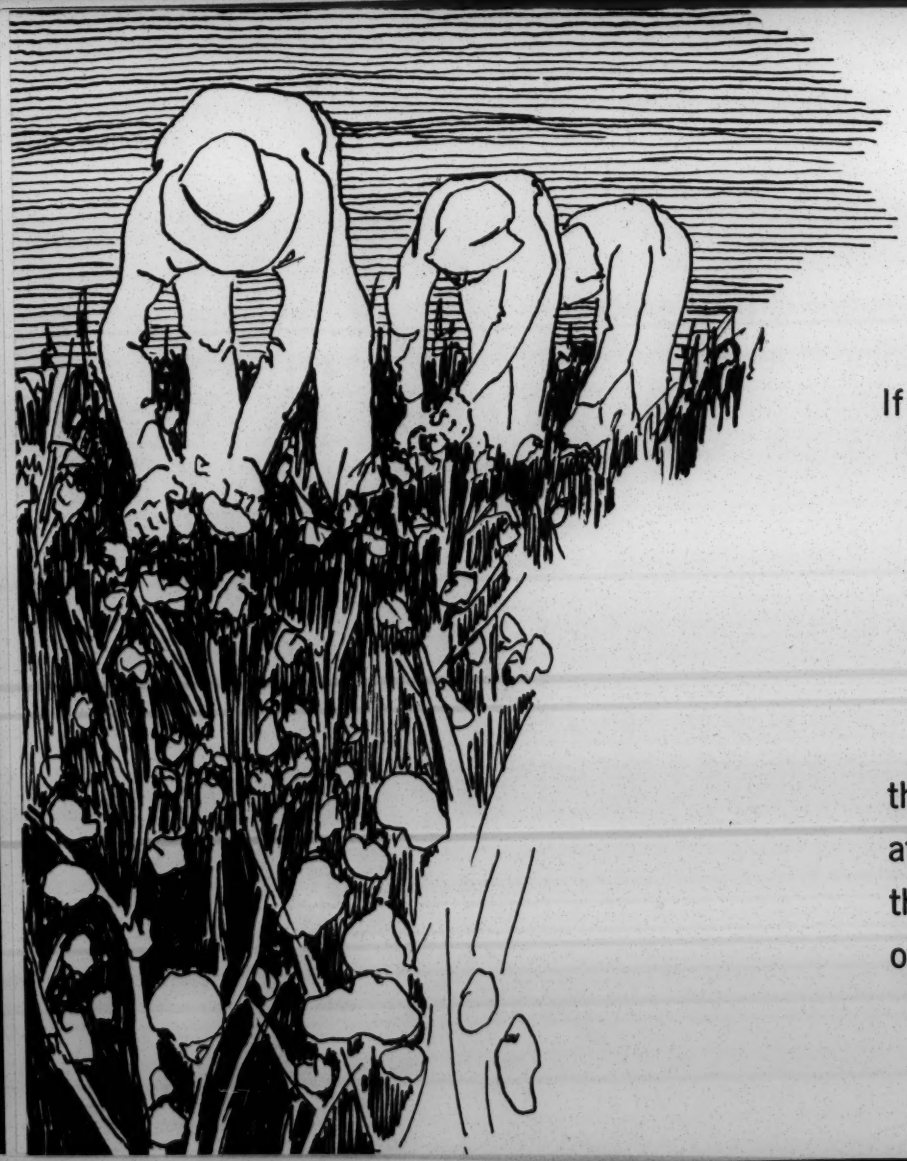
Anybody who has a job in any of these places probably should be earning at least

$1 an hour for 44 hours in a week

and at least

$1.50 an hour for all hours over 44 hours.

If you already earn more than $1.00 an hour, you should earn time and a half (one and a half times your regular rate) for hours over 44 anyway.



If you work on:

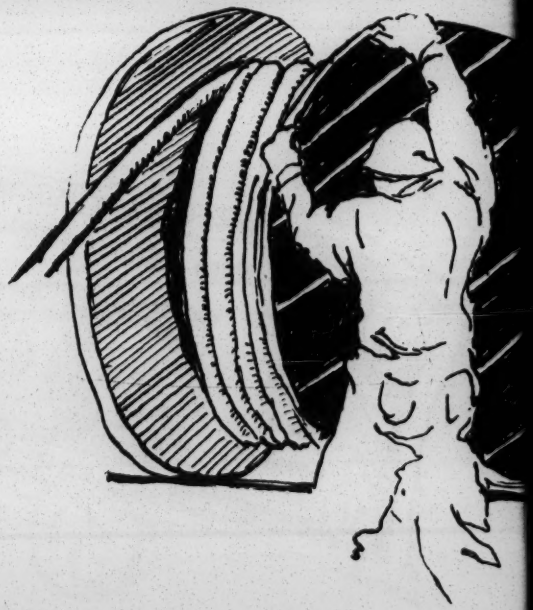
A big farm that has at least
7 or 8 regular full time
workers during the season

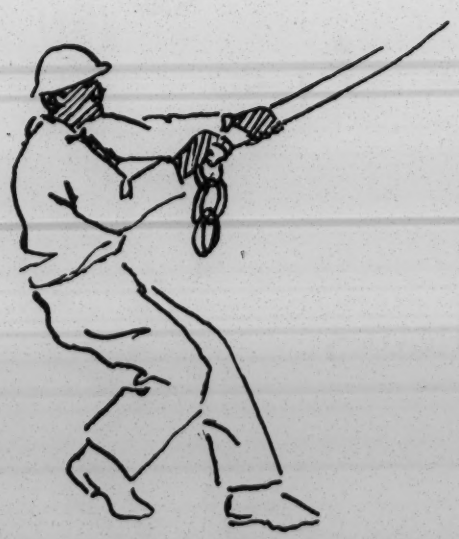
or

A big motel or hotel

then you probably should earn
at least $1.00 an hour, but
the law does not require
overtime pay.

Here are some places where you probably should earn at least $1 an hour for 44 hours plus time and a half for hours over 44 —





Construction company

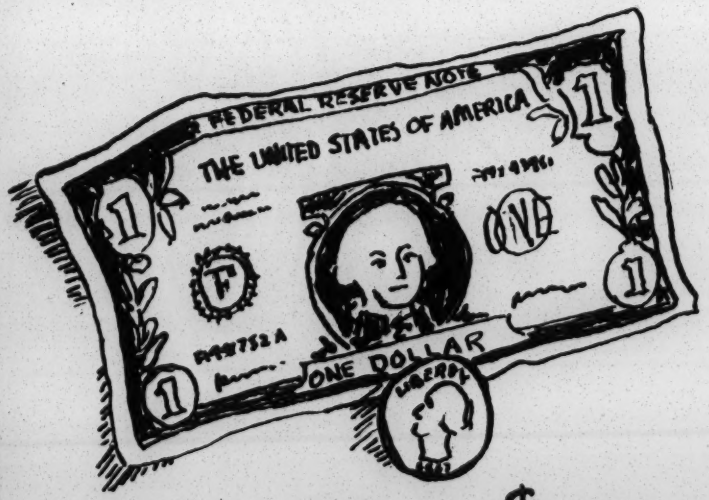
Big Retail store

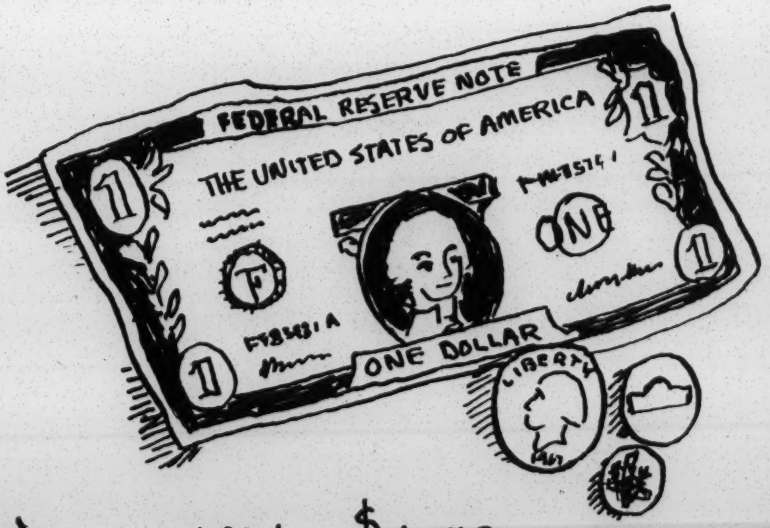
Big drug store

Big automobile, trailer, farm implement dealer

Big gas station

Bank





BEFORE $1.25 ⟶ NOW $1.40

and

FOR ALL HOURS OVER 40 HOURS

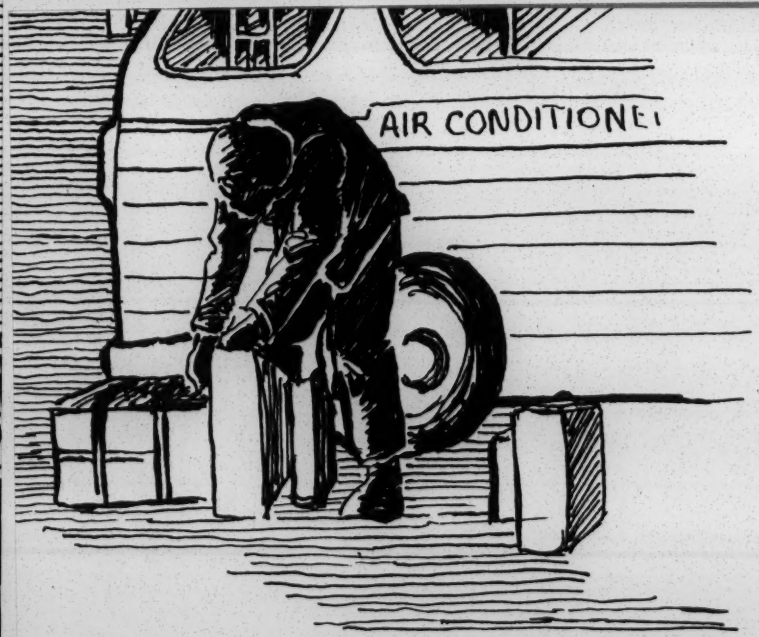
$2.10 an hour

Maybe you have been earning $1.25 an hour or
more for some time now.

If so, that may mean that you were covered by
the Minimum Wage Law before, and

beginning February, 1967, you should
be given a raise.

You should now get at least
$1.40 an hour for 40 hours work in a week
and at least
$2.10 an hour for all hours over 40 hours.



Do you work in a —

Bus company?

Department store?

Road repair crew?

Railroad station?

Wholesale company?

Big gas station?

If you do, and that job paid $1.25 an hour for

40 hours before February, 1967 —

then probably after February, you should

earn at least $1.40 an hour plus time and
a half (at least $2.10) for overtime.

If you are a woman worker—

and if you get paid less than

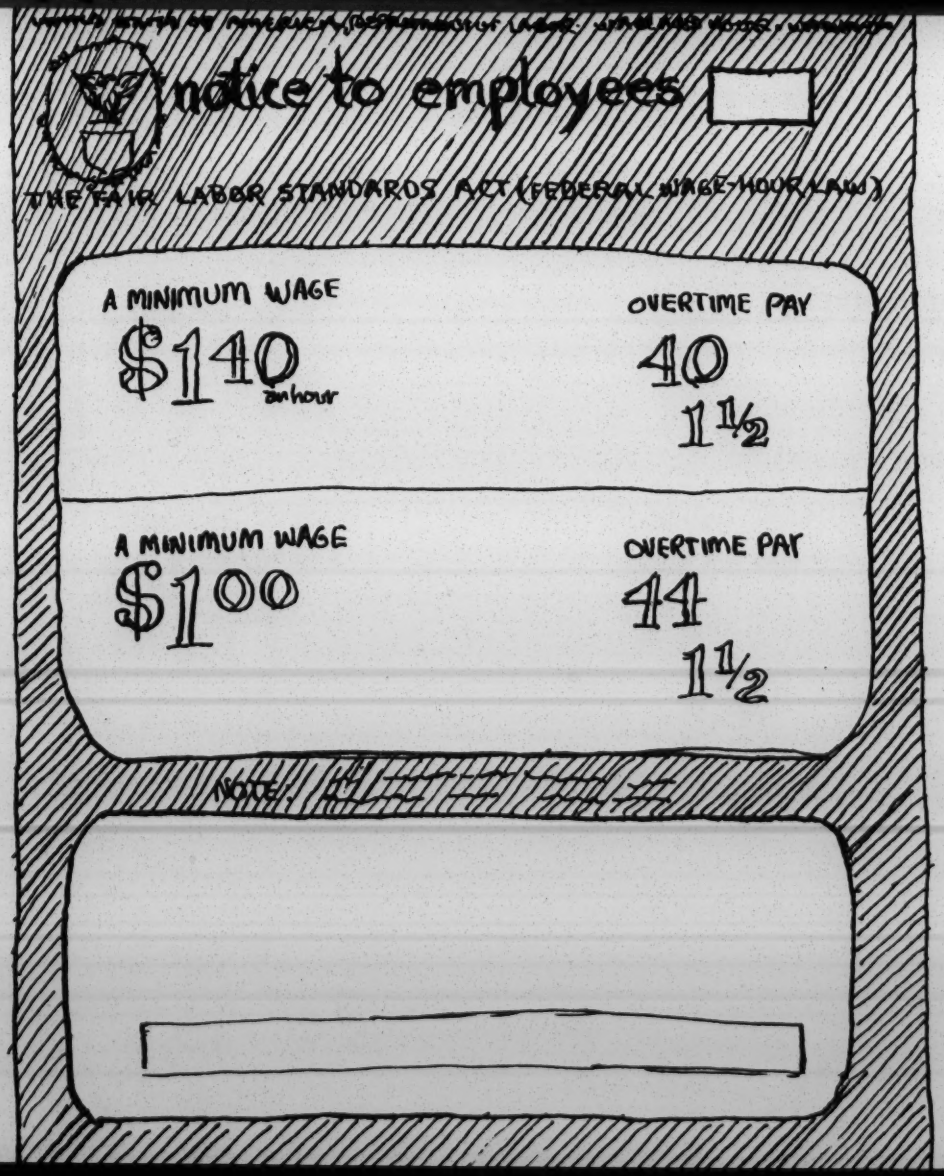
the men for the same work—

you may be entitled to earn as

much as they do.

If your boss employs school
children during school hours—
or if children are doing
dangerous work
even after school or in
the summer—
this may be against the law

If your boss sells to the
federal government or
works for the government—
you are protected by
the minimum wage law.


notice to employees
THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT (FEDERAL WAGE-HOUR LAW)
A MINIMUM WAGE
$1.40 an hour
OVERTIME PAY
40
1½
A MINIMUM WAGE
$1.00
OVERTIME PAY
44
1½
NOTE:

Does your place of work have a big brown and white sign that says—

NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT REQUIRES...

Read the sign. You may find that you or someone you know is entitled to be paid more than he now gets.

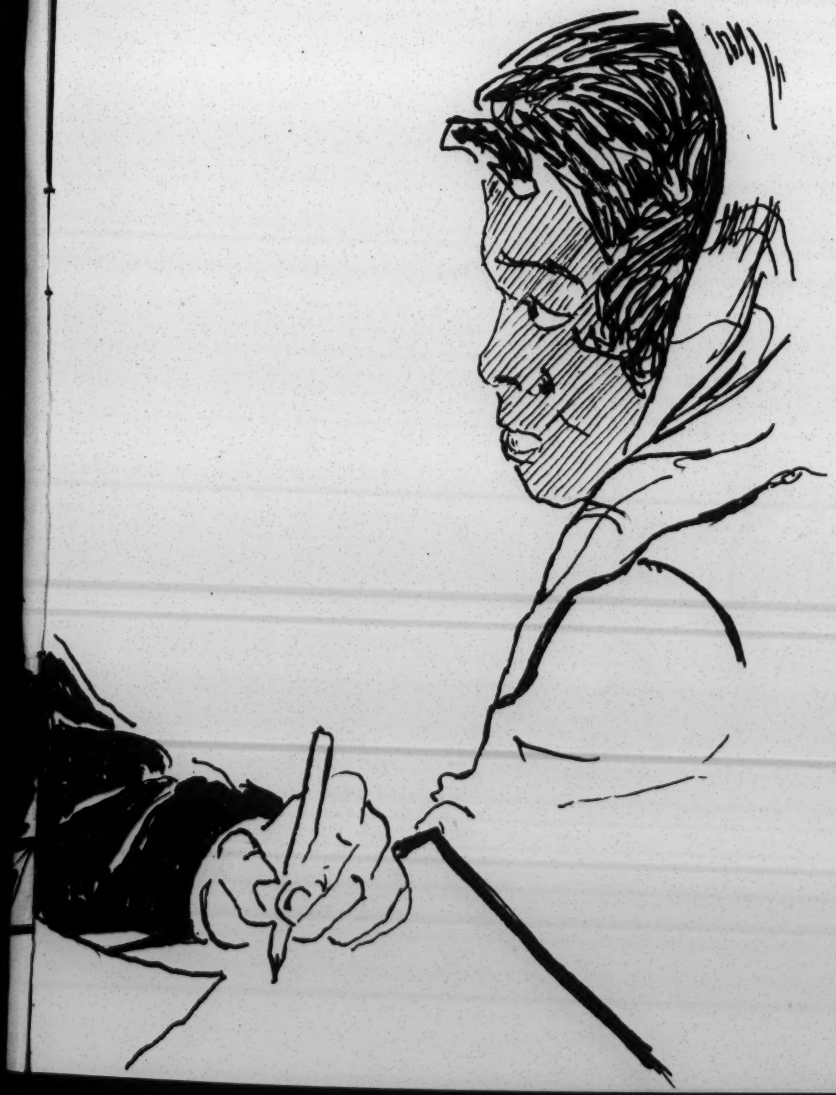
If you think you are not getting
the right amount —
here is what you should do.

Tell somebody in the group that
gave you this pamphlet

Or write a letter or a postcard
to the Wage and Hour Division
of the U. S. Department of
Labor nearest to you.

Or telephone the Wage and Hour
Division

Or go to the Wage and Hour Division
yourself.

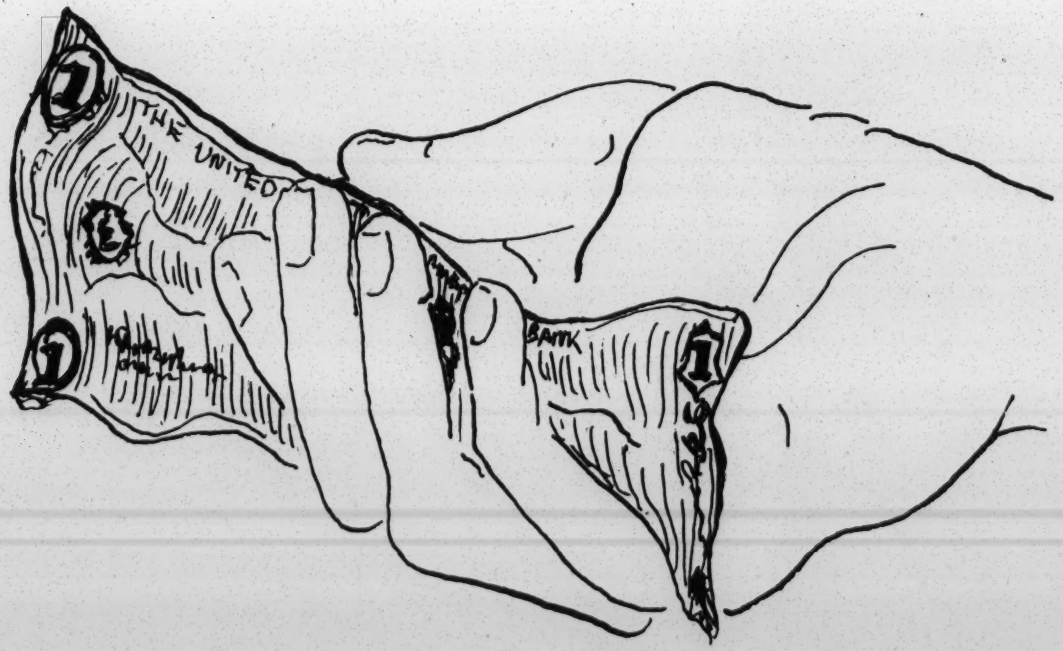


The people at the Wage and Hour Division will NOT tell your name to anybody.

You have a right to ask for help.

Your boss can NOT fire you for asking.

The addresses and phone numbers you need are on the back page of this booklet.


THE UNITED
BANK

The Wage and Hour Division will give you a report in
a month or so.

If you are getting the right amount already, they
will explain to you why you are not entitled to more.

If your boss has not been paying you the right amount, then
he will have to begin to pay you the legal rate
that you are supposed to get.
Also he may have to pay you back the extra amount
that you were supposed to get for the
whole time that you were underpaid

So you see, it is really worthwhile to ask.

If you have any questions about this get in touch with:

February, 1967

REPRINTED FROM NEW SOUTH, SUMMER, 1967

SORROW SONG IN BLACK AND WHITE

BY VERA RONY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W., ATLANTA, GA.

SORROW SONG IN BLACK AND WHITE

BY VERA RONY

From 1956 to 1964 Miss Rony was Executive Director of the Workers Defense League and for the last two years of that period served in the same capacity for the League for Industrial Democracy. Since 1965 she has traveled through the South gathering material for a book on southern labor, to be published by Quadrangle Books, from which this article is excerpted. Other sections have appeared in THE REPORTER and DISSENT.

To realize the earth's generosity to those who have joy in sowing and reaping gives a deep sense of security and a faith in the rightness of things.

—Julia Peterkin, quoted in Howard Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States,* University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

Mr. H. L. Mitchell

Dear Secretary, I find some awfull sad news about one of our brothers on Mr. Boss Dulaney's place, a pig was killed on the highway I don't know just how long it had been killed but it had spoiled and had been taken to the woods on a wagon and brother george wells wandered his way to the woods and carried it home and cleaned it for to have something to exist on for food and later on the same brother Wells was walking down the highway and found a great water snake with a dead turtle and he run the snake off the turtle and carried it home and had his wife to clean it and eat it . . . .

—Isaac Shaw, Sharecropper, 1936; from *The Disinherited Speak, Letters from Sharecroppers,* Workers Defense League pamphlet, circa 1937.

*Copyright, 1967, by Vera Rony.

A Negro is a very hard working man
They work like slaves on the white man land
The Negro works all the week long and
the white man drinks his liquor
And when its time to pay the Negro
is called a Nigger

—Dorothy Ann Watts,
high school student,
Issaquena, Mississippi, in the
Issaquena Freedom Fighter, August,
1965.

□ □ □

In prime television time, the day after Thanksgiving in 1960, the image of a famous newscaster appeared on the CBS channel. Slightly saturnine, humane, his natural elegance in chiaroscuro contrast to the dusty road, battered trucks, and milling people behind him, Edward R. Murrow intoned:

> This scene is not taking place in the Congo. It has nothing to do with Johannesburg or Capetown. This is a shape-up for migrant workers. The hawkers you hear are chanting the going piece rate at the various fields. This is Belle Glade, Florida. This is the way the humans who harvest the food for the best-fed people in the world get hired. One farmer looked at this and said, "We used to own our slaves, now we just rent them."

Harvest of Shame, television's first major probe of the soft underbelly of American affluence, was underway.

Thousands of viewers blissfully unaware of the years of horror pictures to come—the terrified and terrifying demonstrators, the blasted ghettos—responded with outrage and pity to these itinerant poor. But among a handful of knowledgeable viewers, the response was different. "Waal, it's a fine thing, of course," rumbled veteran farm labor spokesman H. L. Mitchell, in that slow, deep, flat-out delivery more evocative of Oklahoma than of his native Tennessee. "You know, the March of Time made a movie about southern farm workers in 1936. Millions of people saw it. It was gonna make a whale of a difference . . . . "

The history of agricultural labor in the South is the record of millions of people, of no single color or culture, to whom none of the miracle-making capabilities of America have made much difference. More graphically than Negroes alone, they illustrate the limits of traditional American meliorism. For they were stigmatized by no particular mythology or history; their sole handicap lay in the usefulness of their poverty to those who have wielded power in the South from 1877 until today. Leslie Dunbar says, " . . . The civil rights movement and the reforms coming from it are the culmination of a liberal era which began with the Great Depression. Civil rights was the final item on the agenda of modern liberalism." The record below should illustrate how irrelevant the liberalism of the '30's was for the southern poor of *both* races. In so doing, it suggests that, for

the South, the final item on the liberal agenda may be more complex, far-reaching—and color blind—than civil rights alone.

"A Socialist Dry Cleaner from Tyronza"

After the new Business Bourbons broke the back of Populism near the turn of the century, there were only sporadic economic rebellions among the small farmers, tenants, and laborers of the most densely populated rural area in America, the Cotton Belt. Yet this vast, 125-million-acre span, stretching south from the Carolinas through the Atlantic states and west through Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas, sustained the poorest people in the United States. At the height of national prosperity, just before the Crash, farm families as a whole were earning one-third as much as urban families, or an average of $1,240 per year; farm families in the cotton states averaged $620. Since this figure includes planters and yeoman farmers as well as tenants, the last group must have survived at the subsistence level, if that.

Yet, being Southerners, many of them undoubtedly cherished, like the tenant-farming Mitchells, a modestly legendary explanation of their situation. H. L. Mitchell tells it this way:

> The founder of our family came from Northern Ireland to Charleston about 1750. Like my grandfather, he was a Baptist preacher. On his way to this country he was shipwrecked off the coast of South Carolina. The story is told that he had a bag of gold and a Bible but lost the gold. None of the Mitchells ever had any money afterward.

But nothing else in Mitch's childhood was legendary — by regional standards. At the age of 8 in Halls, Tennessee, he was chopping cotton and picking strawberries at 50¢ for a ten-hour day. About the same time, he learned that a Negro who had hit his father in a work dispute was promptly shot to death and his body dropped in the Obion River. By the time he was ten, he had seen his first lynching, and five years later, his second. But there, the adult was foreshadowed:

> They piled wooden boxes and pieces of wood around him and saturated the pile with oil. I was up near the front and I heard the man pleading for his life. As he stood there he gave what was alleged to be the distress call of the Masonic Order: "O God, is there no help for the widow's son?" Some leaders of the mob were Masons and they hesitated. But someone in the crowd yelled, "O hell, he's just a nigger Mason, let's burn him," and he set a match to the pile. Along with many others, I was sick and I never had any more use for the Masons.

In 1927, having completed his apprenticeship in the fields and four years of high school, Mitchell took a wife and moved to Tyronza, Arkansas, near Memphis, to begin his adult life as a sharecropper. However, he discovered that the housing provided by the large plantations dominating the area was such that "when it rained outside, it poured inside." Between the indoor weather and the outhouses, Mitchell abandoned sharecropping. Resurrecting an old pressing machine from his father's junkpile, he opened a dry-cleaning establishment.

In the beginning, the thriving little enterprise left him little time for reading — a prime avocation — or crackerbarrel discussion with gas station owner

Henry Clay East, his Vergil on the local scene. But by 1931, Tyronza, like the rest of the South, had succumbed to the Great Depression. Mitchell and his friend found themselves with abundant time for thought and plenty to think about. Farm prices were plunging like an avalanche and burying American agriculture in the economic debris. Between 1929 and 1932, produce prices had declined by more than 50% and net farm income by two-thirds. For rural America as a whole, it was a grave crisis — for the dominantly agrarian South, it was a catastrophe. And like most southern problems, it had not arrived overnight.

Down in the Ditch Together

When the southern "agrarians" sought surcease from the Depression by resurrecting the plantation ideal, Howard Odum reminded them that it was not the 200,000 planter-aristocrats who revived the South after the Civil War, but millions of yeoman farmers, industriously cultivating their 100-acre plots. By 1880, these sturdy citizens comprised more than two-thirds of all southern agriculture, yet their prospects had grown exceedingly dim. The small farmer's difficulty was sadly circular: He needed capital, but southern banks, tied to a one-crop economy, were too undercapitalized to offer him the high risk loans he required. Thus he was thrown back on credit merchants who demanded mortgages on his crops, thereby "converting the southern economy into a vast pawn shop." This burden of debt was further compounded by the low price of cotton, and the high price of tariff-inflated manufactures from the North. The resultant hardship and loss erupted in the Populist revolt. Said its thundering prophet, Tom Watson:

> You were born in plenty and spent your childhood in plenty. I had it too. Then you lost your houses. The sheriff's red flag was planted at your front gate. You and yours took down the family pictures from the wall, picked some favorite flowers from the grave and took your weary march out into a strange, cold world.

After 1896, when the insurgent, interracial phase of the Populist rebellion had been stoned, shot, and niggered to death, the farmer's weary march led most often to dependency. In 1880, about one-third of southern farms were tenant operated; by 1920, the figure had risen to 60%. As the South slid into the trough of the Depression, one-third of its cotton fields were claimed by the banks and insurance companies, while 5½ million dispossessed whites competed with 3½ million Negroes "for the new kind of slavery involved in tenancy."

For tenancy was, of course, a "boss and black" institution — the prosperous white South's adaptation to Negro "freedom." The black family, lacking land, mule, or hoe, went to work for the planter, who wanted steady labor without paying wages. As rent, the planter deducted one-third to one-half of the tenant's[1] crop, and for "furnish"—credit for seed, fertilizer, equipment, food, etc. (usually bought at the plantation store) — he took another 25% to 50%. A 1932 study of Negro tenants in Alabama showed that almost 90% "broke even" or "went into the hole." Only some 10% received any cash for their year's labor.

[1]Share tenants and sharecroppers are used interchangeably here because of their similarly subservient status. Technically, tenants furnished their own equipment and animals and usually paid 25% of their crop as rent whereas croppers, who owned neither, paid as much as 50%.

A Delta folk tale relates the experience of a wily sharecropper who was determined to beat the system. Shoving his four bales onto the scale, he watched the planter compute the supervision, "furnish," and interest charges, at the end of which that worthy informed him that, as usual, he had broken even. He wouldn't get a penny. Gleefully, the tenant tossed a hidden fifth bale onto the scale. "Dawggone," said the planter, "now I'll have to figger the whole thing over agin."

Nor did the planter's control stop at the purse strings. He also decreed what was to be planted, in what manner, where marketed, and what schooling, if any, the tenants' children would receive. In a soon-to-be-published history, Professor George Tindall says of this period, "The long shadow of slavery still fell across the vassals of King Cotton, white and black." But why did the once independent, self-respecting white tenants acquiesce? How were they restrained from rebellion? A famous social document, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy,* explains:

> Because of his economic condition, and because of his race, color, and previous condition of servitude, the rural Negro is helpless before the white master . . . This fixed custom of exploitation of the Negro has carried over to the white tenant . . . Yet it has been impossible to bring about any change, even to get the poor white workers to take a stand, since any movement for reform is immediately confused with the race issue.

Booker T. Washington said it more succinctly: "The only way to keep a man in a ditch is to get down there with him." So there they were, nine million of them — one of every four Southerners — living in the leaking, rotting shacks, eating the salt pork and hominy, bearing the ague which was malaria and the runs which were pellagra and the torpor which was hopelessness. When a minister investigating the high incidence of disease questioned a planter about the open-surface privies scattered over the tenant landscape, the planter assured him, "All that a sharecropper needs is a cotton patch and a corn cob." He said nothing about color.

In 1931, the statistics were not yet collected nor the causal relationship explored. But in Tyronza, Arkansas, it was enough to have eyes — and heart. Mitchell and East poured over the social nostrums of the day: Huey Long's "Every Man a King," and Gerald L. K. Smith's "Share the Wealth," reposing their confidence at last in the tiny blue books published for a nickle by Haldemann-Julius: "Clay ate up those little blue books," recalls Michell, "and if a customer came in, he'd slip them under his newspaper, so they would think he was reading the *Memphis Commercial Appeal.* The next thing I knew, he was out in the street telling everybody that the solution to all the problems of the world was a socialist society."

When Norman Thomas brought his presidential campaign to Memphis in 1932, the 5,000 people who turned out to hear him included the two theoreticians from Tyronza. Shortly thereafter, the Socialist Party boasted a branch in northeast Arkansas. "We probably had as many members in the Tyronza local as the Socialist Party has in the whole country today," says Mitchell. "There must have been a thousand of us, mostly sharecroppers—black and white. I think it was the educational work we did there that later made it possible to organize the union

on an interracial basis. However, his neighbors were not yet ready for a union. That required a final, precipitating grievance which was supplied, ironically, by none other than the immortal champion of the Common Man and newly elected President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

FDR, the Planters, and the Peasants

In *FDR and the South,* Professor Frank Freidel comments, "Few figures have more significantly shaped southern destinies than a New Yorker who liked to think of himself as also a Georgian by adoption." There follows a vivid evocation of Roosevelt's affection for Warm Springs and the rural South as a whole:

> Roosevelt enjoyed relaxing in the magnificent country house of Cason Callaway, one of the largest of the textile manufacturers and a benefactor of Warm Springs, listening to the singing of Negro musicians dressed like old-time plantation hands. Also, Roosevelt dreamed of turning the miserably debt-ridden small farmers, sharecroppers, and field hands . . . into self-sustaining, self-supporting small farmers, each on his own homestead. It was one of Roosevelt's fondest dreams.

We hear a wild snicker from the young militants, and it *does* sound preposterous 35 years later, but FDR cannot be dismissed as a caricature "white liberal." His Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace, had, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., puts it, "one lobe of his brain attuned to idealism," while the undivided reformist zeal of brilliant Undersecretary Rexford G. Tugwell accounted for such departmental doers and shakers (in their divers and sometimes dubious ways) as Jerome Frank, Frederick C. Howe, Gardner (Pat) Jackson, C. B. Baldwin, Lee Pressman, and Alger Hiss.

But Roosevelt also had his priorities: The country had to be hoisted from the economic abyss without delay, and the Congress upon which the task depended was dominated by such southern hierarchs as Senators Joe Robinson (D., Ark.), the majority leader, and Pat Harrison (D., Miss.), Carter Glass (D., Va.), and Cotton Ed Smith (D., S. C.), chairmen of the Commerce, Appropriations, and Agriculture Committees, respectively. Nothing better illustrates what James MacGregor Burns has termed "the insuperable difficulties of Roosevelt's middle way" than the impact of the Agricultural Adjustment Act upon the South.

The sixth measure enacted by Congress during the historic Hundred Days, the AAA became law on May 12, 1933. "If the NRA was the mainspring of the New Deal in shop and factory, the AAA was its counterpart on the farm." When Agriculture Secretary Wallace rhapsodized that it was "a contrivance as new in the field of social relations as the first gasoline engine in the field of mechanics," and his aide, Mordecai Ezekiel, called it "the greatest single experiment in economic planning under capitalist conditions ever attempted by a democracy in time of peace," a paralyzed nation took them at their word. It was no time to inquire who would benefit from the experimental planning executed by the new contrivance.

In retrospect, the answer is clear enough; the historical verdict is unanimous.

The object of the AAA was to restore farm prices to the same ratio they bore to non-farm prices in the period 1909-1914. To this end, processing taxes were levied which financed the restriction of farm production, chiefly by paying benefits to farmers who agreed to produce less. In the vernacular, "Kill every third pig or plow every third row under." In drafting the law, the desperate need for speed and his own agricultural background led Wallace to rely on the advice of the major farm organizations, the American Farm Bureau and the National Grange. The Farmers Union, representing the smaller farmers, was scarcely consulted while the unorganized tenants, croppers, and field hands were totally ignored.

Since AAA contracts were drawn with those who controlled the land, the sharecropper could benefit only from the gradual rise in produce prices and the "parity" payments on his share of the crop. In practice, the planter received 90% of the government payments since he did "the reckonin" (excerpt from a letter to Mitchell):

> we poor people . . . of Shiloh . . . had a pretty tight time last Saturday. we got that cent and a half subsidy what was Due us, our boss man Mr. McCracken paid it off. he call us in a Dark Room, and his window Shades pull near down. we coulden see how to read. had his two boys Standing By his side. we just could see how to sine the papers. we dident get justers.

Many planters invested their government checks in machinery, which confronted the tenants with wholly new hazards: They could be "tractored" off the land or thrown from it by reduced cultivation. The law failed to provide firm safeguards against either fate. No apathy could withstand so many provocations; the decades of silence gave way to food riots, relief demonstrations, and Socialist campaigns.

Launching the Movement, 1934 Vintage

Although the worried planters had not yet learned how to equate socialism with Satan, they knew how to keep Socialist candidates off the ballot and Socialist voters away from the ballot boxes. As evictions got underway, frustration mounted. A Socialist organizer dispatched to the scene wrote Norman Thomas: "Here you will find the true proletariat; here you will find inarticulate men moving irresistibly towards revolution."

In February, 1934, Thomas came to Tyronza to see for himself. He toured the woebegone cabins and talked to croppers who had received their eviction notices due to AAA crop reductions. In a passionate speech at the Tyronza High School, he blasted the government program. Mitchell recalls a detail of the scene:

> One sharecropper came in and stopped at the door. I was acting as kind of an usher, and I pointed out a vacant seat. He said he didn't have long to stay, he just thought he'd look in. He had his week's rations of groceries in his arms, a sack of flour, some meal, and so on, and there was a fellow standing next to him. When Norman started to talk, this man had never realized the conditions under which he himself lived. His eyes were fixed on this stranger up there on the platform who was talking about him. Finally he just handed all of his groceries to the

fellow next to him and went over and took a seat and sat through the meeting.

To the local Socialists, Thomas suggested that political efforts be soft-pedalled in favor of an economic organization to defend the interests of sharecroppers.

On July 26, 1934, seven black men and eleven whites, including Mitchell and East, met on a plantation just outside Tyronza and formed "the union"—they didn't know what else to call it. Some of the whites had belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. Some of the Negroes were veterans of a black sharecroppers union in nearby Elaine—and of the violence which met their cautious attempts to negotiate with the planters. With that in the foreground, and a half-century of alienation in the background, these eighteen men decided matter-of-factly that the only viable union of sharecroppers was an interracial one. Being Southerners, they next considered the utility of hanging a planter or two by way of example. But a white man who favored less thorough methods was elected chairman, a Negro minister became second in command, and an Englishman from Bristol was chosen treasurer. The by-laws, modeled on an old Wobbly union, proclaimed "The land should belong to the people who work on it." The South hadn't seen its like since Populism!

Unsurprisingly—in this remarkable region where time does not equal change—this new plantocracy v. tenant struggle was in many ways a small scale replica of the earlier conflict. Connoisseurs of Populism who recall the "Western" style rescue (TV should consider doing some "Southerns") of Populist minister H. S. Doyle, a Negro militant threatened with lynching in Thomson, Georgia, by "fully two thousand" armed white comrades will recognize the first major ordeal of the new Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

Two organizers, both ministers but one white and one black, were arrested near Marion, Arkansas. Ward Rodgers, the white man, was escorted to the county line; C. H. Smith was thrown into jail. Mitchell realized that in Smith's case there was not a moment to lose, but the union had not yet acquired a lawyer. A frantic wire to the American Civil Liberties Union netted three possibilities, all in Memphis. Mitchell and East rushed over there, only to be promptly refused by two attorneys. "I greatly admire you fellows," said one, "but I was in the Lost Battalion in the Argonne Forest, and I'm one Jew[2] who isn't going over to Crittenden County to get a Nigra out of jail when he's charged with organizing a union." Finally the highly respected C. T. Carpenter undertook the case and hurried over to Crittenden County.

As he confronted the notorious Sheriff Curlin, an unusual number of ancient cars, trucks, and wagons discharged their burden of white union members in front of the courthouse. Inside, the sheriff allowed as how he was not about to release Reverend Smith. Time passed; the sheriff remained adamant. Then slowly, imperceptibly, the little clumps of quiet, lounging, tobacco chewing men began to coalesce. No southern sheriff, Faulkner tells us, needs to look out of his window to see it happen; he is born knowing. But this time it was different. That night a great rally was held to celebrate Reverend Smith's release, and to hear how he had endured the fists and rubber hose of the law without betraying the union.

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[2]Another time when a plantation mob cornered three union officials, it was an attorney named Goldberger who was singled out for a beating.

"That's how it began," says Mitchell, "and that's pretty much how it stayed." Negro unionists bore the brunt of the violence, but whites were not exempt.

> Planters . . . padlocked church doors and packed school houses with bales of hay to deter union rallies. Their riding bosses flogged sympathetic croppers and drove them from their plantations. The Harahan Bridge, spanning the Mississippi at Memphis, became the gateway to safety for union organizers.

The union begged the Justice Department for protection, but none came. Early in 1935, Reverend Rodgers was warned to "stop teachin' niggers to read, write, an' figger" or prepare to meet his Maker. Incensed, Rodgers told a union rally that unless the government put a stop to such intimidation, he "would lead a group to lynch every planter in Poinsett County." When the crowd roared assent, Mitchell hurriedly stepped in and restored order. But Rodgers was arrested before he left the platform. A planters' jury, hastily assembled in a local store, convicted him of blasphemy, anarchy, and attempted overthrow of the government.

The Rodgers case produced national headlines, hundreds of new union members, and money and moral support from near and far. On this swell of popular indignation, Norman Thomas returned to Arkansas. But he got no further than his first speech in Birdsong, where he was surrounded by planters and police yelling that "no Gawd-damn Yankee bastard" was going to lecture Arkansas. Brandishing the state constitution and protesting, Thomas retreated from the platform and the state. But as the French say, he drew back only to jump farther—and in a different direction.

Allies Likely and Unlikely

It was by now clear that the sharecroppers' problems would not be solved by orderly local reform. For the aggrieved Southerner the sole recourse, then as now, was Washington. There, in the feisty, argumentative stronghold of the New Deal, the sharecroppers attracted a pride of champions outstanding even in an era of political wizardry. Norman Thomas, Will Alexander, Rexford Tugwell, Jerome Frank and *bruderschaft*—a formidable, and very mixed, bag of allies. Of these, Thomas was the first and, in the nature of his part, the most outspoken. In one of those paradoxes which are the delight of a large and variegated society, this leader of the urban, second-generation American Socialist Party would play perhaps his most organic and creative role as the spokesman of the rural, bedrock native Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

After his first trip to Arkansas in 1934, Thomas wrote to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, "What about the sharecroppers driven from the land . . . Has the Administration any plans for them other than the pious hopes written into the contracts with the landlords?" When Wallace, relying on his "other lobe which responded avidly to the Farm Bureau, the Extension Service, and Senator Joe Robinson of Arkansas," replied in the negative, Thomas looked for heavier artillery. He found it in a League for Industrial Democracy study which reported that, as a result of the AAA, 15% to 20% of all sharecroppers were already thrown off the land.

Wallace responded with aplomb—he ordered more research. Although studies conducted independently by Mrs. Mary C. Myers of the AAA and Dr. Calvin B. Hoover of Duke University reinforced the earlier finding, the Agriculture Department made no move. Within the Department, however, there was considerable commotion. From the outset, Tugwell's Young Turks had sworn allegiance to the sharecroppers. The AAA's ineffectual Section 7a—urging that wherever possible participating landlords retain the same number of tenants they had when the program began—was inserted only at the insistence of Jerome Frank's deputy, Alger Hiss. Others in the group included liberals Frederick Howe and Pat Jackson, and Communists Lee Pressman, Nathan Witt, and John Abt.

Had the folks back in Birdsong met this last clutch of allies, they might have felt the same misgivings as the old Department hands: "Too Ivy League, too intellectual, too Jewish." And one can imagine their response to the brilliant Lee Pressman's deathless challenge: "But what does this code do for the macaroni growers?" Nonetheless, in this engagement the Communists' usefulness cannot be argued. Later the Party appears in another role and perhaps another light.

By February, 1935, intensifying pressure from Thomas and the Rodgers case convinced the militants it was time to act. As soon as AAA Administrator Chester Davis left town, Hiss issued a re-interpretation of Section 7a: Landlords were obligated to retain the *same* tenants for the duration of their AAA contract. Davis returned, envisioned a planter uprising, became apoplectic, and cancelled the re-interpretation. He also fired all the insurgents except Hiss, whom he considered industrious and misled. Wallace and Roosevelt expressed the highest regard for the dismissed men, but raised no finger to reinstate any of them. During the resultant hue and cry, Norman Thomas obtained an interview with the President, who confessed he hadn't read the controversial Section 7a, twitted Thomas, "Now, Norman, you're not as good a politician as I am," and concluded, "There is a new generation growing up in the South. We've got to be patient."

In Marked Tree, Arkansas, on the night of March 25, forty masked night riders fired into the home of union attorney Carpenter. Five days later, a gang of armed men pistol-whipped a group of Negro men and women as they left church. A rival union movement was initiated by one J. Green who, obviously impressed by the news from Europe, proposed that his followers wear green shirts with swastikas. As Mitchell addressed a union meeting to expose the planter financing of the prospective Green Shirts, a man in the audience rose and pulled out a gun. At once, the unionist next to him grabbed his arm, thereby deflecting the bullet to the platform floor, two inches in front of the astounded Mitchell. The union had no choice but to move to Memphis and "go underground."

Now Norman Thomas no longer spoke only about economic reform. He wired Wallace that "only a miracle can prevent bloodshed" and requested intervention. When that proved fruitless, he went to Washington to plead his case in person, and when that too failed, he wrote FDR a personal letter describing the situation in Arkansas and expressing concern that the Agriculture Department was "frankly in fear of the power of southern senators." Thomas also pressed Sen. Robert F. Wagner, then drafting his Magna Carta for labor, to include "these virtual slaves" in its protection, but Wagner replied regretfully that to do so would doom the legislation. Thomas did, however, elicit one action from Washington:

Wallace gave the New York *Times* an interview condemning the bitterness aroused by "Communist and Socialist agitators in the South."

In this crisis, the beleaguered sharecroppers received unexpected reinforcements—a fresh, well-equipped squad of supporters, led by one of the most knowledgeable and effective of southern activists, "Dr. Will" Alexander. Coming from the powerful religious tradition which has spawned so many southern reformers, Alexander allied himself with Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk, for scholarship, and Edwin R. Embree of the Rosenwald Fund, for cash, to create "the triumvirate which ruled the liberal South during the Thirties and Forties." By 1934, Dr. Will had added the sharecroppers to a personal jurisdiction ranging from the directorship of the South's first Commission on Interracial Cooperation to the formation of Dillard University.

Aided by the University of North Carolina's great regional sociologists (and Rockefeller money), Alexander and Johnson launched a systematic study of farm tenancy in the South. By the beginning of 1935, they had the facts; they also knew about the ordeal of the STFU, the frustrations of Thomas, and the *Realpolitik* paralysis of FDR. They were ready to go to work. Staked this time by the Rosenwalds, Alexander and Embree migrated to Washington, took a posh suite at the Hay-Adams, and embarked on the inside approach—a systematic wining and dining of the decision-makers in the Agriculture Department. This traditional lobbying was abetted in March by the publication of a masterly popularization of their research findings, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy*. It was no accident that its dire conclusions were front-paged across the country—the Hay-Adams team had hired a professional publicist. The New York *Times* now took up the cry with a series of rousing on-the-spot reports from Arkansas. As Dr. Will had planned, the sharecropper issue, which had always had heat, was now acquiring depth and dimension.

No King Canute, Roosevelt—who read not only the *Times* but also Dr. Will's book, of which he approved—was casting about for a solution. With typical Rooseveltian deftness, he found one which at once embodied his concern for the small farmer, placated Thomas and the Left, and pleased favorite Brain Truster Tugwell, still disgruntled over the ouster of his disciples. On April 30, 1935, FDR established the Resettlement Administration, to be directed by Tugwell. With that done, the President moved to protect his other flank: A "spontaneous" demonstration was to take place in Washington to "counteract unfavorable impressions of the AAA."

This, too, could be understood. "In his first two years, FDR achieved the exalted position of being president of all the people. Could it last?" By 1935, the answer was emerging. In the near future, an old associate would say, "The brain trusters caught the socialists in swimming and ran away with their clothes," and Thomas would retort, "Roosevelt has not carried out any Socialist platform except on a stretcher." But FDR had one trump card left, the reviving economy—and agriculture led all the rest. Between the drouth and the AAA, farm prices had increased by two-thirds, farm income by one-half, and cash receipts had doubled. Small wonder that neither Dr. Will's statistics, nor publicity, nor sentiment deterred Roosevelt from defending his most successful program.

Hearing about the AAA demonstration, Pat Jackson proposed that the

STFU counter with a demonstration of its own. Only nine union members came, but they picketed the Department of Agriculture and made history; it was the first time a government bureau was so honored. When the cops tried to disperse the singing black and white demonstrators, Jackson—then in his volcanic, bull-horn-voiced prime—dispersed the cops. In an "unscheduled" address to *his* demonstrators, the President denounced those "with special axes to grind," who "were lying about the farm program." But the sharecroppers and their supporters had already made their impact: The Washington *Post* chose to salute "The Nine vs. the Three Thousand."

By July, 1935, the Resettlement Administration was ready to "coordinate and initiate all government programs in land utilization, rural rehabilitation and resettlement, and suburban resettlement." Tugwell, having taken Dr. Will's measure over many a beefsteak and Baked Alaska at the Hay-Adams, invited the Southerner to serve as his assistant. In the same month, the Senate opened hearings on a bill to provide tenants with government loans for farm purchase. The champion of the Common Man was at last remembering his debt-ridden Georgia neighbors. From the long range view, it was a promising first anniversary for the Southern Tenant Farmers Union—and its motley, untiring supporters.

Meanwhile, Back at the Plantation . . .

It has often been remarked that the long view is not very edible. For the cotton picking season opening in the fall of 1935, planters were offering 40¢ and 50¢ for 100 pounds of cotton. Thus the average worker who picked about 150 pounds in a day stretching from "can to can't" would earn less than $1 per day. There was no question of negotiating with the planters; by now they were accusing the union of planning the overthrow of "white supremacy, Christianity, the American flag, and the sanctity of home and family ties." In late September, when cotton was at its peak, delegates from the STFU's approximately thirty locals voted to strike. As Mitchell recalls:

> On the night before, the strike handbills were distributed all over the plantations at the same time—on fence posts, telephone poles, barn doors, everywhere—saying that strike was on and stay out of the fields. Five thousand of our people stayed home. In three Arkansas counties where we had just a few members, the state labor department man said he saw only five people working—in all three counties.

The planters held out for ten days; then they raised wages to 75¢ per 100 pounds. Although there was neither negotiation nor other recognition of the union, word of the triumph spread and the preventive wage raise, given in hopes of forestalling further unionization, extended rapidly over Arkansas. Sometimes this tactic works for the employer; this was one of the other times. The union enjoyed a membership explosion: Locals were organized so fast that the Memphis office couldn't keep track of them. In Muskogee, Oklahoma, a not quite full-blooded Cherokee named Odis Sweeden was squatting in his outhouse when he glanced at the newspaper underfoot and learned about the STFU's successful strike. He tore out the union's address, volunteered his services, and began to build an

organization in dust-bowl Oklahoma that eventually comprised seventy-five locals. By the end of 1935, the STFU reported a membership of 25,000 in 200 locals scattered over six states.

Elated by this unexpected success, the union presented its next demand early in 1936: Wages for chopping and weeding cotton must be raised to $2 per day. The planters responded by evicting one hundred sharecroppers. As they camped in the snowdrifts, Pat Jackson called for a congressional investigation. His outrage, striking a spark in Sen. Robert LaFollette, inspired the most thorough investigation of civil liberties violations ever undertaken in the U. S. But the sharecroppers' civil liberties were not placed under the microscope of the LaFollette Committee. As its exceptionally courageous chairman said to Mitchell: "If we go in there, those southern congressmen will simply stop our appropriations."

As the ides of May came and went and the planters remained obdurate, the STFU called its second strike. Like the contemporaneous sit-downs of the auto workers, this effort had verve and originality. The picketing was done in "Marches": unionists were lined up one behind the other, about eight feet apart, forming a very long, thin line, which marched down the road from one plantation to the other, singing and calling to those in the fields to join them. Marchers would cover 20 to 25 miles each day, with their lines lengthening and snaking out as the sun set.

The planters also displayed ingenuity, although of a somewhat antiquarian nature. In Earle, Arkansas, city marshal Paul Peacher not only arrested thirteen pickets, mainly Negro, but forced them to work out their sentences on his farm. A federal grand jury found him guilty of eight counts of violating the anti-slavery laws. When two white union sympathizers, the Rev. Claude Williams (of whom more below) and Miss Willie Sue Blagdon, undertook to search for Negro unionist Frank Weems who disappeared after being beaten on the picket line, they were caught and whipped by "unknown assailants." Naturally, the disappearance of Weems, a black man, made no ripple, but the attack upon the whites was headlined across the nations. Clay East, leaving the Forrest City (Arkansas) courthouse after providing bail for some pickets, was recognized and set upon by a gang of riding bosses. He was flat on his back and fighting with his feet when the state patrol finally rescued him. "Clay was a very athletic type of person," sighs Mitch admiringly.

If the National Guard, called out four days after the strike began, did little to prevent such violence, it did serve the traditional function of keeping the nervous Nellies on the job and off the picket line. When Thomas again pleaded with Roosevelt to intervene, the President replied that he had requested the governor to investigate. "Like asking Capone to investigate the underworld," growled Thomas. He next urged FDR to make good use of his invitation to the Arkansas Centennial Celebration in June, but Roosevelt's conventional address skirted both labor standards and civil liberties.

In July the strike collapsed, having "made no dent at all." Still, the union had continued to galvanize its constituency and the liberal community as a whole. At year's end, the STFU boasted 6,000 new members (initiation fee, 25¢; annual dues, $1), for a total of 31,000 men and women, black and white, in Arkansas, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Missouri, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas. And it had aroused sufficient interest to warrant a March of Time documentary, which

made no bones about the price exacted in pain and terror for the privilege of trying to better oneself on the southern plantation.

The Legislative Front: A Noble Failure, A 'Savior Without a Flock,' A Dubious Victory

At the time the movie, together with the other publicity, *did* seem to "make a whale of a difference." With the 1936 elections approaching and the issue vivid in the public mind, FDR moved to fulfill his legislative commitment to the sharecroppers. A Presidential Committee on Farm Tenancy was appointed, headed by Wallace and including (thanks to the machinations of Pat Jackson) a representative of the STFU. For Norman Thomas and Mitchell, the major issue confronting this committee was whether its legislative recommendations would be limited to the acquisition of land by tenants—"the subsidization of an American peasantry on subsistence farms," said Thomas—or would provide also for rural cooperatives. Both men were convinced that only the latter could compete successfully with the increasingly mechanized plantations. Although the STFU had many friends on the Committee, including Tugwell and the southern triumvirate, the cooperative proposals were foredoomed. As far as Congress was concerned, co-ops had been given a more than fair trial by Tugwell's Resettlement Administration and had proved a sad, funny—and costly—flop. Thus even before the Committee met, the STFU's primary objective was engulfed by one of the angriest controversies of the New Deal.

The ninety-nine "community" programs begun at the nadir of the Depression to relocate the jobless and landless represented a 'back to the land' movement dear to the heart of the President, who once said, ". . . The salvation of America lies with the country men and boys . . . They have more time to think and study for themselves." For Tugwell, who became their chief mentor and symbol, the community projects had a larger, almost apocalyptic significance. To them he brought a social philosophy as distinct from the Marxist orientation of Thomas and Mitchell as from the socio-economic regionalism of Alexander and the southern contingent. A former economics professor, Tugwell was a prophet of the planned economy and an enemy of laissez faire. But unlike the Marxists, he sought no new parties or movements to achieve these ends. Essentially elitist, he believed that an astute and determined president, surrounded by equally astute and determined planners, could revolutionize society.

The community projects—whether subsistence farms, rural-industrial, all-rural, or suburban—represented for Tugwell, says historian Paul Conkin, "the idea of cooperation, which was to replace competition and extreme individualism . . . as the new institution best suited for the modern environment. No more concerted public effort was ever made in the U. S. to develop cooperatives of all kinds." A glance at some of these projects will illustrate what happened when soaring idealism encountered unleavened reality.

At Arthurdale, a community for stranded miners in West Virginia which became Mrs. Roosevelt's pet Resettlement project, a White House aide ordered fifty prefabricated houses, which turned out to be totally useless. Thereupon the dauntless First Lady called in an architect and an interior decorator, all without

consulting the local sponsors or the project director, who promptly resigned in protest. In Penderlea, a rural project in North Carolina, settlers discovered that it would take them over forty years to buy their farms, during which they had to submit to detailed home budgets and farm plans, and bank accounts held jointly with the project manager. At Penderlea and Arthurdale, the new schools were developed along the latest progressive lines proposed by consultant John Dewey; in both places the settlers demanded a return to tradition.

At Jersey Homesteads, the government spent $200,000 for a factory to produce concrete blocks; when production started, the factory collapsed. A Special Skills section brought handicrafts, fine arts, and entertainment to the projects; at Penderlea the settlers returned special records made for them, requesting hillbilly music instead. At Westmoreland, the director suggested that Special Skills people be sent only at local request, so "that we do not burden the community with more advantages than they can absorb at one time." Between the solicitous social workers, the questionnaire-asking sociologists, and the beagle-nosed reporters, one mountaineer said, "It got so a man couldn't set down to his sow belly and turnip greens without some stranger peeking in at the window or walking in to ask fool questions."

Of such stuff are headlines made, but there were more fundamental problems: The government loaned four million dollars to the communities for cooperative factories of the latest design, all of which proved financial failures. Five hosiery mills lost $64,000, a woodworking plant almost $191,000, a pants factory about $214,000, and the Arthurdale tractor plant closed after one year with a loss of more than $106,000. Even Jersey Homesteads, the only settlement with a homogeneous, New York Jewish population, whose elan is echoed in the little inaugural march for the garment factory which replaced the concrete block fiasco:

Production, cooperation
Freedom for every nation,
Here, there, and everywhere,
This is our claim:
Workers' Aim, Workers' Aim.

The all-glass, air-conditioned factory failed in its first year of operation. An equally dire fate befell the all-rural co-ops, which were mainly in the South.

"Bad management," said Mitchell, pointing to successful consumer co-ops undertaken by the STFU and Sherwood Eddy's Delta Co-op in Mississippi. True, in some cases, but mainly *outside* management, and so much of it! Seeking only refuge from the economic storm, the unsuspecting settlers were deluged by a Niagara of planners, supervisors, managers, educators, and recreators—all with the best intentions. Who could tolerate it? (It is a comment on the selective writing of our history, and the explosive social potential of 'participation' that, despite this experience, the concept was virtually ignored until the civil rights revolution, thirty years later.) The damaging impact of Washington's paternalism was reinforced by the repeated reshuffling of the sponsoring agencies, with attendant confusion; the unfamiliarity of all agencies with the techniques of social planning (another lesson unlearned), and most important, the contradictory aims of the Resettlement Administration and the settlers.

Whereas the STFU and the Delta Co-op farmers chose freely to cooperate,

the overwhelming majority of the government's 10,000 settlers wished only to participate in the American Dream—to own their own home or farm. When their low earnings and the government's long-term purchase policy thwarted this purpose, no planning or helping could palliate their frustration.

These developments had not run their full course when the Presidential Committee on Farm Tenancy began its investigations in November, 1936, but they were sufficiently advanced to provide ammunition for the gathering legions of Roosevelt haters. Articles entitled "Hull House in the Hills," "The Fuller Life at Arthurdale," "Four Million Dollar Village," and "Back to Capitalism" chronicled the government's pratfalls, with only an occasional bow to its intentions and problems. Nor did they advertise that Resettlement's anti-segregationist, pro-poor people, and anti-privilege philosophy motivated much of their fury.

For all of this Tugwell was, unfortunately, an ideal lightning conductor. A dashing symbol of the New Deal who "suffered neither fools nor Congressmen gladly and often publicly confused the two," he was denounced in the press as both a "wild man from Moscow" and an ineffectual academician. By the end of 1936 an anti-Tugwell Club was formed in Chicago, cracks were circulating about the "Unsettlement Administration," and a devastating series of articles entitled "Utopia Unlimited" had appeared in the Washington *Post*. An isolated, "tragic figure, a saviour without a flock," Tugwell proved the final undoing of the co-operative ideal as a viable political program. By the time the Committee convened, he had decided to resign, leaving the Resettlement Administration in the hands of the less controversial Will Alexander.

Predictably, the Farm Tenancy Committee's report stressed the importance of private farm ownership and Congress showed little patience with other alternatives. In July, 1937, the Bankhead-Jones Act established a Farm Security Administration within the Department of Agriculture to provide government loans to selected tenants for farm rehabilitation and purchase. The Resettlement Administration was to be absorbed by the new agency and its community projects completed; no further social experiments would be undertaken.

In its minority report to the Farm Tenancy Committee, the STFU had said: "We strongly dissent from the 'small homestead' philosophy as the solution for the majority of southern agricultural workers. It is the more readily accepted by the present landlords because they know it to be relatively ineffective and . . . harmless from their point of view." For the union which claimed "that we workers in the fields, through our unions, through our strikes, and through our willingness to stand up against beatings, espionage, and all manner of terror . . . have brought the attention of the country to our problems," the Farm Security Administration was a dubious victory.

In addition, the FSA, like most poverty programs, was hamstrung by inadequate funds. The proposed annual budget of $50 million was reduced to $10 million in 1938, $25 million in 1939, and $50 million thereafter. Roosevelt, confronting an increasingly hostile Congress, offered little resistance, despite Secretary Wallace's admission that even at the $50 million rate, it would take 230 years to find farms for all the existing tenants, at $4,000 per farm! Also, the program was to be administered by county committees, notoriously dominated by the Farm Bureau. Said the STFU: "The county agent is, generally speaking, the servant of

the landowning business interest from whom he gets a large portion of his pay, rather than the servant of the mass of the people in the farming areas."

The union found only one bright spot in the FSA picture, and his name was Alexander. The new director, a former farm boy who believed that "if a man didn't know the feel of an ax-handle, he couldn't understand America," yarn-spinning, genial, pragmatic Dr. Will made the most of his mandate. As a key member of the Farm Tenancy Committee, he had made sure that FSA would combine, for the first time, credit toward farm purchase with technical aid, thus motivating the ambitious tenant to learn better farming methods. In the South, this meant preaching the Odum-Vance gospel of crop diversification as a means of renewing the exhausted land and finally releasing the region from the tyranny of cotton.

In their engaging biography of Alexander, Miss Dykeman and Mr. Stokely describe the salvation of the Pettways of Gee's Bend, Alabama, begun early in the New Deal and brought to fruition by the FSA. Living in isolation in the giant ox-bow bend of the Alabama River below Selma, these 100 families descended from the slaves of the now deserted Pettway plantation were living on wild plums in the winter of 1933. After that, they were kept alive by the relief agencies and Resettlement, but FSA investigated and decided to invest in the Pettways. Loans were made for seed, fertilizers, chickens, pigs, cows, and mules—and for re-purchase of their 12,000 acres, long foreclosed.

By 1941, 97 families had repaid their loans and owned their 100-acre farms, in a county where only 20% of farms were operator owned. They had diversified their crops and built a new school, general store, community center and health center. When Dr. Will and their particular FSA mentor, Chapel Hill's much-loved Pete Hudgens, came to visit they were greeted by a spiritual composed in their honor, "Go Down to the Ferry and I'll Pray," each verse of which celebrated an FSA benefit.

Unlike his predecessor, Dr. Will realized that his offensive in the field would be brought up short unless he secured his political flanks. To inform the public he enlisted writers like John Fischer, now editor of *Harper's,* and James Agee who, with FSA photographer Walker Evans, created from this experience the classical *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.* With his bourbon-and-branch water charm, Dr. Will also won the support of the majority leader, Arkansas' Senator Joe Robinson. Altogether, Dr. Will's FSA was a shrewd, practical, and imaginative operation.

Yet, by 1940, the country's war-bred prosperity had begun its customary work: The public was fast losing interest in the poor and dispossessed. Congress, sensing this, turned a more receptive ear to the Farm Bureau, now openly antagonistic to FSA. This was quite a switch from its 1934 position, when a collapsing agriculture caused its president to question even that most sacred of cows, rugged individualism.

It is a pity that historian Conkin's summation of the indictment levelled at FSA was not published until 1959, when Dr. Will was no longer here to enjoy it:

> The FSA aided the lowest and most helpless class of farmers, from the migrant laborers in California to southern sharecroppers. But the cotton plantations, the truck farms, and the large orchards were dependent upon

> these very same cheap laborers and croppers that the FSA was aiding through rehabilitation loans or resettlement opportunities. At the same time . . . the support to local cooperatives often threatened the profit of private processors and retailers. Thus those who feared competition or who were about to lose their cheap labor were naturally opposed to FSA.

Dr. Will's account was pithier. His colleagues in the Farm Bureau had, he said, "the attitude that the medicine man in Africa would have towards someone who tried to give penicillin for boils." Realizing that the times were no longer propitious for penicillin, Dr. Will resigned in 1940. The agency struggled along until 1946, when it finally succumbed to the protracted attacks of southern congressmen.

During the eight years of its life, the FSA made more than half a million rehabilitation loans to southern tenants, or more than half of all such loans granted. Of the farm purchase loans, 30,809—more than two-thirds of all loans granted—were funneled into the South. For the 1,831,000 southern tenant families reported by the census in 1935, this represents farm assistance for 27.6% and aid in purchasing farms for 1.6%. After all the publicity and protest and dedication, it turned out that the New Deal's assault on one of the most severe aspects of "the nation's Number One economic problem" (as FDR termed the South) was a chimera.

For the next twenty years, Congress turned its back on the southern rural poor, with a single exception: In 1956, social security coverage was extended to all non-migratory farm workers.

The STFU, the Commies, and the Mainstream of Labor

While his political allies were pursuing their goals in Washington, Mitchell was seeking another kind of help in another quarter. From the beginning, he had held it unlikely that a union of sharecroppers, alone and unaided, could bring the planters to the bargaining table. His odyssey in search of a useful trade union affiliation mirrors almost every aspect of the vigorous, turbulent labor scene of the Thirties. Mitchell turned for support first to the local labor movement in Memphis which was, in pre-CIO 1934, the A. F. of L.: "They said the union could only lead to uprisings among the Negroes and that no one could organize a union of people as poor as the sharecroppers," recalls Mitchell.

Recognition first came from the national office of the A. F. of L., which sent $1,000 to support the STFU's 1935 strike—a respectable donation in those days. But that is as far as the relationship went for the next decade: "The A. F. of L. was too far away," says Mitchell, referring to the socio-economic topography. As it turned out, the brand new CIO, then only an organizing committee, wasn't much closer:

> John L. Lewis, although he took a great interest in it, didn't spend one dime to assist our union. It just wasn't profitable. Lewis, like practically all the rest of the labor leaders, was interested solely in organizing workers who were able to pay substantial dues and maintain their union.

He was willing to say anything, so long as it didn't cost him anything.[3]

In our time, a small new union which fails to attract the advances of the standard labor movement is completely out of it—a hopeless organizational wallflower. But in the Thirties, there were other partners, and other parties—notably the Communist Party. The STFU, which took pride in its grass-roots, democratic radicalism, was not inclined to view with alarm the rumored Communist affiliation of potential friends; after all, warnings about Moscow-dictated party lines were bound to sound fantastical in, say, Marked Tree, Arkansas. But that was before Commonwealth College, then a hotbed of political dissidence, sent a delegation to help the union organize. When one of its members, an overt Communist, proceeded to distribute literature urging Negroes to establish a Black Republic in the South—the Communist Party was an early exponent of black militance—the union people became alarmed and "shipped the whole crowd back to Mena."

This was, in turn, the merest prelude to the STFU's adventures with the Reverend Claude Williams, a man of parts whose 'primitive' Communism had its engaging moments, although it took a wry, humorous Southerner like Mitchell to savor them:

> Some delegates was sitting in a booth in a restaurant near the hall where we were holding the convention. I came in by myself . . . and saw Williams and one or two other fellows sitting in a booth. Williams was showing them a card. He had a red card in his hand . . . Thinking it was some union card, I just reached over and said, "What's this, Claude?" He hesitated and said, "Mitchell, you must not tell anyone about this, but this is my Party card." I looked at it and it wasn't made out to him. "Hell, that ain't your card. It's made out to John Gayley." He said that was his Party name.

At the STFU's 1937 convention, held soon after Williams's much publicized role in the Weems affair, the preacher used his freshly minted glamour to promote a curious proposal. He urged that all members working for wages transfer into the A. F. of L., while the tenants and sharecroppers move into the National Farmers Union, since they shared the interests of the larger land-owners. In short, he proposed to dissolve the union! After two furious days, the Mitchell forces managed to overcome the advantage of "any white man who would go out and get beaten up for a Negro," and the STFU remained intact.

Still, this was only the baptism by fire; for three years the STFU's quest for economic reinforcement and trade union solidarity would run athwart Communist plans and purposes — a destiny shared by all labor groups drawn into the orbit of the early CIO, to which John L. Lewis had harnessed the undisputed organizing talents of the C. P. The resulting intrigue and in-fighting could be sustained by the large industrial unions, protected on their employer flank by the Wagner Act. For the small, unprotected STFU, isolated in the hostile South, it was calamitous.

At the time of the above-mentioned convention, the CIO had not yet created

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[3]While the early CIO could undoubtedly have provided some financial aid to the STFU, it should in fairness be said that at the outset, its resources had to be husbanded for the insatiable demands of the industrial organizing which was its avowed purpose.

a national organization for farm workers. A few months thereafter, however, a charter was issued to Donald Henderson, a former professor and warm political friend of West Coast longshore chief Harry Bridges, who commended him to Lewis. Pat Jackson, also a Lewis friend, insisted that the STFU be included among the founders, and it was so ordered.

No sooner did the STFU delegation arrive in Denver for the July, 1937 founding convention than Henderson pulled Mitchell aside and offered him the secretary-treasurer's post in the new organization provided he joined the Party. When Mitchell refused, the offer was withdrawn. Thereupon Pat Jackson, Lewis's official representative (foxy old John L. often hedged his Communist bets), vowed to use his boss's prestige to elect Mitchell from the floor; Henderson countered by intercepting all communications from Lewis to Jackson. When a second Lewis emissary arrived to investigate the communications gap, Henderson capitulated to the extent of making STFU president J. R. Butler a vice president of the new organization. The union born amidst these excursions and alarms was known as the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, or UCAPAWA, pronounced by its admirers, YOU KA POWWOW.

For Mitchell and Jackson, the first pow-wow had been enough; they considered it highly unlikely that the STFU would survive the tender embrace of the new mother organization. However, the burgeoning CIO had so captivated the STFU rank and file that it was impossible merely to let the matter drop. They therefore bombarded Lewis with pleas for a separate CIO charter of their own. Lewis, sufficiently impressed with STFU to forego the hallowed prohibition against chartering two unions for the same jurisdiction, agreed. But, ever the nimble politician, he refused to rile UCAPAWA by undue haste; the STFU charter would be processed through the usual channels.

Thereupon ensued an organizational tragicomedy of the kind dear to the heart of labor buffs. Anxious to annex the STFU, Henderson pressured its president Butler (to whom UCAPAWA was paying an unheard of salary of $200 per month) to hold a special convention of his union to vote affiliation. Butler called the convention for September, 1937, two months after the events in Denver and mere weeks after the STFU charter application had begun to grind its way through the administrative entrails of the CIO.

One thousand eager STFU members assembled in Memphis, the largest convention ever held by the union. Mitchell, sensing the CIO fever among the delegates, assured them that the STFU's charter was on its way and argued against affiliation with UCAPAWA. Thereupon Henderson took the floor in no uncertain terms: Lewis would never do such a thing; it would be dual unionism—unthinkable. "It's either you boys join our union or have nothing to do with the CIO." Desperate, Mitchell begged Butler to postpone the vote until he could reach Lewis by phone. Butler, "an honest man caught in a squeeze," acquiesced, but Lewis was nowhere to be found. However, the fates took mercy on Mitchell — it was time for lunch. For two hours he clung frantically and fruitlessly to the telephone. He was still in that posture when Butler, no longer able to evade the baleful eye of Henderson, put the question to a vote. Affiliation won by a landslide. When it was all over, many of the new UCAPAWA members stopped to express their regrets to the crestfallen Mitchell. In the words of one: "We

think the STFU is the best, but our local would run us out of the county if we went back without joining the CIO."

Henderson had not achieved this victory without providing firm assurances that the STFU would retain both its identity and autonomy within UCAPAWA. But as Mitchell and Jackson foresaw, sectarian politics do not cohabit with good faith. No sooner was the affiliation achieved than Henderson ordered STFU locals to by-pass their established channels and report directly to UCAPAWA. Says Mitchell:

> The rest of 1937 and 1938 were spent largely in one battle after another with the Communist leadership of UCAPAWA. Every time its Executive Board met, the STFU was on the agenda. We would always be voted down. We had four representatives and there were, I think, twenty-one on the Board, and the others voted in a block.

(Varying only in name and number, such reports echoed like a long sigh through the labor movement of the late '30's.) Complaints to Lewis received the standard organizational response: All appeals within UCAPAWA must be exhausted before he could intervene. The year and a half that the STFU plodded through this exhausting process was exceedingly eventful: Minor calamities within, a major calamity without, but almost everywhere a healing comedy quite absent from the more sophisticated political wars up North.

There was, for example, the unexpected decline and fall of Claude Williams. The STFU having no strictures against Communists, the incident of the little red card had in no way affected Williams's status in the Executive Council. But being a creative man, he chafed under the deceptively sleepy eye of Mitchell, which never left him for long. At last came the day of deliverance. Mitchell received a government consultantship requiring a good deal of travel; Williams was free at last. He now enjoyed many a confidential visit with his long-time friend, union president Butler, in whose place he felt at home, throwing his jacket over the chair for shirt-sleeved talk in the July heat. One day Williams absent-mindedly left without his jacket. Butler's nephew found it and, removing its heavy burden of papers, jauntily wore it to town. Eventually, Butler noticed the unfamiliar pile of material and, while leafing through it, came upon a letter on Commonwealth College stationery addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA. It said in part:

> A situation has now arisen which offers us an extra-ordinary opportunity to move into the most important organization in the agricultural South: the STFU . . . H. L. Mitchell . . . who has been consistently opposed to the International with which that union is affiliated, to the Party, and to Commonwealth, is on leave of absence from his office. The President of the Union and other members of the Executive Council who are friendly to us have invited us to conduct an intensive program of mass meetings at which Claude Williams would be the principal speaker . . . This is an opportunity for establishing a real Party base in the STFU.

Butler, who had often defended Williams against charges of sectarianism and disloyalty, was outraged. In a letter demanding Williams's immediate resignation from the Executive Council, he said:

> Now please do not get the idea that I am censuring you . . . for belonging to the Communist Party. That is your privilege. The thing I am censuring you for is that under the guise of friendship you worked to disrupt the STFU in its basic principle of being non-partisan.

Mitchell contends that if the letter had said that the Socialist Party intended to take over the Union, Butler, staunch Socialist that he was, would have responded the same way: "He was very straitlaced about everything." The Executive Council gave Williams a full hearing, listened impassively to his claim that the damaging letter was written by a Commonwealth student for a class in fund-raising, and expelled him — a decision subsequently upheld by the STFU convention.

The Union turned to more serious business in January, 1939, when 2,000 of its members in southeastern Missouri, evicted from their homes because the planters had shifted to wage labor, decided to "just move out on the highway and sit there and let the rest of the world go by." Union vice president Owen Whitfield (Negro) begged the interracial crowd to consider the cold, the snow, the absence of tents and food — without success. The next day newspapers across the country showed the pitiful scene. Mitchell rushed to Washington for help and, when no bureau moved fast enough, applied to Mrs. Roosevelt.

By the time he returned to Memphis, the President had already ordered the National Guard to provide tents, field kitchens, and other essentials. But in the South, even the awesome resolves of presidents sometimes lose the name of action. The National Guard never arrived, but what did arrive was food, clothing, and money spurred by the First Lady's column about the demonstration. These were clandestinely distributed at night, to avoid harassment by the police and state troopers. Finally the planters put a stop to the entire operation by persuading local health authorities to declare the camps a public nuisance. Demonstrators were moved into whatever shacks could be found on the land — as long as they were remote from the highway and the inquisition of the news cameras.

It was no accident, according to Mitchell, that Henderson picked the time of his maximum involvement in the Missouri affair to administer the coup de grace to the STFU. UCAPAWA had already removed six states from the STFU's eleven state jurisdiction and sought to collect per capita dues directly from STFU locals, thus depriving the original parent organization of all revenue. This intra-union judo was enlivened by some holds available only to true believers.

The Communist Party always cooperated with Sharecropper Week, a nation-wide series of fund-raising events climaxed by a Carnegie Hall concert in New York. As a result of the uproar in Missouri the 1939 concert was expected to yield an all-time high. But a night or two before the event, unsold tickets began to pour into the benefit office. Investigation disclosed that the Communist faithful, always the heartiest ticket pushers, had undergone a reversal of marching orders. The benefit was a disaster.

While Mitchell was recovering from this blow, Henderson announced a major meeting to "re-organize" the STFU, to be held within 48 hours in Memphis, the union's home base. After a last, futile appeal to John L. Lewis, Mitchell drove non-stop from New York to Memphis, and mobilized every bus, car, or truck he could lay hands on to transport to this 'dual' convention the delegates who

had earlier attended the STFU's 'bona fide' convention. Of the hundred-odd unionists who assembled in Beale Street the next day, the anti-reorganization faction claimed seventy-five — more than enough to move Henderson to compromise. Butler and Mitchell decided they could best contribute to this result by absenting themselves from the convention floor.

Scorning such niceties as the election of a chairman, Henderson opened the convention with a bitter denunciation of the two absent leaders and concluded with his decision to expel them from UCAPAWA. This led some STFUers to mutter that the only reasonable response to Henderson would be to throw him out of the window. As these suggestions rose in volume, a delegate phoned Mitchell and Butler, who counseled calm and set out for the convention. When they appeared, Henderson, who seemed to have more courage than counting faculty, hollered that if they didn't leave at once, he would have them thrown out. At that, a roar went up from the crowd, which was clearly hungry for action. Mitchell asked for the floor; Henderson refused. But before the aroused sharecroppers could clamber onto the platform, Mitchell called out, "Everyone who wants to stay in a real union, follow me." That is what most of them did, and in the doing, severed forever the relationship between the STFU and the CIO.

There is, however, a footnote to this occasion: "After we got out, we all went to the yard in front of the Labor Temple," says Mitchell. "Brother A. B. Brookins, our original song leader, a very small Negro gentleman of about 65, said to me, 'I think I know what we ought to do. Just let me go down there and do it myself. I'll get Mr. Henderson and take him to the foot of Beale Street right on the Mississippi and make a Christian out of him — I'll baptize him.' Of course, Henderson was already far away from Memphis, and as far as I know, he never came back."

In an "Open Letter to Friends of the Sharecroppers," explaining its secession from UCAPAWA, the union again sounded the pragmatic, non-red-baiting note:

> The STFU knew before it affiliated with UCAPAWA that Henderson was a Communist but we affiliated anyway. We have no objection to Communists. We do object to destructive trade union tactics. We have left the UCAPAWA not because it is Communist controlled, but because that Communist control has made it impossible for us to carry on our job as a union.

Butler's long-standing defense of Williams, Mitchell's postsecession refusal to press a legal opportunity to bar UCAPAWA from the South, and the tenor of STFU publications lend credence to this statement. While it is obvious that a subsidiary unit with political views divergent from its parent organization will have its problems, it seems likely that the STFU would have paid the price had the UCAPAWA been less rigid and dictatorial.

Southerner that he is, Mitchell blames the human element: "Henderson had a bad personality." But the political warfare raging throughout the labor movement of the '30's indicates that Henderson was not the only Communist who failed to grasp the ideal of participatory democracy. It seems to have been an endemic and pervasive failure. Nonetheless, UCAPAWA made serious inroads into the STFU, capturing among others two Negro vice presidents. While

the CIO salary scale may have played a role, there were other, more legitimate factors. Said a memo distributed by the pro-UCAPAWA faction:

> Special attention must be given to the problems of the Negro people. It must be seen to it that they are not discriminated against because of their race in (1) jobs, (2) relief, (3) social security, (4) education, (5) courts, (6) medical care, etc. All workers are exploited . . . But the Negro people are confronted with additional problems arising from discrimination against them in the South. The Memphis office has refused to recognize this fact, although the majority of the membership is Negro . . . They have expelled all persons who have attempted to deal with these problems.

This conflict was, interestingly, somewhat similar to that cleaving the civil rights movement today. The STFU, convinced that poor Southerners, black or white, would either advance together or not at all, integrated not only its program, officers, and meetings, but also its training schools and conventions — no cinch in the 1930's South. While recognizing the special handicaps of its Negro members, the STFU could not continually emphasize them at the expense of its over-all program without hopelessly alienating the whites, who had already stretched their psyches to the uttermost.

The UCAPAWA, on the other hand, was heir to the extreme Negro nationalism of the Communist line in the period 1928-34: Negroes were a separate and distinct nation under the heel of an imperialist power, the U. S., and must free themselves from the oppressor exactly as the Negroes in Africa. By 1934, this position had yielded to Russia's need for allies to help contain Hitler, and the 'united front' policy took its place. But, as noted above, both the literature and the feeling tone of the earlier position survived in the southern wing of the Party and made its way into the new CIO unions. Then as now, for many exacerbated, angry Negroes no strategy of integration could compete with the passion, rehetoric, and untrammeled hope of a black crusade.

UCAPAWA also criticized the STFU for failing to organize aggressively, but it made no effort to take up the challenge; after the split, Henderson deserted the farm workers in favor of their more easily organized industrial counterparts. When the dust of political combat had settled, the STFU's constituency had dropped from more than 30,000 to about 5,000, of whom only 20% paid dues. "You know, when you get into a union fight, you don't pay attention to anything else except the fight," commented Mitchell.

The Receding Tide: The War Years, the Not-So-Golden West, Homecoming

Despite these depletions, material and moral, the STFU showed remarkable resilience during the next few years. With the war engendered job explosion, the union confronted a new dilemma. Between 1935 and 1940, tenancy in the South declined by some 382,000. The most confident unionists — mainly white — were forsaking the land; the least skilled and confident — mainly black — were pushed from it by mechanization. Mitchell refused to mourn the shrinkage of his jurisdiction and his leadership cadre: "There is so little future in farm

work that the best union is the one that works itself out of business." Still, how to serve those who could neither continue to live on cotton nor seize the alternatives?

By cooperating with the FSA and the War Manpower Commission, the union organized annual cavalcades of 1,500 workers to pick special long-staple cotton in Arizona, 500 to harvest sugar cane in Florida, and some 3,000 to pick fruit and vegetables for Seabrook Farms, Heinz, and Campbell in New Jersey. These migrants sported union buttons, carried union literature, and operated under union conditions. At Seabrook, where the STFU was represented by the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union, which had jurisdiction in the packing plants, a picker could earn $200 to $500 in six weeks, often as much as he cleared in an entire year's work in cotton.

These arrangements not only insured the survival of displaced croppers, but aided those who remained on the land. Using the alternative of a migrant job as a weapon, the STFU would open the picking season in the Delta by calling wage conferences and announcing its demands, a form of remote control bargaining which helped to raise wages from $3 to $4 and $5 per day during the war years. Immediately after the war, the liberal Truman regime's War Labor Board would seek to freeze wages in the Delta, an attempt successfully resisted by the STFU.

All of this was not accomplished without a strike or two, but as the war pre-empted public attention, there were no more headlines, no more Sharecroppers Weeks and, with the demise of the FSA, no more epic political battles. The powerful allies scattered: Tugwell and Alexander departed Washington; Norman Thomas, the union's Galahad, was now pursuing the pacifist grail, while irrepressible Pat Jackson was thoroughly embroiled in the inner and outer struggles of the CIO. A quarter century would pass before farm workers would again attract the concern and cooperation which was theirs before their collision with those massive international phenomena, Communism and World War II.

For a half dozen years after the war, farm organizing was suspended in the South. With most of his remaining membership siphoned off into the new factories or the migrant stream, Mitchell left a caretaker regime in Memphis and set out to organize the giant orchards of California. But this was not before securing, at last, an organizational affiliation for the STFU. Despite the efforts of Walter Reuther, the pro-Henderson forces were still strong enough to bar the union from the CIO, but with the help of the Meatcutters and President William Green, the STFU was welcomed into the American Federation of Labor in 1946.

By the fourth year of his California campaign, Mitchell had three strikes against him, their very names redolent of the great golden state: DiGiorgio, San Joaquin, Imperial Valley. There, on the spectacular 20,000 acre farms, the same game was played, with the same results, as on the smaller plantations of the Delta — except for the West's greater reliance on the law. The DiGiorgio strike, distinguished by a picket line strung like a necklace, or a noose, around the endless orchards, surrendered to an injunction brought in the grower's behalf by the National Labor Relations Board. After a hearing, the Board changed its mind — but that was two years later.

With his country grit, it did not occur to Mitchell that after all this — climaxing seventeen years in the front lines — he was entitled to retreat to some

pie-card[4] dug-out or other. Instead, accompanied by his impressive western recruits — Hank Hasiwar, a Prince Hal of labor skates, and Dr. Ernesto Galarza, a fiercely dedicated organizer-publicist — he returned to his native habitat. Not to Arkansas, where the work force was much reduced, but to Louisiana where, year after year, thousands of strawberry and sugar cane workers earned $700 to $1,200 a year.

Requiem in Louisiana

Although he looked and sounded the same, the returned Mitchell had acquired sophistication. Always poor and a captain of the poor, he had confidently aimed his slingshot at the California Goliaths or, as one of them remarked, "The A. F. of L. sent you fellows out with a popgun to hunt elephants." It was a mistake Mitchell had no intention of repeating. In 1951, he began to press both the A. F. of L. and the CIO to provide proper financing for farm organizing, only to have his plans cancelled by the deaths of Presidents Green and Murray in 1952.

The following year, Mitchell made a modest proposal to the new A. F. of L. leader, George Meany: In addition to the Federation's annual grant of $15,000 to his union, rechristened in California the National Agricultural Workers Union, Meany should head a committee to raise an organizing fund of $250,000 from A. F. of L. affiliates. According to Mitchell, Meany responded as follows:

> He was quite familiar with everything in my memo and rejected it outright, saying the A. F. of L. in all its history had never operated in the manner I proposed — that my plan was a CIO-type of organizing . . . He also said he did not believe that a group such as farm workers could, or for that matter, wanted to be organized.

So — wiser, sadder, and equally under-caparisoned, Mitchell laid seige to southern agriculture for the second time.

Between 1951 and 1953, Mitchell and Hasiwar (aided by A. F. of L. organizers) developed a 3,200-member organization of small strawberry farmers, the largest local in NAWU's history but not the most serene. Unaware of the special legal procedures governing co-ops, and occasionally forgetful of more common laws — overzealous members dynamited a truckload of 'scab strawberries' — the local provoked the wrath of the Justice Department. Faced with a federal anti-trust suit, NAWU attorney Daniel Pollitt was able to persuade the government that the erring local would mend its ways without suffering a heavy penalty. But he reckoned without Judge Herbert Christenberry. Hearing the modest fine demanded by the prosecution, the judge bristled: "I'd be harder than that on a violation of the migratory bird laws," and slapped a $9,000 fine on the union and suspended sentences on the organizers.

The fates, which seldom tipped their hats to Mitchell, now sent him some unexpected allies. A group of Catholic priests nearby had undertaken a rather exotic mission for that time and place: They were ministering to the poor — in this case, sugar cane workers, mainly Negro, scattered among nine south Louisiana counties along the Mississippi. Their employers were the large sugar mills which had expanded their control over more than half of the cane fields, displacing

[4]Archaic labor lingo for professional union men.

tenants and family farmers. With incomes averaging less than $1,200 a year, these workers needed charity, but Father Vincent O'Connell of Loyola University in New Orleans was convinced that charity was not enough. Introducing his friend Mitchell to his friends, the cane workers, he initiated a partnership which was, for the 1953 South, unique. Backed by Archbishop Rummel, priests not only encouraged workers to join the union, but offered church and school facilities for their use.

NAWU quickly enrolled 2,000 cane workers, sought recognition, and was refused. With a surfeit of big, broken strikes behind him, Mitchell was not hankering for another one. Courteous letters were sent to the mill owners, urging any form of negotiation which would hold out some hope for the workers, and state mediators were invited. But the Sugar Cane League refused to budge. As in Arkansas, as in California, the union was faced with a simple choice: Walk away and desert your people, or strike. On October 12, 1953, after a strike vote of 1,808 to 2, "the cane mutiny," (as *Time* called it) began.

Strike-bound Louisiana, 1953, showed a marked resemblance to strike-bound Arkansas, 1936. Armed guards patrolled the roads, curfews were imposed, and within one week, 700 people were evicted from company homes. Father Jerome Drolet of Thibodaux, Louisiana, interviewed in New York while on a fund-raising trip for the strikers, called the mill owners "white collar, two-armed bandits." Yet neither they, nor the strike-breakers from Mississippi with rifles in hand, could control the conflagration. By October 25, the strike had spread to 75 plantations and involved 3,000 workers. At this point, Archbishop Rummel urged the mills to negotiate; they refused. For they had found a way to enlist that old reliable ally, the law.

The mills obtained an ingenious and extremely harsh injunction against the strike, on these grounds: 1) the strike imperiled a seasonal crop vital to the economy, and 2) since farm workers were omitted from all laws protecting the right to organize, it follows that the law did not *intend* them to organize. Or, if you don't rate protection, you don't rate a chance at all. But the irony of this argument goes beyond the obvious. As Dr. Galarza demonstrated, sugar cane workers are, of all American labor, uniquely subject to federal law, although not of the protective variety. They are regulated by a complex set of controls known as "the sugar system," wherein the government sets the prices, markets, profits, and wages of the industry. It does so, naturally, in response to pressures. Thus in Hawaii, where cane workers are organized, the 1949 hourly wage was 93¢, whereas in Louisiana it was 41¢, and in 1953, 44¢.

Nonetheless, the union's devoted (i.e., unpaid) attorneys were worried — neither the Eisenhower euphoria nor the southern courts held out much hope. When the Louisiana Supreme Court upheld the injunction against all union activities, the NAWU had no choice but to call off the strike which had held fast through a month of reprisals. Two years later, the Supreme Court dissolved the injunction, a shining moment for the deceptively cherubic Professor Pollitt (University of North Carolina Law School), who filed the brief *in pauperis* and whose faith in his cause kept the appeal alive. Some future union of sugar cane workers would perhaps profit from it. For this union, it came too late.

Sometimes the story of southern farm workers seems like a long exercise

in black humor: No matter how bad things are, they always get worse. The battle in the cane brakes had an unexpected and drastic side effect: The passage of a right-to-work[5] law in Louisiana — a goal sought by the state's anti-union elements since 1942. This chain of events began early in 1953, when a violent paper mill strike defaced labor's image. Still, in an agricultural state, an industrial imbroglio moves no political mountains — but a farm workers' strike is something else again:

> . . .the cane field strike was a direct challenge to a traditional system in one of Louisiana's oldest and most basic industries. And it was interpreted as a flagrant insult to the men of stature and influence who controlled the system. Its repercussions were deep-rooted and long lasting . . . The strength of the agricultural influence is evidenced by the fact that the Farm Bureau subsequently took over the right-to-work campaign — lock, stock, and money bags.

The above is taken from a lengthy document distributed by the Louisiana Labor Council to explain its actions between the passage of the right-to-work law in 1954, and its repeal in 1956 — there being a considerable body of opinion which held that an explanation was called for. What had happened, according to the Council, was that by dint of arduous and adroit campaigning during the state elections of 1955-56, the state labor movement won a bargaining position *vis-a-vis* the legislature. It then discovered that the solons could be persuaded to repeal the over-all right-to-work law only if a new one, applicable solely to agricultural workers, was enacted. The Labor Council acquiesced, and by 1956 Louisiana became the first, and to date the only, southern state to free industrial workers from this hamstringing legislation.

The engineer of this victory was Labor Council President Victor J. Bussie — widely regarded as one of the most effective and most advanced of southern labor chiefs. Consider then his dismay when the Council's repeal celebration was jarred by a clamor of protest from Mitchell and Jackson (now with the merged AFL-CIO), who urged every labor journalist they could lay hands on to beard Bussie in his Baton Rouge den. But Bussie, a game fighter, refused to retreat.

Had the Labor Council not given every assistance to NAWU's organizing drives, to the tune of some $13,000? Had they not helped Mitchell during the strike, although some of them felt that NAWU was a bunch of "stargazers"? After all this had failed, was the Council required to consign the entire labor movement to wrack and ruin because the Louisiana power elite were determined to prevent farm organizing? Finally, the new legislation did not add any *new* burdens to NAWU—it merely lifted the old ones from the rest of the unions. In sum, was this not the *realistic* thing to do? Bussie submitted his case to the AFL-CIO Executive Council and was—predictably if uneasily—upheld. Said labor commentator Paul Jacobs: "One wonders who was more uncomfortable when Mitchell and

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[5]These euphemistically titled laws prohibit the *union shop,* a traditional form of union security whereby, once the union is recognized by the employer, all the employees in the bargaining unit must assume union membership with all the privileges and obligations thereof. (Unlike the *closed shop,* where union membership is a requisite of employment, the employer is free to hire whom he pleases.) Organized labor opposes these laws because 1) a union cannot be responsible to an employer unless its discipline applies to all plant employees, and 2) since the union must bargain for and protect all the employees, those who pay no dues for such services are "free riders."

Galarza left Unity House, they, driving away in a beat-up and battered car, or the powerful board members who remained behind." Nor did the Council's discomfort make it more amenable to NAWU's appeal for funds. There was not even a booby prize for the loser.

At what point does an organizational image begin to lose luster? At this time, the newly joined AFL-CIO was a little less than a year old—all the excitement of its inaugural fresh in the memory. The labor reporters at the Council meeting understood Bussie's dilemma. But many knew about the farm workers' struggle from way back, knew about the sugar cane strike, unsupported by its then parent organization, the national A. F. of L., knew about the Supreme Court appeal, on which even the usually helpful CIO refused to risk money. Any or all of these omissions and commissions could be explained as realistic unionism. But the newly united labor leaders had spoken movingly about organizing the unorganized—the poor, the submerged, the forgotten. Clearly, they did not choose to do so in Louisiana. If not there—where? And when?

"We been 'buked and we been scorned": Revolt in Mississippi

For the next nine years, nothing stirred in the southern fields; immemorial custom reigned serene. NAWU, limping along painfully on the financial crutch of the National Sharecroppers Fund, gave up the ghost in 1960. When *Harvest of Shame* was televised, there was no longer even the pretense of a farm workers' union. As for Mitchell, he stuck to his last; refusing Reuther's generous offer of a swivel-chair job in Washington, he headed back to Louisiana. He is there now, organizing blacks and whites into the Meatcutters Union and raising money for a community organizing project in Reserve, directed by a local Negro leader who emerged in the sugar cane strike. He has, in Adam Clayton Powell's phrase, kept the faith.

During these years, southern farm workers continued to be denied the right to collective bargaining, to a minimum wage and overtime pay, to unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation[6]—and their children worked in the fields when they were not in school, and often when they should have been. In 1964, farm wages in the South[7] averaged about 75¢ an hour, whereas the national average was $1.13. (The only non-southern states averaging less than $1 per hour were New Mexico and Texas, both above 90¢.) This persistent deprivation triggered one of the great out-migrations of history. In the nine-state heartland of the South, the number of tenant families plummeted from 1,210,000 in 1935 to 162,121 in 1964; more than 40% of those displaced were Negro. As people

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[6]In Florida, growers who employ foreign workers contractually covered by workmen's compensation sometimes extend coverage to their domestic workers. Throughout agriculture, coverage is largely by grower option, yet farm labor ranked third among death dealing occupations in 1963.

[7]"The South" has throughout referred to Odum's eleven-state area: Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. But since many statistical comparisons are now based on the nine-state "heartland" excluding Virginia and Kentucky, that practice has been followed in this passage. The addition of those two states, averaging an hourly 89¢ and 93¢ respectively, raises the all-South wage figure to 78.7¢ an hour.

were thrown off the land, the mass of day laborers and migrants swelled to a high of 806,100 in 1954. By 1959, only 567,358—or between two and three million individuals—remained; the vast majority of those who fled were Negro.

The southern elite was unperturbed by this vast exodus. Let the Negro search for the Promised Land in whatever miserable ghetto up North—as long as he didn't dream of searching for it in the place where he was born and raised, "Home, the only home he will ever really know," in the words of Negro poet Calvin Hernton. But in 1960, the South discovered that those Negroes who remained had been dreaming that dream for a long, long time, and that no force on earth could deter them from seeking to re-create it in reality.

It was five years before the Revolution dug down to the nitty gritty, but it was bound to come. After the bus stations and restaurants, the Freedom Schools and the voting, the 'new Negroes' would finally look around at the sagging houses, meager tables, and yard toilets, and the $2.50 per day which accounted for them, and bring the Revolution to "where it's at." Like its parent organization, the Freedom Democratic Party, the Mississippi Free Labor Union was born out of the Mississippi Summer of 1964. And like that legendary time, it was the product of black and white, young and old, churched and unchurched—of young Bob Weil, Mary Sue Gellatly, and Bob Scoville, who taught the Freedom Schools, of Reverends Larry Walker and Art Thomas of the Delta Ministry, of Fannie Lou Hamer, Charles MacLaurin, and Amzie Moore, whose Freedom Democratic Party galvanized the northern Mississippi Delta—and lastly, of the twelve tractor drivers who walked off the Andrews plantation on May 31, 1965, setting off the first major farm workers' strike in thirty years.

Mr. Andrews was informed of the strike at 6 P.M. the day before. By 9 P.M., the utilities in plantation houses were turned off, and by 2 A.M., the eviction notices were on the door. When the 80 people who spent the night at the Delta Ministry's Mount Beulah Center couldn't get back early in the morning to remove their belongings, the sheriff tossed everything into the street. Much was broken, or repossessed by the furniture companies, whose trucks were waiting. To observe this strike was to enter a time capsule and step out into the 1930's. The Tribbett twelve, sitting in the savage sun of the Mississippi August trying to sew together their Tent City, just blown down by a storm, differed in one thing from the Missouri highway demonstrators of 1938—they broiled while the latter froze.

Said Garther Martin, a somber, deliberate man of 35, "A while back I owed Andrews $400 for my wife's doctor bills during the winter. She chops an' I drive a tractor, $6 a day. But what do you do in the winter, except maybe run rabbits? When you do work, you got the piled-up bills for rent an 'lectricity—naw, no indoor plumbing an' only two houses has tubs—an' anything special that come along, like sickness. So you're never outta debt—you always startin' to work on a brand *new* debt."

At first, clusters of tractor drivers, choppers, waitresses, and maids—about 1,000 in all—responded to the pickets "Turn back," to Reverend Walker, in blue jeans and open shirt, shouting, "If these twelve men lose, you all lose," to Fannie Lou Hamer, shivering the soul with "Go Tell It on the Mountain," and preaching: "Pharaoh is right here in Sunflower County! Israel's children are building bricks without straw—at $3 a day." But within a month, the leading

strikers were arrested, an injunction was obtained limiting the picketing, and tractor drivers were offered $7.50 to stay on the job. "People are mad, but they're scared," said picket Wallace Green, formerly an Andrews foreman. "They know the whites done beat their kinfolk. One boy, they burned him and buried him standin' up." And in June there were the fierce beatings of FDP demonstrators in Jackson, not to mention those borne by Mrs. Hamer and Charles MacLaurin the year before. By August, a tight-lipped MacLaurin conceded that no more than 250 were still on strike.

In his no-nonsense Jackson office, the baffled president of the Mississippi AFL-CIO exploded: "I *told* 'em! Walker talked to me about organizing these people in '64, and I told *him*. How you gonna organize 25,000 cotton pickers and choppers who work 2½ months a year and can't do nothin' else? Or 3,000 tractor drivers scattered all over the goddam Delta—you know how many organizers it'd take?" Again an able, dedicated AFL-CIO leader was caught in a bind; again he was explaining. And by his own lights, the lights of a humane, traditional unionism, he was right. But there was something which escaped Claude Ramsey, or which he couldn't afford to grasp, given a constituency he had kept tethered to the pro-civil rights AFL-CIO only by the force of his frontier personality (and dogged effort). When you're confronted with a revolution, you had better find a way to offer bread; if you don't, they will hear you say, "Let 'em eat cake," even when you didn't say it and never would. But Ramsey, working to rebuild the state's shattered Democratic Party with the only Negro allies his members would stomach—the moderates—could make the radicals no immediate, practical offer. He was still trying in August, although the Free Labor Union had openly condemned him. Several unions—Communications Workers, UAW, Teamsters—sent monies, but nothing helped. The Mississippi Free Labor Union died a' bornin'.

In 1966, Congress mounted what appeared to be the first meaningful attack on southern rural poverty since the New Deal: The Fair Labor Standards Act was amended to include farm labor in its minimum wage provisions. The wage floor would rise from $1 this year to $1.30 in 1969. For Mississippi, this reform comes too late. Informed sources predict that the increasingly mechanized planters will again use a government program to evict farm workers from the plantations: Some 100,000 choppers, hoers, and unemployed plantation tenants remaining on sufferance are expected to be thrown off the land. Many observers believe that such evictions relate to a new segregationist strategy of eroding the political potential of the Black Belt by forcing Negroes to get out.

Fortunately, the breach between the Movement, now embodied in the Child Development Group of Mississippi, and the labor leadership of the state has been healed, and energetic efforts are underway to attract industry and to re-train farm workers. Hopefully, the government will not only assist such long-range programs, but also inhibit the rate of eviction or provide adequate emergency aid. There has been a sufficiency of highway demonstrations and tent cities in the history of southern farm labor.

Unfortunately, this does not exhaust the underside of the new minimum wage law. Due to the exemption of farmers employing less than the equivalent of seven full-time people in any quarter of the preceding year, the U. S. Department of Labor estimates that no more than 166,000 farm workers will be covered in the

nine-state area. Using the latest[8] figures for tenant households, 161,121—and for regular and seasonal workers, 567,358—the new wage floor will undergird some 23% of southern farm workers. And that is an optimistic estimate; other loopholes are already coming to light.

Despite a number of useful re-training, housing, and educational programs for farm workers, when it comes to basic reform, the Great Society of 1966 falls somewhat short of the New Deal of 1936.

The New Wave: Texas and Florida, 1966-67

If the Mississippi union was a still-born offspring of the civil rights movement, there was another, luckier progeny—Cesar Chavez's farm workers' union in California. Part of Chavez's luck was that, unlike his southern predecessors, he did not have to start from scratch; since 1959 the AFL-CIO's Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee had mounted a modest but resolute campaign throughout the state. After seven lean years, the AFL-CIO decided to strike the growers of the San Joaquin Valley for the hourly $1.40 set by the Labor Department as a fair wage. Chavez, who had served his labor apprenticeship on the Mitchell-Galarza picket line in the DiGiorgio strike, decided that the workers of the Valley could not afford another Waterloo. In what the hostile *Nation's Business* describes as his "colorful, maddening" way, Chavez transformed the cut-and-dried AFL-CIO strike into *La Huelga,* a roaring mixture of Mexican pride in "La Raza" and CORE, SNCC and church enthusiasm for this long silent people now stirring into blazing life.

When this new-style campaign triumphed, bringing Schenley and DiGiorgio to the bargaining table and dispelling at a stroke more than three decades of farm labor futility, the magnetic waves radiated across the continent.

In Houston, Texas, an itinerant writer and Chavez lieutenant named Gene Nelson, freed from organizing a Schenley boycott, dropped over to Rio Grande City to look into rumors of rebellion among the melon pickers. In Charlotte, North Carolina the unquenchable southern director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, Jim Pierce, began to cogitate about the 100,000 migrant farm workers in Florida. And in Chicago Ralph Helstein, president of the Packinghouse Workers, having racked up impressive precedents in equal opportunities for Negroes and new opportunities for the technologically displaced, turned his attention to this renewed frontier.

The new wave broke first in Texas. Nelson arrived in the Lower Valley in February, 1966, to find the Chavez charisma and decades of grievance already at work. Starr County, 97% Mexican-American, is, with its average annual income of $1,000, the poorest county in Texas and the 18th poorest in the United States. Its Mexican-American residents, who averaged 65¢ an hour for a 10 to 18 hour day, flooded into the union; within a month, 1,300 had signed up. By June, the Chavez approach—"You are sons of Zapata, you must be brave"—had sufficiently inspired the community to warrant a strike. (As usual, there was no alternative;

[8]Since 1964 figures for regular and seasonal farm workers are not yet available, the 1959 figures have been used in this category. Due to a decreasing out-migration rate of Negroes since 1960, no drastic change is expected between the '59 and '64 figures.

the growers, unfettered by labor law, refused to either recognize the union or hold elections on the basis of cards signed.)

From the beginning, the strike had authentic Texas overtones — nothing picayune about it. On the first day Nelson, determined to impede the sale of scab cantaloupes, stationed himself at a switching point as a loaded train moved out of the packing shed. The engine picked up speed, Nelson stood firm, the onlookers froze. Four feet in front of the organizer, the train ground to a halt. In addition to such "Bonanza" tactics, the unionists sought to cut off grower recruiting of Mexican strikebreakers from the nearby border and to enlist the support of the Texas AFL-CIO.

They were more successful in the latter endeavor than in the former. Within six weeks, Hank Brown and Roy Evans, the leaders of the state federation, marshalled $18,000 and a ton of food and clothing for the strikers. But as increasing numbers of *campesinos* left to join the migrant trek up North, Nelson required a special strategy to keep both union and strike alive. Borrowing another leaf from Chavez's primer, he organized a march upon the state capital in Austin similar to the grape pickers' "penitential pilgrimage" from Delano to Sacramento.

The march, which began on July 4th, did not lack for drama, humor, or that Texas specialty—the politics of the jugular. It also had, as mascot, a Mexican burro dubbed "$1.25" in honor of the marchers' demand for a state minimum wage. Entering Edinburg on the first leg of their journey, the *Huelgistas* were met by an ambulance containing the hospitalized mayor, who was determined to welcome them. By the time they arrived in Corpus Christi, their ranks included students and faculty from Texas A. & M., steel and electrical workers from San Antonio and, a little further on, a Negro delegation from Huntsville.

Floresville, near Governor John Connolly's ranch, was notable for the absence of its favorite son. But in San Antonio Senator Ralph Yarborough, fresh from the minimum wage battle in Washington, revived the marchers with "Viva *el campesino!* Viva victory for the workers of America!" There also the march, which was led by a Catholic priest and a Baptist minister, received its strongest religious endorsement. During a mass for the marchers Archbishop Robert E. Lucey, a long time friend of farm labor, said: "It is with a large measure of reluctance and regret that we endorse and approve your demand for an hourly wage of $1.25. No sane man would consider that a fair wage in these days . . . $1.25 is ghastly recompense for exhausting labor under the burning sun of Texas."

However, the peak moment of the 490-mile demonstration came unexpectedly. A few days before the marchers were to enter Austin, Governor Connally and entourage suddenly swooped down upon them in the middle of the road. A tape recorder picked up the exchange:

Gov: I want to compliment you on having a very peaceful, a very orderly march. I hope it will remain so, and, uh, I want to ask you today to, as you proceed, if you, uh, insist on proceeding with the march, then, uh, I want to ask you to be, uh, very careful to see that the march does remain, uh, very orderly.

Reverend Novarro: That's why Father Gonzalez and I are co-chairmen of the march, and this is a march for justice, and it is being held of the principle of human dignity. And honor.

Gov.: I'm delighted that it is . . . my personal ears or the ears of government

> are never deaf to the needs of the people of this state. . . . I hope you understand, however, that there is always some reluctance on the part of those of us who occupy positions of leadership, it certainly is true of me, that, uh, there are ways and there are methods by which you achieve your ends.

After some fifteen minutes of this, during which the governor refused to make any commitment for the minimum wage, the cavalcade of Lincolns swept away from the silent, deflated crowd.

But it was too late to turn the marchers around. On Labor Day, 56 days after they set out, 6,500 of them streamed over the Colorado Bridge to be met by 4,000 cheering sympathizers on the capitol steps. A few blocks earlier, Senator Yarborough had joined the column, to loud hosannas. Up ahead, "$1.25" had dropped a mess on the road and an AFL-CIO man ran up to Yarborough: "*Cuidado,* be careful; don't step on the governor's platform." The *Texas Observer* had welcomed the marchers to Austin with an editorial which began: "The Valley farm workers who are walking 490 miles from Rio Grande City to Austin have walked step by step from obscurity and exploitation into Texas history." It was a sentiment passionately echoed by a dozen speakers, many of whom made reference to the governor's absence.

Bill Kircher, organizing director for the AFL-CIO, said, "I give you the pledge of 15 million AFL-CIO workers that from now to eternity we will stay behind you until you obtain the goals you set for yourselves." Another march leader, Father Antonio Gonzalez, spotted his parents in the crowd, discarded his text, and said:

> My mother had 18 children and she has been working in the fields for 40 years. She still works in the fields. She just came back from Minnesota. Why should she have to do that? My father has cancer, yet he is working in the fields. Forty years migrating to look for food is too long. it's a disgrace—a Texas disgrace and a national disgrace!

Responding to the crowd's affection, Ralph Yarborough shared with his "Amigos, compadres," a great Anglo's sense of occasion: "As King Henry V said on the eve of Agincourt:

> We few
> We happy few
> We band of brothers
> For he who stands with me today shall
> be my brother . . ."

These happy few have yet to win their Agincourt. And this time, it is not for a lack of Henrys. The labor movement has come "a fur piece" since H. L. Mitchell, Galarza, Mrs. Hamer, Amzie Moore and the others fought and lost alone. The *campesinos* of Texas fight alongside Cesar Chavez, Bill Kircher, Roy Reuther—all have come repeatedly to Rio Grande City—and they lose just the same. And in just about the same way.

The main difference is one Texas shares with California: the strikebreaker from Mexico. Although the *bracero* program (large scale, contractual importing of Mexican farm workers) has been discontinued, individual Mexicans with "permit cards" can take jobs in Texas. In May of this year, American labor leaders persuaded the Mexican Federation of Labor (CTM) to post its red *Huelga* flag

on the Mexican side of the entry bridge near Rio Grande City. Since Mexican law forbids violation of CTM strikes, the supply of strikebreakers was cut off for three crucial days while the melons ripened for harvest. Then the Mexican flag disappeared. Sorry, said the CTM, the governor of the province told us that Mexico has no war with the United States. "I think Connally called the governor," says Gilbert Padilla, a vice president of Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, who is guiding the strike at present.

When Padilla posted his pickets on the American side of the bridge, he encountered the growers' familiar ultimate weapon. The Texas Rangers, whose fame was achieved in more exalted feats, shoved, insulted, and arrested the pickets in the first of 117 arrests and several severe beatings which evoked the censure of the League of United Latin-American Citizens, an investigating committee of the state Senate, the Texas Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Congressman Henry Gonzalez, and Senator Yarborough. By beating striker Magdaleno Dimas, whose police record made him fair game, until he had a serious concussion, the Rangers also invited a visit from the Migratory Labor Subcommittee of the U. S. Senate.

After hearing medical testimony and talking with many strikers, Chairman Harrison Williams (D., N. J.) said:

> There has been a great deal of testimony that Capt. Allee and the Rangers under his direction have trespassed upon private property, made numerous arrests without proper cause, used physical force far beyond that required to take a subject into custody, participated in acts of strikebreaking, and committed other infringements of personal and property rights. That testimony stands uncontradicted by Allee.

Despite a number of advantages unavailable to their predecessors—seasoned and compelling leadership, material and moral assistance from the AFL-CIO, political support in high places—the *campesinos* of the Rio Grande valley will have to live a while longer on moral indignation and $1.00 an hour, the new federal minimum wage for farm workers.[9]

A similar conclusion may be drawn from the effort to organize the 100,000 Negro and Mexican-American migrant workers of Florida. Like the Texas effort, this was a "first." Despite *Harvest of Shame,* despite public and private committees, hearings, and reports, no union had summoned the will, the audacity, to offer leadership to these most alienated of American workers. Living on $900 a year, disease-ridden (in one Florida county 100% of all migrant children have parasitic diseases), largely illiterate and rootless, the migrant workers have been thrust outside the pale of organized society—and that includes organized labor.

But the IUD's Jim Pierce is the exception to the cautious rule. A man who enjoys his no-holds-barred, two-year slugging match with the giant J. P. Stevens Co., Pierce was moved, in both senses, by the migrant challenge. By the spring of 1966, he had laid the groundwork for the third "new wave" campaign to organize American farm workers. Eschewing the use of conventional organizers, Pierce

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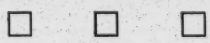
[9]Texas being both historically and statistically more southwestern than southern, the writer did not intend at the outset to include it in this report and therefore omitted the field trip which provides the basis for the other contemporary sections. This account owes much to the *Texas Observer* and its exceptionally vivid and detailed labor coverage.

hunted for staff in unexpected quarters. With the help of the Southern Regional Council's Emory Via,[10] he aroused the interest of the Southern Students' Organizing Committee. In the summer, seven students hit the migrant trail, handing out union cards from Florida through Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware. Afterwards, the graduates among them returned to Florida to harvest the fruit of these labors—with bravura results.

Assigned to help the celery pickers in Belle Glade, Tommy Martin, a thin, dark young coyote from Arkansas, proceeded to lead a two-day walk-out of 2,500 workers to demand more than $1.15 per hour that set the growers on their ear and served notice that some changes were being made. Mike Lozoff, a native Floridian, followed this opener with a campaign to improve migrant housing, not one whit changed since its television debut in *Harvest of Shame*. A judicious use of pickets and publicity produced first outrage, then concessions—and substantially improved living quarters.

Pierce had, in the meantime, moved to organize the community in support of the migrants. By October, the American Friends Service Committee, the Florida Migrant Ministry, the Catholic Board of Human Relations, and the OEO Community Action Fund had joined in the Florida Citizens for Farm Labor—a formidable massing of benevolent forces. Despite these advances, the organizing drive was in trouble: The Industrial Union Department could not muster the funds required for a concerted assault on the powerful fruit and vegetable growers' associations backed, as result of the November elections, by the conservative regime of Governor Claude Kirk.

Still, IUD president Walter Reuther and organizing director Nick Zonarich refused to retreat. Instead, they appealed to Ralph Helstein, the innovating leader of the Packinghouse Workers. In what may have been a decision more of the heart than the head, Helstein accepted. After rounding up experienced farm organizers from California, he addressed himself to the task of finding a strategy which would successfully pit limited funds, limited staff, and angry but undisciplined workers against the relatively unlimited funds, skills, and political clout of the growers. At this writing, the search—and the organizing—continues.



At the conclusion of the Senate Migratory Labor Subcommittee hearings in Rio Grande City, Senator Harrison Williams said that the testimony "comprised the most powerful evidence this committee has ever received" of the need to extend the protection of the national labor laws to the workers in the fields. Although these laws do not by themselves provide instant solutions to the problems of southern workers (as the underpaid, unorganized industrial South amply proves), they are at least a beginning—a breach in the 100-year-old feudal wall.

But recently there has been evidence of an even more compelling nature. On June 25, the Southern Regional Council released a report prepared by six physicians who had undertaken a field trip through Mississippi. The report is

[10]He should stay South.

entitled "Hungry Children," and its 27 pages of frightful detail are summed up as follows:

> In sum, we saw children who are hungry and who are sick—children for whom hunger is a daily fact of life and sickness, in many forms, an inevitability. We do not want to quibble over words, but "malnutrition" is not quite what we found . . . (These children) are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them—which is exactly what "starvation" means.

These are the children of farm workers and children like them may be found throughout the rural South. It is an important fact about America that we have sat still while this final, unbearable evidence has accumulated. And we are sitting yet.

Acknowledgments:

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HOW TO CONDUCT A REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

The basic research and writing for this booklet was done by Patricia Collins, a sophomore at Spelman College who served last summer as a student intern in the Voter Education Project. Miss Collins currently is a VEP intern in the office of Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen.

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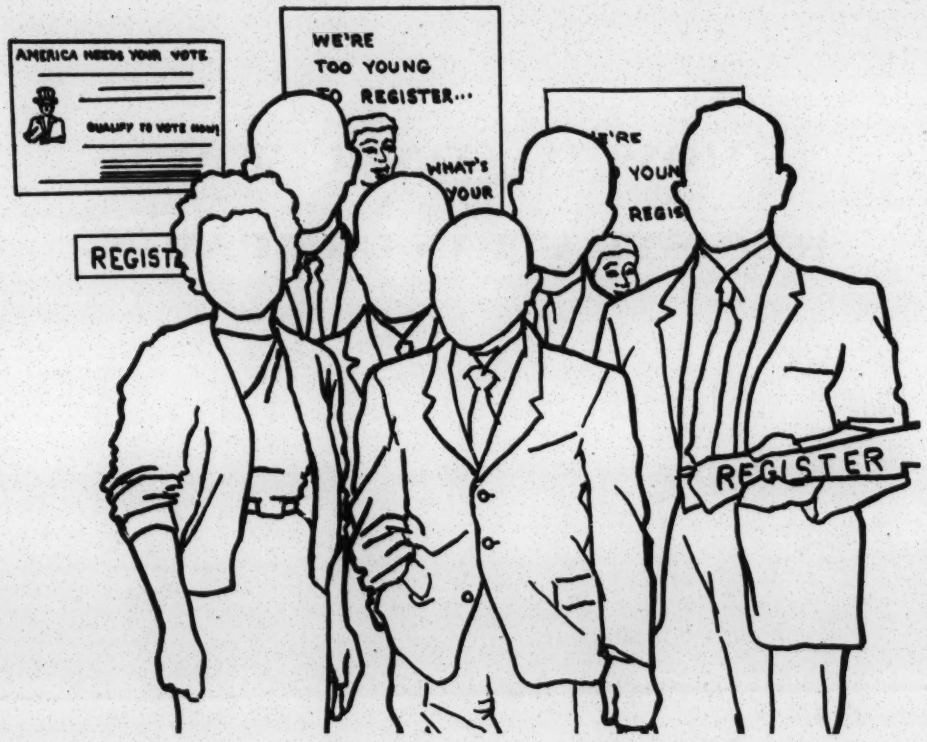


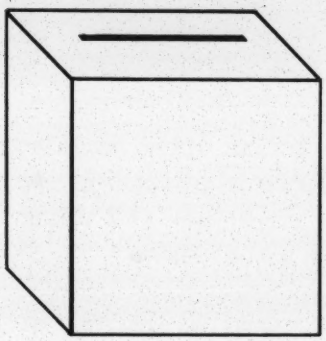
I. Introduction

A registration campaign in full swing is exciting to watch. People are out knocking on doors, meetings are being held, telephone calls are being made, and drivers are busy with buses and cars bringing people to the registration offices.

All this doesn't happen automatically. A well-organized registration campaign takes thought, careful planning, hard work and plenty of determination.

During the past year, the Voter Education Project was associated with nearly one hundred voter registration programs. Many of the experiences reported by these various programs have been used in writing this booklet. We hope the booklet will help others in planning their registration campaigns.

Of course, no two communities are alike. Rural areas may not want to use approaches used in urban areas, and vice versa. Each community should know what will work and what won't. Each community will have to make these decisions for itself. The purpose of this booklet is to offer suggestions that might be helpful in making the decisions.



II. Planning and Organizing

The key to a successful registration campaign is good planning and organizing. Don't wait until the last minute to start. Begin planning well ahead of the registration deadline.

The campaign should be planned and organized to fit the needs of the community. Make sure there is someone to fill every job. Then make sure every job gets done. A really good registration campaign leaves no loose ends. Here are some suggested steps which can be followed:

1. The first step is getting someone to serve as campaign director. He should be a responsible and capable leader. He should be someone who can get volunteers and raise money. He should be someone who knows the community. His is the most important single job in the campaign, since he will be responsible for leading the campaign every minute of every day until it is completed.

2. It is helpful to have a group of capable men and women working with the director as an advisory committee. These also should be responsible people with a thorough knowledge of the community.

3. Decide what area will be covered by your campaign. It may be several counties, one county, part of a county, a city, or part of a city. Get detailed maps of the area. Mark off your target area so that everyone who takes part in the campaign will know exactly where it is.

4. Get registration and voting figures for the target area, as well as figures on the voting-age population. Voting-age figures can be taken from census reports. Registration and voting figures often may be found at the courthouse or city hall. Sometimes a registration list can be obtained. However, it may be necessary to make a house-to-house survey to find out who isn't registered. (We'll talk later in this booklet about door-to-

door canvassing.) The Voter Education Project has approximate registration figures by counties for seven states. Space is provided in the back of this booklet for writing down figures on registration and voting. It is important to get the actual registration list, if it is available.

5. Study the figures and plan your campaign so that the most attention will go to the areas that need it.

6. Study past registration drives. If these were not successful, where and how did they fail?

7. Set a budget for the registration campaign. This will tell you how much you will have set aside to spend for transportation, office supplies and other items. It also will tell you how much money has to be raised to pay for them. Remember, a campaign can succeed with a small amount of money if it is well organized. Wherever possible use volunteers. And ask businesses, churches and clubs to donate such things as office space and meeting halls.

8. Study state registration laws and the federal Voting Rights Act. (Copies of the Voting Rights Act can be obtained from the Voter Education Project, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303, or from the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Washington, D. C. 20425.) Make sure you know what the county registrars are required to do and when their office is open. Get the names of registrars, election commissioners and other key officials. You may want to write their names in the space provided at the end of this booklet.

9. Draw up a list of local issues that can be used in persuading people to register and vote. This will help you explain the importance of voting in down-to-earth, practical terms. A section on local issues appears later on in this booklet.

10. Call on the registrars early. Don't go alone. A committee of two or three is better than a single spokesman. The committee of spokesmen should tell the registrars that workers will be bringing in people to register. The committee should ask the registrars to make it as easy and convenient as possible for people to register.

11. Urge the registrars to increase registration days and hours. Ask them to stay open on evenings and weekends while registration activities are going on. Ask the registrars to keep the office open for business as

near the registration deadline and as near election day as possible. Where office days and hours are set by law, make sure that the registrars stay open at least as often as required.

12. Request that the registrars appoint some deputy registrars to travel the area and register people at large gatherings. Also urge the registrars to let you (or the deputy registrars) register people at schools, libraries, community centers, shopping centers and other convenient places, where it is legal to do so.

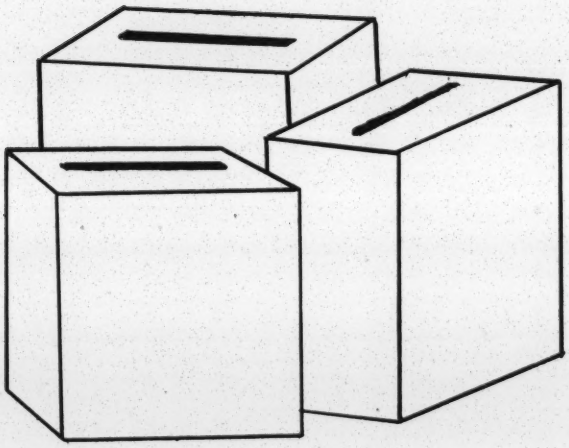
13. Recommend that the deputy registrars be thoroughly trained for their work. This will help avoid questions about whether the deputy registrars are doing the job as it should be done.

These last four steps call for meetings with the registrars. Keep after the registrars about every right that belongs to you and your group. If the registrars refuse to cooperate and give no good reason for it, go with your committee of spokesmen to the county governing board. Let everyone know you will ask for everything you rightfully can expect.

Point 8 above is highly important. The campaign director should know exactly what the law is. So should the advisory committee and other campaign leaders. Then as questions come up, these questions can be handled without troublesome delays. And someone will know exactly what the registrars are supposed to do.

In counties where the U. S. attorney general has assigned federal examiners, you will find that many Negroes would rather register with these examiners than go to the courthouse. Federal examiners generally set up their offices in post offices. But in some counties, the examiners have rented space in such buildings as stores and motels. Sometimes they set up offices in trailers.

Many Negroes feel more comfortable and confident about registering with federal examiners. And registration with examiners can continue even after state registration deadlines have passed. It is possible to vote in an election if you register with a federal examiner as much as 45 days before the election.



III. Setting Goals

You may want to set certain goals for your project—that is, things you hope and expect to do. Be sure everyone in the drive knows these goals and what is expected. The goals may include the following (some of which were used in Madison County, Tennessee):

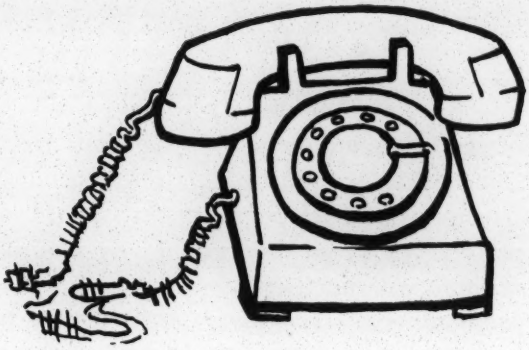
1. Registering as much of the voting-age population as possible. This may mean setting some sort of target figure—five hundred, a thousand, or even ten thousand, depending on the community.

2. Offering classes on the basic facts about government. (Be sure the facts are carefully checked.)

3. Encouraging young people to participate.

4. Developing leadership of all ages for the future.

5. Urging civic groups (PTA's, fraternities, neighborhood organizations and the like) to inform the public about local issues and participate in ongoing citizenship education.



IV. Committees

You may want to set up several or more committees for your drive. The number will depend on the size of your community and the goals of your drive.

A large campaign may well need a campaign committee. This committee's job is to work with the director in guiding the day-to-day operation of the drive. Its membership could be the same as the advisory committee mentioned earlier. Or it could consist of chairmen from the various wards, precincts, blocks, beats and other voting areas.

Now decide on any special committees that you will need. Here is a list of committees that have been used in other projects:

1. *Canvassers, or Blockworkers.* These people are used in door-to-door operations. They may work under captains or coordinators. Or they may work under the precinct, block and beat leaders mentioned in the campaign committee above. Often these canvassers are students and young people. But they can be housewives, farmers or anyone who wants to do the work.

2. *Transportation.* This committee carries people to the courthouse and various places of registration. Many people do not have cars and are much more likely to register if they are given transportation. Members of the transportation committee should know the streets and roads. Their job is to locate and arrange transportation for the entire registration drive—cars, buses, trucks and whatever might be available. This might include transportation, when necessary, for registration workers. (Chapter VI in this booklet discusses transportation.)

3. *Telephoning.* This committee's job is to telephone unregistered residents, remind them of the registration deadline and urge them to register. One approach is to check registration lists, where available, against city directories and telephone books. In this way, the names of unregistered persons can be determined. Those with telephones can be called. Names of those without telephones can be given to the canvassing committee for personal visits. Follow-up calls should be made to see whether those promising to register have done so. Card files might be made, both of registered and unregistered residents. People on the telephone committee can be housewives, elderly people, teenage girls and anyone who would like to work in the campaign without leaving home.

4. *Public Relations.* This committee handles newspaper stories and calls upon radio and television stations to try to get announcements broadcast. (Radio is especially important in many communities. Disc jockies can be particularly helpful.) Committee members write press releases and announcements. If free space and time is not available, it may be necessary to buy advertising (if, of course, the campaign budget permits it). The committee may also arrange neighborhood, precinct and area mass meetings.

5. *Leaflets and Posters.* It is up to this committee to prepare catchy posters, bumper stickers, leaflets and handbills for use in the registration program. A sample locally prepared leaflet is shown on the page opposite. This is a good leaflet because it ties a local issue (the election of legislators) to the importance of voting. It tells about the removal of old barriers to voting, such as the poll tax and the literacy test. And it lets people know somebody stands ready to help if help is needed.

6. *Speakers.* This committee must supply speakers for mass meetings, rallies, civic club meetings, church services and other public occasions. Speakers should be selected who can tell the story well and stir the listeners. The job of arranging mass meetings may be assigned to this committee instead of the public relations committee.

7. *Churches.* The church committee seeks support for the registration campaign from ministers and ministerial associations. The local ministerial alliance should be asked early to officially endorse the campaign. And ministers should be asked to kick off the campaign with a "Citizenship Sunday." This could be connected with a sermon on citizenship. Ministers could announce the registration campaign themselves, or they could permit a registration worker to make a brief announcement and address from

NEGRO CITIZENS!!

Only a few more weeks are left before the July primary for Senators and Representatives.

There are only 3 more days to register before the books close:

JUNE 4
JUNE 9
JUNE 11

TIME: 10:00 A.M. til 2:00 P.M.
PLACE: LUNENBURG COURT HOUSE

NO POLL TAXES

You do not have to be able to read or write in order to register. There will be someone there to help you. From: VSCRC
Lunenburg County, Va.

the pulpit. The ministers should be asked to make periodic announcements to their congregations during the registration campaign. And workers in the campaign should visit revivals and gospel sings to urge people to register. In many communities, churches are used for meetings and church buses are used to transport people wishing to register. Some churches may not want to take part in these activities. In many communities, however, ministers have been among the leaders in registration campaigns.

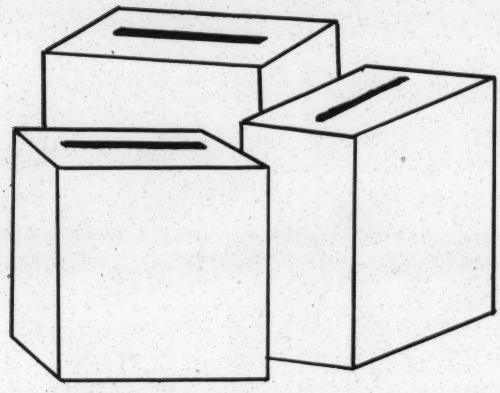
8. *Babysitters.* This committee's job is to take care of children while parents are registering. It also may take care of the children of registration workers. The committee often is composed of high school age and college age young ladies. But elderly people can be quite helpful here too.

9. *Soundtrucks.* In communities where they are permitted, soundtrucks are a good way to reach a lot of people and get them to listen to what you have to say.

10. *Prizes.* Awards and prizes often encourage registration workers to work harder. The competition can be between individuals, or it can be between groups such as precinct committees or various churches and civic bodies. The prizes can be cash or they can be goods, such as a sack of groceries to the worker who registers the most people during the week. Or the prize can be a trophy or plaque.

Again, it is not necessary to have all of the committees listed above. It all depends on the size and nature of your campaign. But appointing committees is a good way of making clear who is responsible for what job. If you want only a few committees, several of those on the list above can be combined. For example, the public relations committee could be given the additional task of handling leaflets, posters and speakers.

Committee appointments can be made by the campaign director or by the advisory committee or by both.



V. Students and Young People

It is a good idea to have students and young people in your project because many of them are full of enthusiasm and new approaches. Most young people are willing to work long and hard. They are unusually dedicated and energetic.

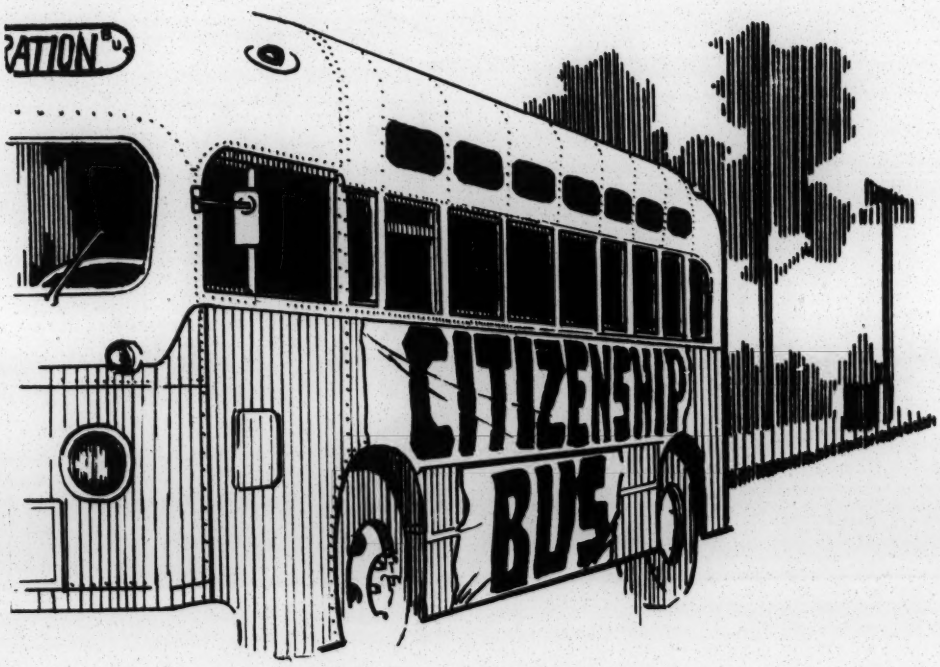
Students and young people to work in your project may be contacted through:

1. Other registration projects.
2. Local and nearby colleges, especially those having pre-college programs and summer sessions.
3. Letters to officials of Negro colleges.
4. Letters to student groups and youth organizations.
5. Local high schools.

Often, students and young people will work without pay. Sometimes they will ask only for a small allowance to cover the cost of meals and other necessities.

In some instances, a coordinator for the young people may come from outside the community—possibly from such groups as civil rights organizations, the American Friends Service Committee, and student religious organizations.

It would be wise to pick out some of the more promising young people and give them responsible jobs in your project. This is a way of developing leadership for the future.



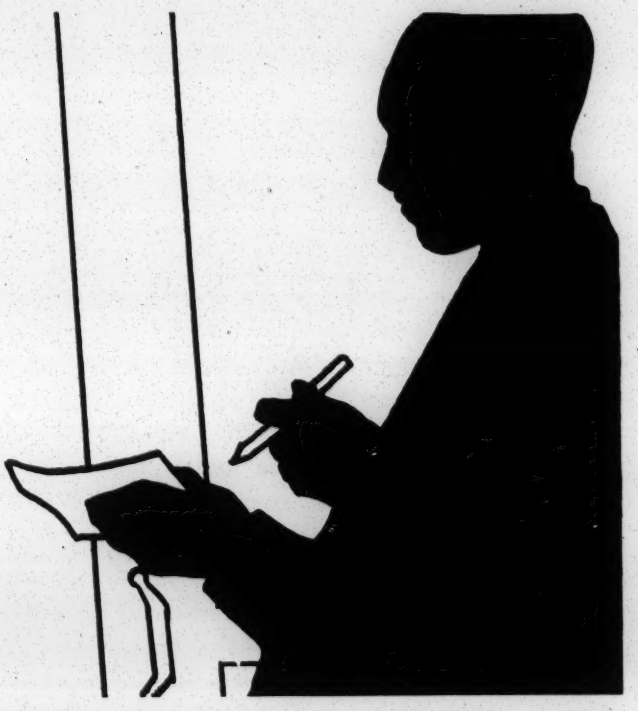
VI. Transportation

Transportation is important enough to discuss further. It can be a real problem in rural areas and in any area where people live some distance away from the registration office.

As suggested previously, many churches have a bus or station wagon that could be used. And the congregations could be asked to provide private cars.

Cab companies, bus companies, and ambulance services also can be helpful in providing transportation to get people to the registration office. In one rural Georgia county where the cost of gasoline was a problem, canvassers used bicycles.

When you feel discouraged, remember the story of the registration worker in rural Mississippi who had no transportation for the long trip to the courthouse. She sat on the edge of the highway for three hours until she and her potential voter got a ride into town. That's determination!



VII. Canvassing

Door-to-door canvassing is the heart of most registration campaigns. This is the person-to-person part of the project.

Canvassing should start well ahead of the registration deadline. Time should be allowed to contact some residents more than once, if necessary.

Suppose you are a canvasser. Here are some things you should do in canvassing:

Choose a time when you will be able to talk to the largest number of people. The best time usually is between 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. on weekdays.

It helps to have a registration list, perhaps on index cards as mentioned previously. This will tell you who is registered and who isn't.

When the door is opened, introduce yourself. Some canvassers wear badges or streamers identifying them as registration workers.

Come straight to the point or chat awhile, depending on the circumstances. Assume that all the adults in the home are unregistered until you

have reason to believe otherwise. Many people do not like to admit they are not registered. Inquire about all the adults in the home.

If the unregistered person needs transportation, it helps to be able to offer a ride straight to the courthouse then and there. This way the unregistered person will not have time to change his mind. This way you will know that he or she went to the registration office.

If the unregistered person wants to make the trip later, set a certain day and time. Leave your name, the name of the project, and the project telephone number in case the unregistered person decides he wants to go earlier. Also offer to provide babysitters if this service is needed.

Sometimes the problem is either fear or apathy. It might help to tell these people about the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Voting Rights Act stopped poll taxes, literacy tests and other devices that have kept Negroes from voting in the Deep South. This covers Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi and part of North Carolina.

You should know how to tell those who are reluctant to register about this law. You also should know about state registration laws. This will make it possible for you to answer such questions as how long a voter must live in the state and county, how old he must be, how soon he must register, and so on.

Some communities hold training workshops for canvassers. At these workshops canvassers learn all the basic facts they need to know—where, when and how to register, and who can register. Canvassers also decide at these workshops what is the best way to approach people to get them to register.

It helps to have a handbill, similar to those described previously, with all the basic facts on it. This handbill can be given to residents of the home. Or it can be left in the mailbox.

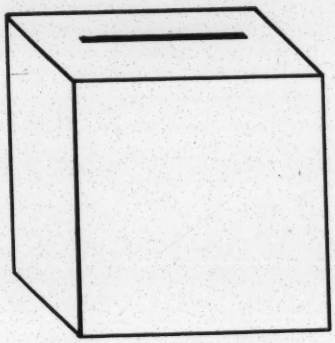
Make follow-up visits at the homes of those who promise to register later, in order to make certain that they have. Also make follow-up visits to families that were not at home at the time of the first visit. Some registration projects use doorknob cards, in addition to handbills, as a means of letting families know that a registration worker had been there while they were away.

Canvassers should keep complete records of their calls. Names and addresses should be kept of those registering, those promising to register, and those refusing. This information can be put on index cards and be used in future registration projects and in get-out-the-vote programs.

Canvassing can be both challenging and frustrating. You will meet people who think they are too old to vote and people who think politics is nothing but a hopeless and crooked game. You will meet people who just aren't interested.

Sometimes doors will be slammed in your face. But if you can get one person to listen, he will talk to his neighbors and lessen their fears and doubts. Sometimes, particularly in rural areas, you will find someone who is known as the "key man." If you can persuade this man to go register, others will follow his example and go too.

Stick to the job and keep going back. Know your facts and know how to present them. If you really believe in voter registration, chances are you will be able to get others to believe in it too.



VIII. Putting Issues to Use

It is much easier to talk to people if registration is tied to local issues. In every community, there are problems and needs that are close to the hearts of the people. It helps to be able to point out that registration and voting can be steps toward solving these problems.

Depending on the community, such issues might include the following:

1. Getting good schools.

2. Getting good streets and roads, sidewalks, streetlights, sewers, garbage collection and other services.

3. Getting anti-poverty and welfare programs that are needed.

4. Getting Negro law enforcement officers, legislators, school board members, tax officials and other officeholders and public employees.

5. Getting fair fines and sentences in the courts, and stopping uncalled-for "nuisance" arrests.

6. Ending police brutality, both inside the jail and outside the jail.

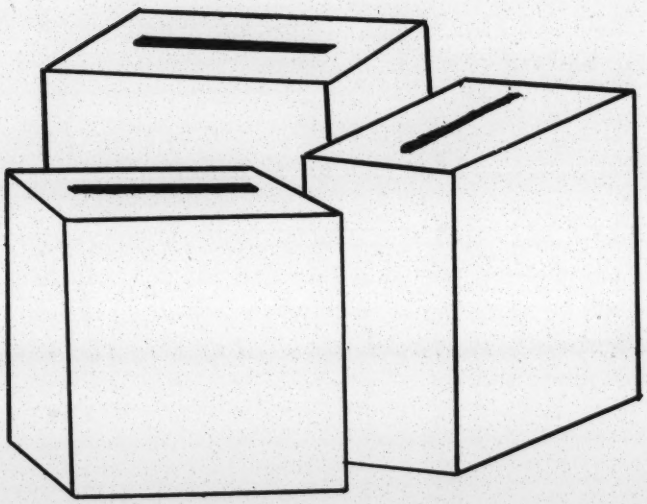
7. Doing away with restrictions such as curfews that apply only to Negroes.

8. Gaining the necessary political power to do such things as demanding representation on selective service boards that decide which Negro and white youths will be drafted.

9. Electing, or helping to elect, Negro and white candidates who believe in justice and fair play for all citizens.

10. Defeating, or helping to defeat, officeholders and candidates who do not believe in justice and fair play for all citizens.

These are but some of the issues that can be used. You probably know of others. If the unregistered person is told that his vote can help solve these problems, it will be much easier to convince him to go register. In some cases, whole registration campaigns have been built around one or more of the issues mentioned above.



IX. Timing

Timing is important in a good registration project. Each step—and the project itself—should be planned so that it comes just at the right time.

Keep in mind that your project will not be finished in a day or two. Most registration drives last several weeks or even several months. This means planning far into the future. And it means keeping people interested and working for a long time.

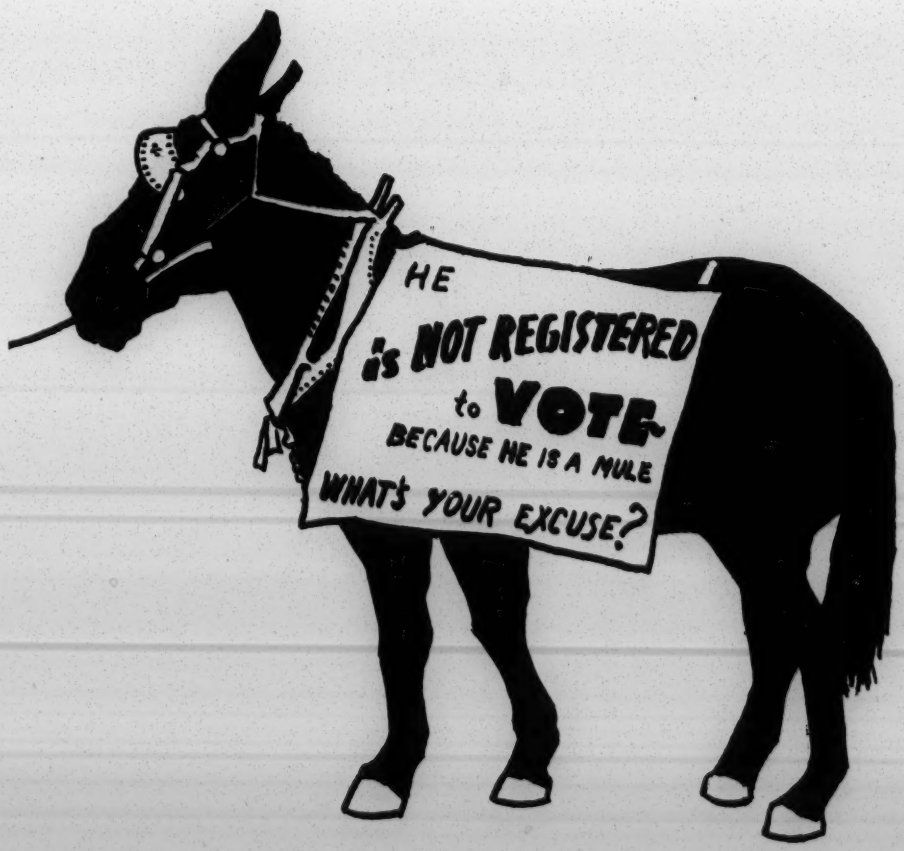
Don't start so fast that people lose interest after the first few days. Many campaign leaders have found that it is best not to go too fast at the beginning, but to move ahead gradually. This way there is something to do all the time, and people are just as busy at the end of the campaign as they were at the start.

It might be helpful to draw up a long-range timetable before the campaign begins. This timetable could be posted in the campaign headquarters, where it could be used to plan activities and check progress from day to day and from week to week.

X. Conclusion

In this booklet we have not discussed get-out-the-vote campaigns, which are quite similar to registration campaigns. The organization is pretty much the same. For a get-out-the-vote campaign you probably would want to add poll watchers to the list of committees in this booklet. A get-out-the-vote campaign is a natural follow-up for a registration campaign, since it does none of us any good to register if we don't vote.

Taking part in the sort of campaign outlined in this booklet is citizenship at its best. You are urging people to register, vote and take part in their government. You can proudly say that you have tried to do something toward improving government in your community, your state and your nation.



Notes

Notes

ON THE NATIONAL CRISIS

A STATEMENT BY

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

AUGUST 1967

A STATEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

As an organization of Southerners of both races dedicated to equal opportunity for all, the Southern Regional Council has watched with profound grief and alarm the riots that have occurred during this first half of the summer of 1967. But far more destructive than riots would be the failure of the nation to recognize riots as a symptom of profound failure -- social and economic -- of American society to provide a chance for a decent and constructive life for vast numbers of its people, North and South, white and Negro.

Fully aware of the need for fact and sympathy in doing so, we are compelled as Southerners, out of a knowledge of our own region's tragic history of racial antagonism, to speak to the nation, urging that it act against the causes of the riots and not merely with repressive force to end them. We would also urge the South, as it continues to strive to restructure its society to conform to laws of equality and racial justice, to look upon these riots which have occurred in Northern cities as a severe object lesson in the tragic consequences of not achieving these objectives fully for all citizens.

We are grieved about the damage, destruction, injury and death attendant on riots. But we are even more concerned about the damage physically, mentally and spiritually that has been done to far more human beings over many years by the social conditions out of which the riots have risen. The grave national emergency of the riots at essence involves the conditions that southern organizations like ours have struggled against for years -- poverty and discrimination against Negroes.

As so often we have had in the past to point out that only a minority of white Southerners have engaged in racial violence, so it should be noted that only a minority of Negroes have succumbed to the destructive fury expressed in the riots. But the suffering and injustice which have stirred their fury are borne by many millions more, whites as well as Negroes.

Particularly is this true in the South. However, we can take neither comfort nor any degree of self-satisfaction out of the fact that until this moment, most of the riots and the worst of them have occurred outside the South. We can only acknowledge that historically, the South has exported people of both

races not properly prepared for life in a complex modern nation, and with them have developed new variants of the deprivation and racial antagonisms that have so long crippled the South. And we can only look about our own region and know that the same conditions which have exploded into riots exist in many places in the South. The starvation-level poverty in many parts of the rural South is a particularized problem of ours, more severe and punishing probably than any other poverty in the nation.

Progress in race relations and against poverty in the South has been great in recent years. But it has not been enough. While these states have made efforts toward compliance with federal civil rights laws, perhaps to a greater degree than the rest of the nation is aware of, there has been achieved in no area of desegregation the goals of national law and commitment. In the basics of making a living, the South's per capita income has increased at a greater rate than that of the nation since 1950. But in terms of actual dollars, the gap between the South's per capita income and that of the rest of the nation has widened.

In these and other endeavors, the South has been gaining, but not enough.

In 1960, when white violence was the problem, a Southern Regional Council publication, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," stated: "Law enforcement is... an essential factor in the progress of race relations. In the continuing racial crises of the South, the police have two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely exercised, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists, or segregationists." These responsibilities remain.

There should be no confusion of rioting with either the tradition of non-violent Negro protest demonstrations or with the honorable philosophical principles of civil disobedience. Unlawful violence by a mob has none of the moral defense or force of these traditions, and such violence must be quelled, just as white mob violence against constitutional peaceful protest has to be. But in both instances, we must be alert to the dangers of excessive, unconstitutional use of police

force; we must look with apprehension on any tendency to be satisfied merely with the momentary ending of the system of violence without following through with treatment of the social and economic malfunctionings that are the underlying causes of such violence.

We must note too another grave factor in our current crisis. There now are millions of Americans outside our economic system, neither contributing to it or benefiting from it. This must realistically be seen as a serious threat to that economic system.

The Southern Regional Council supports and urges national efforts to remedy problems of race and poverty. We support and urge similar efforts on the state and local level in the South, public and private. We need to continue present efforts and improvise creative new approaches to solve such regional problems as rural and urban poverty, educational deprivation, and race relations. The South has yet the opportunity to go beyond technical compliance with law to the functioning of a truly equal, harmonious society. And because it has come to basic changes in the nature of American society later than the rest of the nation, the South also has greater opportunity, yet, to avoid mistakes

others have made. We, the South, can still avoid in most cities the development of ghettoes. We can utilize intelligent planning to make people rather than things the central factor in industrialization, urbanization, the transformation of agriculture, and the utilization of natural resources and the South's as yet largely unspoiled beauty of landscape.

The Southern Regional Council believes that the good will between the races in the South has not deteriorated in these past years of often tense, total change of the legal framework of relationships between the races. Indeed, we believe that relationships have been improved to the extent that Negro Southerners have gained in self-respect and status in society, and to the extent that they have come to equal footing in their day to day, face to face encounters with white Southerners. We continue in the conviction that for the South and for the nation, the only realistic and moral goal in regard to race relations is the full integration of Negroes and other minority groups into the American society. We recognize and applaud efforts of such groups to develop legitimate methods

of gaining objectives of self-interest, economically and politically. But we continue to oppose racism and separatism as antithetical to everything America stands for. It is our belief that Southerners, white and Negro, have moved and are resolved to continue to move toward the kind of society, one of equal opportunity and human dignity, made possible by the Constitution of the United States.

It is toward this high goal rather than to the absence of riots that we must look.

August, 1967

NEIGHBORHOODS

WHERE HUMAN RELATIONS BEGIN

A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN PHILADELPHIA, WASHINGTON, D.C. & BALTIMORE

This study was prepared by Mrs. Margaret Price, formerly an Atlanta newspaperwoman, who now resides in Washington. Mrs. Price has prepared a number of research reports for SRC, primarily in the area of registration and voting.

"Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home — so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person: the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world."

— *Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt*

NEIGHBORHOODS

WHERE HUMAN RELATIONS BEGIN

Single copy .50¢; Bulk copies .40¢ each.
Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
February, 1967.

FOREWORD

One stubborn citizen, with a generous endowment of energy and intelligence, can involve his neighborhood and sometimes his city in a drive to prove that interracial housing works.

Across the nation such individuals have sparked moves to encourage white citizens to stand firm, and not to panic, when the first Negroes move into their neighborhood.

Most of these efforts have been in old, established sections of central cities, often the only neighborhoods open to Negroes. Cut off from white suburbs by overt and subtle prejudices, they have to buy houses where they can.

Their desperate need for housing often is exploited by unscrupulous real estate dealers, who in turn encourage and play upon the fear of white residents in a changing neighborhood. In such cases only the dealers profit, for the white home owner in his fright sells low and the Negro in his desperation buys high.

Where white residents decide to fight the panic-peddlers they can find allies among the Negroes who have bought homes. They also want to protect their investment. They know the speculators can turn single family homes into rooming houses, crowd three families into a house built for one, slip through variances in the zoning code, and in time turn the neighborhood into a slum.

Every city in the country with a sizeable Negro population knows something of such pressures and faces the prospect of one mid-city neighborhood after another turning into a racial ghetto. The supply of decent housing available to Negroes has not begun to keep pace with their increase and the shortage will become even worse if present population trends continue.

Figures obtained for *Congressional Quarterly* by the Center for Research in Marketing predict that by 1970 at least 14 big cities in the United States will have Negro populations of 40 percent or more. A majority of the population in Washington, D.C., already is Negro and three other cities are expected to top the 50 percent mark. The

projections show that by 1970 the following 37 cities (100,000 population or more) will be 30 percent or more Negro:

	% Negro 1960	% Negro 1970		% Negro 1960	% Negro 1970
Washington, D.C.	54	68	Winston-Salem, N.C.	37	34
Richmond, Va.	42	51	Jackson, Miss.	34	34
Compton, Calif.	39	51	Newport News, Va.	34	34
Gary, Ind.	39	50	Savannah, Ga.	36	33
Jacksonville, Fla.	41	47	Mobile, Ala.	33	33
Baltimore, Md.	35	47	Montgomery, Ala.	35	32
Detroit, Mich.	29	47	Portsmouth, Va.	34	32
Newark, N.J.	34	46	Baton Rouge, La.	30	32
St. Louis, Mo.	29	46	Philadelphia, Pa.	26	32
New Orleans, La.	37	45	Camden, N.J.	23	32
Nashville, Tenn.	38	43	Chicago, Ill.	23	32
Trenton, N.J.	23	42	Columbus, Ohio	16	32
Birmingham, Ala.	40	40	Cincinnati, Ohio	22	31
Shreveport, La.	35	40	Berkeley, Calif.	20	31
Atlanta, Ga.	38	39*	Beaumont, Tex.	29	30
Memphis, Tenn.	37	39	Greensboro, N. C.	26	30
Oakland, Calif.	23	39	Dayton, Ohio	22	30
Chattanooga, Tenn.	33	38	Saginaw, Mich.	17	30
Cleveland, Ohio	29	38			

These changes are part of a trend that has accelerated since World War II. The Negro population once was largely southern and rural. The mechanization of farms and the hope for better futures sent Negroes into the great urban centers. At the same time, white families began leaving the cities, lured by the easy mortgage money available on the new suburban houses, the chance to have a yard, and better schools for the children. New express highways and money to buy a car made commuting easy. Their tax dollars, of course, went with them.

Negroes moving into the cities from the rural South often lacked the skills and the education which would have allowed them to compete in the job market; many of those otherwise qualified were barred by prejudice from good jobs and homes.

Cities have faced mounting welfare costs when they could least afford them. Schools have become overcrowded and resegregated. The bright promises which attracted so many Negro families failed to materialize. The resulting tensions, hatred, and bitterness led to riots over a score of cities in the summer of 1966 alone.

*A publication of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission dated April 1, 1966, establishes a percentage of 44.4 Negro population for the corporate limits of Atlanta as of 1966.

Middle income Negroes who could afford a decent house found the doors to suburbia closed, or open so small a crack they were afraid to take a chance and subject themselves and their families to rebuffs, or even violence.

Many northern cities have laws outlawing discrimination in public accommodations, schools, employment, and housing. These are good as a first step but too often the laws have too many loopholes, the penalties are too weak, or the enforcement agencies too understaffed to depend on these alone to solve the problems of discrimination. The federal government, through its vast powers and money, undoubtedly will have to play an increasingly large role in ensuring equal treatment for all.

The federal government, too, will have to help cities meet their other vast needs, for rapid transportation, low cost housing, mortgage guarantees for renewal and new construction for parks, civic centers and other amenities, if the deterioration of cities is to be halted.

But, until the day when cities have the plans and the money in hand to revitalize, what happens? Do the ghettos spread inexorably? The lucky cities have a band of Negro and white citizens already working to stem the tide.

This is a report of three such groups — in Philadelphia, Washington, and Baltimore — selected to illustrate different approaches of varying scope. This brief account of the structure and activities of the three was written not for the social scientist or intergroup specialists but to suggest to men and women who live in cities, or who would like to return, some methods they might use to save a neighborhood and perhaps a city.

Each group knows that no single neighborhood can stem forever the tide of encroaching ghettos, tightly hemmed in by all-white suburbs. They know they are a holding action until citizens and their governments — city, state, and national — act to relieve the pressures.

When that day comes, groups such as these will offer a nucleus of goodwill and experience upon which to build the open city of the American promise.

WEST MT. AIRY NEIGHBORS — Philadelphia

Last year, a California analytical firm submitted a $34,000 report on the schools in the Germantown section of Philadelphia. It recommended a major overhaul of the system, to stem the flight of whites to the suburbs and halt the trend which was turning Germantown into "a poverty-stricken Negro ghetto."

The report advocated a system of four-year schools divided into elementary, middle, and high school levels with a central facility where all pupils below the ninth grade would be bussed for special classes a half day each week. Estimated cost of the program was $36.7 million.

The central facility would be integrated. The other middle and elementary schools, presumably, would be predominantly white or Negro because of residential patterns. After all, Germantown was not yet ready for total integration, the analysts reasoned, and would have to begin slowly at the central building where "this confrontation under a controlled situation can reach the unconscious prejudices."

After the report, which was financed by a foundation grant, was submitted to the school board, survey analysts appeared at an open meeting to explain the details to Germantown citizens. An audience of 150, about equally divided between white and Negro parents, heard an explanation of the plan, which was well drawn and impressively buttressed with statistics.

Ordinarily, such an audience might be expected either to listen with a degree of gratitude and acquiescence, or to object with sincere, if somewhat muddleheaded, emotion.

This, however, was not an ordinary audience. If the report had been tossed into a buzz-saw it could not have been torn apart more effectively.

This could have been foreseen, for a large number of those in the audience were from the West Mt. Airy section of Germantown and belonged to the West Mt. Airy Neighbors Association. Members of this group tend to be both articulate and well-informed. They had done their homework and for every statistic which indicated that Germantown citizens weren't ready for interracial schools and neighborhoods, they could present a counter statistic.

The West Mt. Airy representatives, in short, were not impressed. When a vice president of the analytical firm said the ghetto prediction was made on "statistics nationally," the West Mt. Airy residents made it clear they did not fit the pattern.

The majority from West Mt. Airy felt the school board should spend its time and money in improving the existing school system. They argued that imaginative programs to foster excellence in each school would encourage white parents to return or stay in the city.

As for the central facility idea, a mother of three children who attend a West Mt. Airy elementary school summed up: "It is, after all the frills are removed, a weekly field trip where all races sit around for a few hours painting pictures or weaving place mats!"

West Mt. Airy is well beyond that stage.

The central facility plan has been shelved.

The Community

What kind of a place is West Mt. Airy and what were some of the facts citizens cited to disprove the contention that once Negroes move into an area it is on a downhill path?

First, West Mt. Airy is a fortunate community. Measured by most national and city standards, it is above average. To illustrate, the 1960 census showed that West Mt. Airy had:

> A population of 15,735, living in 5,045 households, showing little change from 1950, in contrast to other old Philadelphia sections which had substantial population losses.
>
> Twenty-one percent of the population, and 16 percent of the households, were nonwhite.
>
> Total population was almost evenly divided between those under 40 and those above. Among whites, however, 55 percent were over 40 and of these 30 percent were 60 years or over. Only 19 percent of the nonwhites were 40 to 60 years of age, and only seven percent were 60 or older. This meant there were more school age children among the younger Negro families.
>
> Of 4,000 West Mt. Airy families for whom the 1960 census had data, 21 percent had incomes under $5,000, 40 percent between $5,000 and $10,000 and 39 percent above $10,000. This was well above the citywide rate — 39 percent with incomes under $5,000 and only 14 percent above $10,000.
>
> Twenty-four percent of the population over 25 years of age

had completed college; the proportion was exactly the same for whites and Negroes.

Twenty-eight percent of all men were in the professional category, 16 percent were managers or proprietors. Among nonwhite males, 22 percent were professionals and among nonwhite females, 24 percent.

Eighty percent of the households had cars, compared to 56 percent for the city; 17 percent had two cars, and three percent had three or more.

Fifty-four percent of the whites and 79 percent of the Negroes owned their homes. Citywide, the rate was 68 percent for whites and 43 percent for Negroes.

Sixty-three percent of the residences were one family houses, about a third of these detached and the rest row houses or twins, as semi-detached houses are called in Philadelphia.

The average number of persons per household was small — four persons for nonwhites and three for whites.

Values of the owner-occupied houses had remained stable, despite a tremendous volume of new housing in the city and suburbs, with the average price about the same in 1960 as in 1950. About 25 percent of the houses were valued by their owners at under $10,000 and 36 percent at $15,000 or more.

Physically, West Mt. Airy lives up to its boast of being a "Green Country Town in Philadelphia." Its 1,100 acres, or 150 city blocks, are bounded on two sides and partially bisected by a vast park and stream valley belt of 1,385 acres. Stone walls and a few towers marking the site of colonial mills and several old buildings survive from the eighteenth century but an enlightened city, beginning in 1873, returned most of the parkland to its original wilderness state for public enjoyment.

One of the oldest homes in West Mt. Airy is Upsala, an outstanding example of Federal architecture built in 1798. Beginning early in the 19th century, prosperous Philadelphians built large estates and summer homes there and in 1884 the Chestnut Hill branch of the Pennsylvania railroad was extended to serve them. Many of these big, old houses remain, surrounded by large lawns and adjoining smaller houses gradually built over a period of 50 or 60 years. Only about 10 percent of the houses were built in the past 20 years. The typical house is built of native stone.

A West Mt. Airy Neighbors brochure describes the area today: "The early farmhouses contrast with Sir Walter Scott Gothic, stock-

brokers' Tudor and Cape May gingerbread . . . as became the fashion of the '80's and '90's. The solid stone twins with the sunparlor identify the blocks built in the early 20th century and the completion of row houses filled in much of the remaining open areas."

West Mt. Airy is a short ride to downtown Philadelphia, by commuter train, trolley, bus, or car. Sports facilities, including tennis courts and golf courses, and supervised playgrounds are in or near West Mt. Airy. It is next to Chestnut Hill, as fashionable in-town as the Main Line in the suburbs.

Until the 1950's, this was a settled neighborhood of stable population and property values. It was also a white neighborhood, except for one pocket of Negro families who had lived in the area for years.

Change

Then, change came to West Mount Airy. Housing tastes shifted and there was less demand for the big, old houses. Residents faced the prospect of seeing some of these converted to apartments, rooming houses, or commercial purposes.

Other forces in the city at large threatened the stability of West Mt. Airy. The white population in Philadelphia was dropping as the Negro population increased, from 380,000, or 18 percent of the total, in 1950 to 535,000, or 27 percent, in 1960. Instead of new housing for this increase, the housing market available to Negroes was shrinking. Big urban renewal projects made scant provision for the displaced poor and an estimated 71.7 percent of those forced to move were unable to find decent housing. In one such project slums were razed to make way for a middle class housing development and 20,000 poor were displaced; the majority had to move into houses as bad, if not worse, than those from which they had been evicted. At the same time, the white exodus from the city was eased by the federal government. White couples, some of whom might have preferred to stay in the city, found they could buy homes in the suburbs with small cash down payments and mortgages underwritten by the Federal Housing Authority or Veterans Administration. This massive aid to the new suburban housing market had a side effect in the city, depressing the value of old houses there to a point where banks were reluctant to issue VA or FHA mortgages.

Negroes did not have the choice of moving to the suburbs. Both Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia have fair housing laws, but they exempt owner-occupied one and two-family houses and 61 percent of the houses in Philadelphia fall in this category. Negroes who could afford to buy a house had only a restricted choice. Inevitably, West Mount Airy, with big old houses for which there was

a limited market, would be considered by Negroes who wanted to get away from the overcrowded mid-city districts.

One Negro family had bought a home in West Mount Airy in 1951; it was more than a year later that a second Negro family bought there. By the end of 1955, 46 nonwhite families had purchased homes and by 1958 the Negro population had increased to 12 percent. Most of the Negroes tended to cluster on certain blocks.

Two groups meanwhile had begun thinking something should be done to ease the transition period and guard against panic by homeowners — the Churches Community Council and the Allens Lane Art Center. The latter operated one of the first integrated day camps in the city and had made it clear that its recreational and cultural events were open to all. Beginning in 1956 the Churches Community Council sponsored a series of meetings to discuss "How to Maintain Real Estate Values and the High Standards of Our Neighborhoods." These two organizations, by having begun discussions early on the problems of changing neighborhoods, provided a nucleus of citizens for the later group which would work for orderly change.

Meanwhile, the concern of some homeowners over the influx of Negro families was heightened when the school board, in a redistricting move to ease the plight of some badly overcrowded schools, sent Negro children from nearby areas to West Mount Airy's Henry Elementary School. Almost overnight, the school became predominantly Negro. A few more houses went up for sale. Many white parents switched their children from public to private schools. Blockbusting speculators moved on the area, in the familiar pattern.

WMAN

West Mount Airy was fortunate in having George Schermer as one of its residents. In 1958, Schermer, then chairman of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, invited several residents to his home to discuss neighborhood changes. Out of this initial meeting in the Schermer living room grew West Mount Airy Neighbors, Inc. (WMAN), formed early in 1959.

From the start, Schermer suggested that the organization concentrate, not on racial stabilization, but on making West Mount Airy so attractive residents would not want to leave. Schermer felt the most important asset was a sense of community and that this should be promoted by a series of activities. He advised against programs which would suggest a fight against panic, or the posting of signs "This House Not For Sale," which he thought would be as bad as having "For Sale" signs. Members agreed and this emphasis on the attractions of the community has been the guiding principle since.

Almost casually, one of the attractions promoted is the demonstrable fact that different races can live together harmoniously.

WMAN did not ignore the existence of racial problems, however. A few blocks in the area were near a panic state and WMAN sponsored block meetings to discuss racial changes, property values, and blockbusting.

Along with George Schermer, West Mount Airy had one other big asset from the start — Mrs. Beatrice Chernak, principal of the Henry Elementary School, which serves most of the children in West Mt. Airy. She was appointed principal in 1957 when many parents already had removed their children and sent them to private schools and others were talking of doing the same thing; morale in the school was slipping badly. Mrs. Chernak was determined Henry School would be a good one, an asset to the community. She had strong allies in the Home and School Association of Henry School (this is structured under the Board of Education and works somewhat as a Parent Teacher Association elsewhere). WMAN gave active support to Mrs. Chernak and the Association.

Night after night Mrs. Chernak met with small groups of parents to convince them that they should keep their children in Henry School, that school standards would not be lowered. She convinced many. She helped direct Home and School Association meetings under psychiatric leadership where Negro and white parents could voice their fears of living together and sending their children to the same school.

Throughout, Mrs. Chernak has been one of WMAN's strongest props. Today, she is a legend in the area. She visits or calls new families in the area to invite them to send their children to Henry School. One of the favorite stories about her is that she has been known to look out her office window, see a young woman obviously about to become a mother and then dash out, hand extended, to say, "Come in, dear. I know you will want to see the school your child will attend."

Last year, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* called Henry "one of the most exciting schools in town," with a good library and art and music courses augmenting above average scholastic courses.

More young white families are moving into the area, with their school age children; these and the white children who are now returning from private to public school boosted the 1966 white enrollment at Henry to 31 percent.

Whites make up a much larger percentage of the general popu-

lation — 75 percent — but many of these are older families with children now grown.

Activities

One of WMAN's early decisions, which has contributed greatly to its success, was the decision to hire a part time executive secretary. Mrs. Ruth Steele has held this post for the past four years. She operates from an office in her home in West Mount Airy, coordinating WMAN activities of over 800 members. WMAN has always been self-sustaining, deriving income from contributions and dues — $5 annually for families — and occasional fund raising events.

WMAN's greatest resource is a body of intelligent men and women, Negro and white, who like their neighborhood and intend to keep it a pleasant place. By now, they have enough experience to allow them to move quickly to block any change which threatens the residential pattern.

One committee keeps an eye on zoning. Every request for variance is scrutinized carefully and then WMAN decides whether to support or oppose. Their record is notable; in one area, zoning requirements were upgraded and the minimum allowable lot size was increased.

Currently, they are working with three other organizations in surrounding neighborhoods on long range plans for a survey of the area's commercial district, hoping that eventually they can apply for city funds for renovations and a public parking lot.

Another group works on preserving and improving the physical appearance of the neighborhood and keeps a close watch for violations of city sanitation codes. A collection from members and commuters financed planting, grass cutting, and flower pots at the three railroad stops the past two years; this Christmas wreaths will brighten the stations. This group also has persuaded the railroad company to start work on major repairs to walkways and approaches to the stations.

WMAN was instrumental in the passage of a city ordinance limiting the display of "For Sale" or "Sold" signs to seven days after an agreement of sale has been signed.

The Real Estate Practices Committee has obtained the signatures of more than 30 real estate brokers to a code of ethics which commits them to a promise to refrain from panic peddling and pressure tactics. In return, WMAN steers potential customers to these brokers. Mrs. Steele maintains a list and, on a rotating basis, recom-

mends these brokers. Some of these now go out of their way to encourage sales to white families.

Occasionally, an unethical broker will solicit houses to sell, but WMAN is ready. Members are asked to report such approaches to the central office and then circulate a "Don't Call Us—We'll Call You" form. This informs the broker the property is not for sale, nor is other nearby property (space is provided for signatures and addresses of neighbors). The broker is asked to refrain from further solicitation and told that a second approach will be reported to the Pennsylvania Real Estate Commission as a violation of that body's regulations.

Property values now are stable and houses range in price from about $10,000 to $100,000, with a few even higher.

A Community Relations Committee tries to anticipate trouble and where necessary moves swiftly to meet it, providing leadership and guidance to blocks at the first hint of panic.

After some complaints of youths loitering, racing cars and motorcycles in one area, the Recreation Committee talked with the boys and found they not only needed something to do in their spare time but that they wanted to earn pocket money. A youth employment service was set up and one housewife now acts as a clearing house for teen-agers who want odd jobs and residents who need help in yard work, baby sitting, and other chores. The committee also has sponsored teen-age dances every other week at a school. Members are now trying to acquire land for a community swimming pool.

A public relations committee promotes West Mount Airy as an attractive place to live. A brochure detailing the advantages of the area has been widely circulated, through company personnel offices, churches, and clubs. A well-publicized House Tour each spring spotlights the diversity of the area: homes shown have ranged from a converted, 200-year-old weaver's cottage and a remodeled carriage house and stable, to a Victorian house and a contemporary rambler.

Favorable publicity resulted from a square dance held one year for Philadelphia's foreign students and from the entertainment another year of the families of 60 United Nations employees invited from New York for a typical American weekend. West Mount Airy also has an amateur theatrical group and Allens Lane Art Center provides a series of cultural events.

Each year WMAN gives an annual community service award. Several years ago this went to the officers and men of the 14th Police Precinct for their "tireless service and helpful friendliness."

Today

West Mount Airy Neighbors believes the hardest part is over, although there still are some problems, and the area could backslide. As Mrs. Steele puts it, "A certain amount of continuing vigilante work is necessary."

There has been some slight expansion of the housing market available to middle income Negroes, both in the city and in the suburbs, thanks to the work of other fair housing groups. This has eased the pressure for additional houses for Negroes somewhat in areas such as West Mount Airy.

Mrs. Steele said there is a creeping ghetto on the first blocks off the main commercial street, in an area of small row houses, and that WMAN "is not reaching them" and must try to develop greater contact. In another area of row houses where two white ethnic groups are concentrated, desegregation is being accepted calmly, in part due to the active role of their church.

Mortgage money has been no problem. Also, some houses have been sold by Negroes to whites. In one instance, a Negro bought a house for $22,000 and then, two years later when he moved from the city, sold it to a white family for $26,000.

The upper grades of the area school are more predominantly Negro than the lower, indicating that a better racial balance is in view.

A more personal measure of WMAN's racial climate was the reaction to the recent arrival of one Negro family. This family had moved into a housing development in a white Philadelphia suburb several years ago. They were met with such violence that the Governor had to call out the National Guard to restore order. After the Guard was withdrawn the family continued to be subjected to harassment and threats which never stopped in the years they lived there. Finally, this year the family gave up. They bought a home in West Mount Airy.

When a reporter heard of this he talked to Mrs. Steele and neighbors; all reacted in the same way: leave them alone, they have had enough trouble. The reporter agreed and as a result newspapers merely carried a few paragraphs that the much publicized family finally had been hounded out of their suburb and had moved into West Mount Airy — they did not pinpoint the street.

Mrs. Steele said West Mt. Airy residents do not believe in effusive greetings and the "brotherhood bit" delivered along with a plate of cookies. So, she and a number of other women wrote notes saying simply, in effect, welcome, we are pleased to have you in the neighborhood. The young wife replied in a note with one line Mrs.

Steele and WMAN members will long remember. It is wonderful, she said, to be able at last to wheel my baby carriage in front of my house without fear my baby will be spat upon.

The Future

Two years ago Matthew Bullock, Jr., WMAN's first Negro president, in his annual report said, "In a sense, the first phase of our organization's life is over. We have put out the fires we were created to combat. I do not mean that negative pressures on the area have ceased completely, but our handling of them has become routine." Then he went on to chart the future course:

"We shall, of course, continue our established activities and will become increasingly involved in the municipal planning for the Germantown area. More important, however, in a society which is turbulent with change in the area of human relations, our organization and our community are in the vanguard. We have already learned many lessons that many communities have not yet even faced. It is a fascinating fact that civil rights issues have inevitably raised a variety of positive issues. You can't look at school integration without looking at the whole problem of manpower utilization. Similarly, you can't look at integration of neighborhoods without questioning the meaning of community. The elimination of fear opens new horizons in human experience.

"In a society characterized too much by personal alienation, the recognition of other human beings, however different, as a spiritual resource is increasing. This is at once an individual and a social awakening. I have been impressed with the number of people whom I have met who speak of West Mt. Airy as though the community has nurtured a kind of vital spark within them. We do have a special atmosphere or flavor, call it what you will, that intensifies our feeling of humanity . . . In our nation in which there is so much talk of the 'Great Society,' West Mt. Airy is progressing toward the 'Great Community' . . ."

NEIGHBORS, INC. — Washington, D.C.

Eight years ago a small Washington group called Neighbors, Inc., set out to prove that a racial balance could be struck in at least one neighborhood of the nation's capital.

Born amid near panic and facing formidable odds, NI proceeded with a special sense of urgency, knowing that success or failure would have wide significance. With Washington acquiring a growing number of new African embassies particularly sensitive to discrimination and with a large foreign press corps which looked on race as one of the big, and discrediting, stories in the United States, the NI experiment was close at hand for easy observation.

NI also could not escape the attention of the President and the Congress. In time it offered evidence that no single neighborhood can survive indefinitely as a racially unrestricted showplace surrounded by a growing nonwhite population forced to live in overcrowded ghettos.

Today, the schools and some streets in the once all-white section served by NI have a larger Negro school population than either white or Negro families would like. However, the panic that followed the first large inflow of Negroes in the mid-1950's has subsided and racial transition has been slowed. The NI community is one of the few desirable ones in the Washington area into which Negroes can move without fear of humiliating rebuff from white neighbors. Some white families also have been moving into the area, although at a slower pace than Negro families. The latest census tract figures available for the four sections of the NI territory showed that in 1964 the nonwhite population was 7.5 percent in Shepherd Park, 36.2 in Takoma, 7.8 in Brightwood and 64.9 in Manor Park.

But, what does this mean in human terms?

"When all this started," one white housewife told a reporter, "we were looked upon as very suspect. Now, I think, integration is no longer a dirty word here."

"We're not idealists, just practical people," another commented. "Me, I love this neighborhood. The people are stimulating. I've lived here for 15 years, and I intend to stay. Integration is happening; I'm accepting it."

A Negro father who moved into the neighborhood when he couldn't buy a house near the Virginia school where he teaches is sure that "my kids won't grow up hating all white kids as I did when I was growing up in the South."

District of Columbia

A judgment on whether NI is a success can be made only against an awareness of the tremendous pressures for Negro housing in Washington and of the problems unique to the District of Columbia.

The 1960 census listed a 54 percent nonwhite population for Washington, the first large city in the nation with a Negro majority. By 1966 the percentage had risen to 63 percent and school enrollment was 90.8 percent Negro.

However, the nonwhite proportion of the population of metropolitan Washington, which includes Maryland and Virginia suburbs, has remained constant at between 25 and 30 percent since 1860. The difference is that of today's 25 percent Negro population, four of five live in the District. Only 6.1 percent of the suburban population is nonwhite.

Between 1950 and 1960 the white population of the District dropped by one-third, while the white population in the surrounding suburbs increased 91 percent.

The central city of Washington contains 61 square miles, less than five percent of the standard metropolitan area, and had a 1960 population of 763,956. The remaining 1,237,941 metropolitan area residents lived on 1,424 suburban square miles.

White residents driving from their offices to homes in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs or in Washington west of Rock Creek Park see only comfortable, predominantly white neighborhoods. The average tourist in Washington, on his rounds between his hotel and federal landmarks of the picture postcards, also sees little of the "other Washington."

Periodically, residents are shocked out of their complacency by newspaper reports of a city they rarely see. One such report summarized a 1966 housing study by the National Capital Planning Commission which found:

> Forty-one percent of Washington's population lives in inadequate housing — a total of 103,000 households with 299,800 persons. This covered 81,000 individuals in houses which were overcrowded, 104,700 in those which were substandard, and 114,000 in those which were too costly, taking more than 25 percent of the householder's income.
>
> Subsidized dwellings are needed for 37 percent of Washington's population. At present, public and other subsidized housing is available to 6 percent.
>
> Nearly one-fourth of the District's population lives in "abject poverty — the lowest form of deprivation."

"The poor are being squeezed by . . . growing low income housing demand, rising housing costs and diminishing supply of housing available to them . . . Conditions of housing occupied by the poor are worsening, and the poor are being shifted geographically. As a result, other neighborhoods are declining rapidly. In short, slums are being shifted with low income families."

Housing problems in Washington do not all center on the Negro poor. There are 104,000 low income white individuals, many of whom also need assistance.

And, there are Negroes who can afford decent housing, but find a large portion of the market closed to them. The National Capital Planning Commission reported there is an affluent group in Washington of 93,500 white persons and 23,800 Negroes. In the middle and lower income groups are almost the same number of persons of both races — 120,000 whites and 124,800 Negroes.

In the 1950-60 decade, nonwhites were sold 2.2 percent of the metropolitan area's new houses and rented less than one-tenth of the area's new rental units, according to figures released by the Civil Rights Commission following a hearing on Washington housing problems in 1962.

The Metropolitan Washington Housing Program has estimated that "if some 4,000 Negro families were to settle in the suburbs each year, with the area's rapid growth this would merely continue the present ratio within the District." An estimated 300 Negro families moved into predominantly white Maryland and Virginia suburban developments in a two year period ended in 1965. There are now a scattering of new, predominantly Negro housing tracts opening in the suburbs.

All of these pressures have a profound impact on a central city section such as the one covered by Neighbors, Inc.

NI Territory

Neighbors, Inc., is concerned with an area of 250 city blocks in the northern section of the District, east of Rock Creek Park and running into the Maryland border on the north. Some 50,000 live here, in four neighborhoods — Brightwood and Manor Park in the south, Takoma and Shepherd Park on the north. There are about 8,000 houses, with a wide range in price, from blocks of small $15,000 houses to others where some prices run over $100,000. A majority of the houses are owner occupied. Most of the 6,100 rental units are in apartments, where the median rent is about $100.

The architecture is indeterminate for the most part but houses

tend to look solid and pleasant on tree-lined streets. The predominant impression, except in the most expensive sections, is of comfort rather than style.

A few Negroes moved into the area after the Supreme Court held in 1948 that restrictive covenants are not enforceable by the courts. (Such covenants in wills or deeds provided that certain property could be sold only to Caucasians.) By the mid-1950's Negroes, desperately in need of housing, were moving in at a rapid pace; white families were fleeing, and the real estate speculators and blockbusters were working in force. Many of the long-time residents had been convinced that in a year or two the area would be all Negro.

Marvin and Naomi Caplan and their three children were one of the few white families to move into the area in 1957, when they bought a house in Manor Park. They liked the spaciousness of their house, the convenience of city living, and wanted their children to grow up in an integrated neighborhood. Before long, they wondered if they would be the last white family on the block.

Caplan, then a reporter, decided to act. His first idea of working through an exciting civic organization was abandoned, for the group was apathetic on the issue of orderly racial transition but adamant on its stand against Negro members. He did, though, persuade the organization to schedule a meeting to discuss neighborhood change. Few members attended, but 75 other white and Negro residents did. After hearing a talk by a member of a Philadelphia stabilization group, a third of those present decided to set up a similar organization.

Quite early, Caplan and others to whom he had talked decided it would be impossible to try to stabilize only their own neighborhood of Manor Park and so included the three adjoining neighborhoods in their plans. The small group drafted a statement of purpose and announced a public meeting would be held in a church. At this June, 1958, meeting, attended by 100 residents, Neighbors, Inc., was organized.

Caplan, in a statement at a hearing on housing in Washington held by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in April, 1962, explained the thinking behind NI:

"Our formation in June, 1958, was an act of resolution and despair. Those of us who came together, colored and white, were dismayed at the bitterness, tension, and often insane behavior that attended the entrance of Negro families into what had formerly been an all-white neighborhood. We were sure there had to be a more

sensible alternative to the prevailing pattern of entrance, panic, and flight. We were united in our resolve to try to establish a neighborhood in which people of different races could at least talk to each other and work together on common problems . . ."

Block Meetings

In the first months, NI, with neither staff nor money, concentrated on the most urgent problem, halting the panic selling of white residents. The area was then about 25 percent Negro, but white families moving out were being replaced almost solely by Negro families. All homeowners suffered in the exchange, with white families selling at below market prices, Negro families buying at an inflated price and the speculators pocketing the difference.

NI founders began a series of block meetings, concentrating particularly on the streets where a new Negro family had moved. This involved finding a sympathetic resident who knew many of his neighbors and who was willing to sponsor a meeting, preferably in his home. The block meetings were kept small and one of the early NI members usually appeared to answer questions. These generally centered around fears that the quality of schools would deteriorate with a growing Negro population, that real estate values would drop, the neighborhood would deteriorate, and the family would lose status by living in an integrated neighborhood.

NI emphasized that innundation was not inevitable, that if white families decided to stay and made this known to others who in turn refused to give up their homes, the neighborhood could be stabilized. National surveys were cited to prove that property values do not drop in integrated neighborhoods unless homeowners flood the market. NI spokesmen pointed out how much money speculators were making by their blockbusting tactics and read public records from the D.C. Office of the Recorder of Deeds to prove their point.

At these meetings white residents often met their new Negro neighbors and realized for the first time that their aims for maintaining and improving their property were identical. In this way, too, some white families for the first time met Negroes with comparable, or superior, economic and educational background.

In January, 1959, six months after formation, NI received a grant from the Eugene and Agnes Meyer Foundation and a full time executive director, Mrs. Margery Ware, was hired.

Expanded Activities

NI was now ready to broaden its program. The block meetings

had begun to change the pervading sense of hopelessness and had brought in new members ready to volunteer their services.

As in all changing neighborhoods, this one was beset with rumors that property was deteriorating and it was necessary to convince residents and prospective homeowners this was not so. A Block Leaders Training Course was organized to encourage the formation of block committees to tackle problems of upkeep on their streets. A system of 75 block spotters was set up to report any nuisance to the NI office. One group worked with churches and synagogues to oppose an increase in the number of liquor stores in the area. District Commissioners were persuaded to install better street lighting and provide better trash pickup service. NI also successfully fought changes in the zoning code which would have permitted greater density in some sections and kept an eye on efforts to sell property for income or commercial purposes in violation of zoning regulations. The Recreation Committee sponsored a Family Fun Night for all residents at a local church, more swimming lessons at a city pool in Takoma Park, and various clubs for gardeners, bridge players, etc.

At the end of the first two years, NI could point to two specific accomplishments. For the first time since the panic selling began, a few white families had moved into the area. Mrs. Ware admits these were received with great sighs of relief, as an indication the NI message was getting across. Then, after a two year campaign by NI and the American Veterans Committee, backed by 40 other organizations, the three local newspapers agreed to eliminate the "colored" designation in classified advertisements of houses for rent or sale.

Spreading the Word

In 1961 a three-year Taconic Foundation grant allowed NI to step up its activities. A community organization specialist was employed to concentrate on real estate pressure tactics and parents' efforts to improve the area schools.

NI also issued a brochure describing the attractions of the area: one bus fare to the heart of town, excellent schools with no split shifts, shopping centers within a short walk, movie theaters and libraries also within walking distance, well-established churches and synagogues, recreation facilities in nearby Rock Creek Park, and a community in which all are welcome. Thousands of these were distributed, often with a covering letter to new Congressmen and government officials inviting them to settle in the area. (And some of them did. A number of top ranking officials now live there.)

NI was receiving attention in other ways: publicity releases to

newspapers, an article on the organization in the *Atlantic Monthly* by NI President Marvin Caplan, talks by NI speakers to civic groups in the District, Maryland, and Virginia. A leaflet containing quotations from prominent individuals about NI's work was given wide distribution.

Meanwhile, NI began the first of a continuing series of events to build a sense of community pride. Under the sponsorship of a number of dignitaries, including an ambassador and two cabinet officers, a reception was held for the diplomatic families of new nations. The affair was held in the auditorium of a local elementary school. There were puppet shows for the children, a string quartet provided background music, later two concert pianists gave a recital. Portions of the event were recorded by the Voice of America. The third annual NI report noted:

"The national and international implications of this event — a friendly welcome to newcomers to our country, not from professional diplomats but from the ordinary residents of an American neighborhood — were immediately apparent to everyone...

"The reception was also a visible demonstration that rather than lose status by living in an integrated neighborhood, residents gain prestige."

In 1962 the organization sponsored the first of its annual Spring Home Tours to which the general public is invited for tea and a tour of six or seven of the most attractive homes. These not only raise funds but have interested a number of visitors in buying in the area.

The following year NI held an Art and Book Festival, now another annual event. Both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have sent letters of commendation. As many as 300 members have been involved in planning, organizing, and staffing the two-day festivals held at the local high school. Art, books, and records are sold, entertainment is provided for children, there are craft demonstrations, international booths, and garden club exhibits. The *Washington Post* art critic termed the second festival "one of the finest displays of local professional talent ever seen in this city under one roof."

An annual picnic, a spring clean-up campaign with prizes for outstanding accomplishment, a hospitality and welcoming committee, a neighborhood commons cleared and planted by adults and children, all contribute to the sense of community. Boys and girls are involved in a number of projects through Junior Neighbors, divided into junior and senior high school groups.

A monthly newsletter, *Neighbors' Ink*, edited by volunteers, keeps members posted on organization activities, tells them about newcomers, and offers members a chance to air their views in let-

ters to the editor. A rumor column examines any tales spreading about the area and refutes false stories with facts.

Buying and Selling

The Washington real estate industry has been one of NI's toughest problems. Brokers have been more unyielding than in the two other cities of this report. A majority of the largest Washington firms refuse to handle property in the NI area. NI spokesmen charge that salesmen in these companies ignore the section when showing homes to white clients and discourage Negro clients altogether. In the early days, after the first influx of Negroes, this meant that transactions were left for the most part to speculators and blockbusters.

Now, because of NI's vigilance and a 1964 D.C. regulation outlawing blockbusting, there are only sporadic attempts to frighten homeowners into selling. Speculators have moved to other areas, concentrating particularly on a suburban Maryland county.

Whenever NI does learn of speculative practices in the area, these are reported in the monthly newsletter. For example, the May, 1965, issue noted that the Office of the Recorder of Deeds showed that a home was purchased by a real estate firm (the street address of the house and the firm were identified) for $16,800 and sold four weeks later for $24,000. An earlier issue told of a house bought for $24,000 and sold three months later for $32,450.

Today, a small number of general real estate firms, and a larger number of reputable Negro firms, sell property in the area.

In one of its brochures, NI advises those who are being transferred or moving for other compelling reasons that there are a number of steps that can be taken to safeguard their own interests and those of their neighbors. The first suggestion is to notify NI, which has a Housing Information Service available to prospective buyers and sellers, without remuneration. This service may know of a desirable buyer and can certainly recommend a reputable agent. NI warns against dealing with a speculator, for experience has shown this will only mean the seller will get a lower price. Also, the seller is asked to insist that the agent show the house on an "open" basis for "agents who show your house only to white or only to colored prospects are short-changing you. They are tapping only half the available market in the community." The seller is asked, too, to tell neighbors why he is selling, explaining that he is not running and will make every effort to get a responsible family for new tenants.

NI cooperates with fair housing groups in the District and the suburbs in efforts to encourage white families to move back to the city and Negro families to move to the suburbs.

NI was one of the groups influential in persuading the District Commissioners to issue a fair housing order in 1964. This was done under the Commissioners' police powers and outlaws racial and religious discrimination in the sale and rental of all housing except small-scale rentals in owner-occupied property. It also prohibits discrimination by lending institutions.

Mortgage money never has been a particular problem in the NI area. However, at one time the Federal Housing Authority seemed to be under-appraising property. The NI staff gathered facts and made a formal protest. As a result, FHA reevaluated the area and raised appraisals.

Property values as a whole have climbed. Between 1960 and 1964, for example, they rose about 10 percent.

Schools

NI's most critical problem is the racial composition of schools, particularly at the junior and senior high school levels. In the first year of operation, 1959, members realized that parental apprehension about the schools was one of the strongest factors influencing white families to leave. They cited the one-third Negro enrollment of the Paul Junior High School. At the beginning of the 1966 term, 91.7 percent of the Paul student body was Negro. A new junior high, Rabaut, which draws part of its student body from the NI area, was 99 percent Negro. The area high school, Coolidge, was 92.4 percent Negro.

Negro percentages in the four elementary schools were: Brightwood, 91.6; Shepherd, 64.5; Takoma, 70.2, and Whittier, 98.4.

These unbalanced racial compositions have caused many white and a sizeable number of Negro families to send their children to private and parochial schools.

In a city with a public school enrollment only 9.2 percent white there are obviously factors beyond the control of any single group. Neighbors, Inc., however, hopes to hold the white pupils now enrolled and encourage others to attend by improving the quality of education offered in the public schools. They want to demonstrate that schools do not have to deteriorate as the Negro enrollment climbs.

Parents have a problem peculiar to Washington, which does not have home rule. Unlike other citizens, they do not have the leverage of the ballot to force city authorities to spend more on schools. They cannot vote a school board out of office, they can only petition. Members of the Board of Education are appointed by the judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. All requests for money by the School Superintendent must first be approved by the

Board of Education, then by the District Commissioners, by the proper committees of Congress, by the Congress itself, and finally by the President.

For three years NI parents met with school officials to promote special programs in art, music, sciences, government, or languages, which would make their junior and senior high schools outstanding. Finally, in 1962, a special program, "American Democracy in Action," was inaugurated at Paul Junior High. The program is designed to instill an early interest in government and the democratic process.

An executive committee of residents oversees the program. They are assisted by an advisory council; each council member agrees to participate in at least one program for Paul students. The council has included four Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, three cabinet officers, five Senators, four Congressmen, heads of independent agencies and various other government officials.

Pupils make many field trips, attending Congressional and court sessions, legislative hearings, and meetings of the District Commissioners. They have interviewed the Governor of Maryland, visited campaign headquarters and political rallies in surrounding jurisdictions.

As school began in 1966, the D.C. Board of Education approved the position of Secondary School Coordinator for the three secondary schools in the NI area. Payment of the coordinator's salary will be shared by the public school system and the University of Maryland. The NI Education Committee considers this the first tangible step in a proposed "blue ribbon" school plan for the area drawn by the University of Maryland.

Structure

Since the first grants from the Meyer and Taconic Foundations, NI has received additional grants from these sources and from other foundations for a total of about $90,000. Benefit concerts and the annual art festival and house tours have brought in additional funds. The remainder of the income has come from dues and contributions of members. Currently, dues are $5 a year for family membership. NI's annual budget for several years has been around $25,000.

At peak strength, NI has had, in addition to the executive director, a community affairs specialist and an assistant, plus a secretary and a clerk. They operate from a two-room office centrally located in a small, new building in a commercial area.

A 20-man Board of Directors governs. Two are elected from each of the four neighborhoods in the area and the others are elected at large. There is an annual meeting each June, two meetings a year

in each of the four neighborhoods, and special meetings are called on specific problems. The 1966 membership of NI was 1,800.

Mrs. Ware, for seven years executive director of Neighbors, Inc., until her resignation in the summer of 1966, believes any similar group should concentrate from the beginning on a broad community development program, rather than stabilization, unless it is necessary to stress the latter because of a panic situation.

She thinks NI was right in trying to build from the first an image of a group of solid homeowners, organized, and meriting serious consideration from the city and its officials. She also thinks that NI probably should have concentrated earlier on improvement of the schools, admitting at the same time that the forces were too great and the resources too small to keep a better racial balance in the schools. She feels the next few years will be critical and that the school situation will be the ultimate test of NI's success or failure.

Mrs. Ware believes it would be easier to start a Neighbors, Inc., today. There is a District fair housing regulation; open housing groups are now working in other sections of the District and the suburbs; churches are more active in the civil rights field (NI had little cooperation from area churches in the formative years); middle income Negroes have a slightly wider choice of housing now. And, with the added emphasis on civil rights, new federal legislation and court rulings, the community as a whole is more aware of discrimination and better armed to deal with it.

The Future

NI has reached a stage of development where members are asking serious questions about its future direction. Increasingly, these have been raised at meetings, in letters in the monthly newsletters, and whenever members discuss the group.

Basically, the question is whether NI should continue to focus most of its energies on neighborhood stabilization and improvement or whether it should move beyond this to concentrate on such larger issues as home rule, poverty programs, civil rights, and civil liberties. There are wide differences of opinion.

One group feels NI should not concern itself with the "numbers game," that the racial composition of the area is unimportant and the emphasis should be on problems facing the city and nation. Another faction believes NI can be effective only if it continues to concentrate on problems of the immediate environment. In between is a group which contends the primary emphasis should be on neighborhood development but that at the same time members should be able to work on metropolitan problems through various subcommit-

tees. At the time of this report, board members and leaders of the four neighborhood components were being polled to learn what course they think NI should follow.

Whatever the decision of NI's future program, many members feel the controversy is an indication of vitality. It does transcend racial bounds, for each faction has white and Negro proponents.

This seems natural in a neighborhood where residents nervous around anyone not of their own color have long since fled and those who are left have lost any self-consciousness about race. Children of both races play together, white and Negro parents baby sit for each other and "party" together. It follows that they can also fight, in a good, impersonal, neighborly American way.

BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOODS, INC.

Since its founding in the 17th century, Maryland has had a problem of identity, more so than most border states. A reasonable surveyor interested solely in geographic efficiency might well award part of the state to Pennsylvania and the rest to Virginia.

Throughout its history, Maryland has had no overwhelming sectional identity. As one of the original 13 colonies it was a mid-point, neither north nor south.

Maryland was founded as a haven for Roman Catholics, but since the Catholics of Ireland and England did not migrate in sufficient numbers, Maryland never quite became a truly Catholic state. Nevertheless, a succession of Catholics ruled as governors of Maryland in the 17th century, with one exception. During the Puritan ascendancy in England, a Protestant was named governor. This was diplomatic accommodation of a high order.

And it is this spirit of accommodation which runs like a zigzag stitch through the fabric of Maryland history. It produced a religious toleration act in 1649 and kept Maryland in the Union although thousands of her sons went off to join the Confederate forces.

The half-way point for the half-way state, as it were, is Baltimore. Here all the contrasts which exist within the state seem to have been deposited.

There are ancient white families of the hunt club-cotillion set and Negro families whose roots go back as far and as deep in Maryland history. This is a city, too, where, until a few years ago, the restrictive covenant closed some of the "best" residential areas to Jews, where Catholics were barred from some professional clubs and snubbed in some sets, where white Protestants thought it was hopeless to try for a seat on the city council. For Negroes, it was a city of rigid segregation.

Harry Bard, president of Baltimore Junior College, in an article in the *Baltimore Afro-American* summed up the city as the worst and the best. Perhaps, he wrote, Baltimore has more than its share of both. Detailing some of these elements, he continued:

Among the worst are "practices which bring colored people who commit crimes into a Criminal Courthouse where all the symbols are white; the judges, the bailiffs, the clerks . . .

"The lack of recreational facilities in areas like Greenmount Avenue is dangerous. De facto segregation in some of the Baltimore

schools is a symbol of the old. And the lack of employment opportunities for out-of-school Baltimore colored youth is dynamite...

"And the worst includes what Francis Bierne, in his *Amiable Baltimoreans,* calls 'the four o'clock shadow,' with Jews, Catholics, and Protestants meeting on numerous civic boards... but not really getting to know each other intensely and seldom visiting each other at home. At best, they hardly break through a veneer.

"On the plus side are the open and frank dialogues by the NCCJ (National Conference of Christians and Jews), NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Urban League and other groups. Also on the plus side are the contributions of some Baltimore businessmen like the Voluntary Council on Equal Opportunity and that of some labor groups associated with AFL-CIO.

"On the plus side, too, is recent progress of the Police Department... the plans of the Baltimore Education Department and the serious thinking in the City and State Government halls, and the intense dedication of the mass media.

"Also on the plus side is the recognition that colored citizens do care about helping their own needy. Their personal contributions of over one million dollars for the Provident Hospital prove this... Responsible colored leadership in Baltimore is certainly a plus."

Housing

An understanding of the split personality of the city helps explain Baltimore's stance on racially segregated housing.

How else explain a Real Estate Board which opposed open occupancy in 1964 but the next year urged the President to support a broad open occupancy law for the nation and then in 1966 opposed such a law for the state? Changing leadership of the board is one explanation, but the board itself is split, or such an about-face would be impossible.

There is a division in the city government over housing. The mayor and city council president both backed a strong fair housing ordinance, but it failed this year on a city council vote.

In many ways, however, Baltimore is typical of other big cities with a large Negro population. The white population has been declining, moving to the suburbs, and the Negro population has been expanding. Between 1950 and 1960 the white population of Baltimore City dropped by 113,000 and the nonwhite increased by 102,000. The

1960 census for Baltimore, the nation's sixth largest city, showed a total population of 939,024, with 326,589, or 34.8 percent, nonwhite.

The Negro population of the city clusters around the central business district, spreading out northwest and northeast in 45 census tracts with a nonwhite population of 75 percent or more. In 1964, 77 percent of the city's Negroes lived there.

Negro family income lags behind that of white families. In 1966 median white family income in the Baltimore metropolitan area was $8,125 and $5,250 for Negro families. However, 12 percent of the Negro families had incomes of from $10-15,000 and 53 percent had incomes over $5,000.

This growth of the Negro population, and the rising income which made home ownership a possibility for many, has not been matched by new housing available to Negroes. Between 1940 and 1957, for example, only 6,000 new dwelling units were open to Negroes and most of these were in public housing developments. Inevitably, they had been moving to older areas formerly occupied by whites only.

Today, Negroes have fanned out to live in 95 percent of Baltimore's districts. In some of these they represent only a scattering of the total population. Nevertheless, considering that in 1940 almost the entire Negro population — 226,000 at that time — lived in two sections of the central city, the change has been dramatic. It has also been peaceful, for the most part, with only a very few reports of harassment.

The Beginning

Ten years ago, a section of Baltimore known as Ashburton was an entirely white community located about 15 minutes by car from the downtown center. Houses along the tree-lined streets are largely single family dwellings, with a sprinkling of semi-detached houses. Built 20 or 25 years earlier as a "restricted" area, it had received an influx of prosperous Jewish families in the post World War II years and had gradually become a section including families of varied religious and age groups. Houses ranged in price from $15,000 to $45,000.

In 1956 the first Negro, a high school principal, bought a home in Ashburton. Within the next year, more than a score of other Negroes, most of them professional people, moved into the neighborhood. The following year, 1958, another 40 or 50 moved in.

By this time, blockbusting agents and speculators had moved on the area. They were operating on the now familiar pattern, selling a

home to a Negro family and then deliberately exploiting and exciting racial prejudice and fear of falling real estate values among other families on the block. When families did panic, the real estate operator might pick up a bargain and turn a neat profit by selling the house at an inflated price to a Negro desperately in need of housing.

Where white families on a block were slow to panic, some speculators bought homes and moved in low income families, or even several families, on a weekly rental basis. Others persuaded poor Negro families to buy, under a no-down-payment arrangement, houses they could not afford; naturally, they had no money left over for proper maintenance. Meanwhile, advertisements in the real estate sections of the newspapers offered houses in "Ashburton—colored" although the area was still 95 percent white.

"For Sale" signs were much in evidence and a new rumor sprang up every day. Sometimes a "Sold" sign went up on a house speculators had not yet sold, as a method of scaring neighbors into selling. Some brokers were refusing to show property to white buyers.

Then, in 1958, a white public relations man, Ellsworth E. Rosen, who had moved to Ashburton the year before with his wife and two children, decided he was not going to sit by while the speculators wrecked a neighborhood. He and Mrs. Rosen found kindred souls in a young lawyer and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Melvin J. Sykes, who also lived in the area. The four arranged a meeting with some 20 neighbors to discuss their changing area and what they could do to foil the blockbusters. This was the beginning of the reorganized Ashburton Area Association, open to all races. Early in 1958 they mailed invitations to join to the 1,100 households in Ashburton and in short order there were 400 members.

The initial letter, asking for members and contributions, stated: "We welcome all good neighbors, regardless of race, creed or color. But we understand, as we trust everyone will, that experience shows that the key to keeping up the quality of this or any neighborhood is to attract a sufficient number of new white homeowner families."

Next, members of the fledgling organization made a house to house canvass and handed out a brochure telling of the association's aim of stabilizing the area. Later, a flyer containing the names of new white buyers in the area was distributed and residents who had put up a "For Sale" sign were contacted and asked not to discriminate against a prospective white buyer in favor of a Negro buyer. At the same time, residents were warned against dealing with unscrupulous speculators and told of the dollar loss this could entail. Letters were sent to the heads of major industries to ask them to recommend the

Ashburton area to employees. A letter also was sent to the Real Estate Board of Greater Baltimore asking members to show homes in the area to prospective buyers.

Meanwhile, the founders of the organization explained its purposes to newspapers, on radio and television. At the same time, the Ashburton Area Association ran a series of newspaper ads calling attention to the attractions of the area.

Even more importantly, the group set up a series of block by block meetings, with charter members on hand to explain the purposes of the association.

Rosen, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post,* explained how a typical meeting of about 20 men and women in the living room of a block leader's home progressed:

> "If you want to protect your home and your way of life," they were told, "a simple solution lies open to you. You don't have to join the Army and face death on foreign soil. You don't even have to risk bodily injury. All you have to do is to continue living in your own home."
>
> The speaker was a Negro. Intelligent, soft-spoken, articulate, but a Negro, and the only one in the group.
>
> "Don't think you can escape the problem simply by putting your house up for sale and running away," Otho P. Pinkett said. Pinkett lives in Ashburton and manages an 815-unit public housing project in another part of the city. "Times are changing faster than most of us realize. Even if you move far out in the suburbs, I can virtually guarantee that by the time you finish paying off your next mortgage — and it will be a lot higher than the one you have now — you'll face the same situation. There will be Negroes living near you.
>
> "As a matter of fact," he added with a smile, "if this area turns all Negro, I plan to move out to the suburbs with you."
>
> I think Otho Pinkett is right, and so apparently did some of my neighbors by the time that meeting was over. Two families who had indicated they intended to move said they would hold on for the time being . . .
>
> It is shock treatment, as a rule, when a Negro walks into a supposedly all-white meeting — and the shock, in turn, heightens the realization that Mr. Pinkett's sense of values, desires and plans for the community are no different from those of others in the room.

As the block meetings continued, and as residents were armed with facts and figures from studies in other cities which demonstrated that property values had not declined where owners refused to yield to pressures, the panic began to subside. In the first six months of the organization, 15 sales were made to white families and about twice that number to Negroes. Prices, which had dropped alarmingly where residents had succumbed to the rumors of the speculators, were slowly restored to their fair market worth.

The residents began to fight in another way. Working with other like-minded associations, they complained to the Bureau of Building Inspection about illegal "Sold by ....." signs. The city solicitor ruled that a zoning ordinance did bar advertising signs in a residential neighborhood and notices of violations went out. Residents had offered proof that often these "Sold by ....." signs were on houses for several months, while they still were being offered to customers. On one block alone, where 15 of 23 properties had been marked either sold or for sale, only six houses were marked for sale two weeks after the city took action.

Ashburton was not alone in fighting for its area. In nearby Windsor Hills, an older community with a wider variety of size and style among the 600 houses and apartment units, Negroes had begun moving in somewhat earlier. Two years or so after the first Negro family came, another 50 to 60 had followed. During this period, a dormant civic organization, the Windsor Hills Improvement Association, was revived to work for a racially stable neighborhood. From the first, members, Negroes as well as white, felt that under the speculative pressures which existed the association had to work to bring in new white families to the area. When they found that real estate agents were unwilling to recommend Windsor Hills to white buyers, the real estate committee of the association decided it needed a resident agent to promote sales and rentals. A housewife in Windsor Hills passed the real estate board exams and the neighborhood had its own agent. In her first three years, she sold 25 homes and rented 30 others to white families. Ashburton later followed the Windsor Hills example and backed a resident agent.

During the same period, Negroes were moving into other neighborhoods and several of these also set up their own associations.

As members of these groups became more engrossed, and more knowledgeable, in the problems and opportunities of interracial housing in established neighborhoods, they decided a greater cooperative effort was needed. They felt that the basic problems of attitude among real estate brokers, banks, mortgage lenders, and potential white buyers called for an educational job beyond the scope of the individual neighborhood groups.

The neighborhood organizations solicited the aid of the Citizens Planning and Housing Association, the Baltimore Urban League, and the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations. This larger body decided in turn that a successful program had to have the backing of business leaders.

The logical group to approach was the Greater Baltimore Committee. The GBC was made up of some 100 of the liveliest and most forceful businessmen and financiers in the city. They were then spending a tremendous amount of effort on an imaginative $127 million redevelopment project, Charles Center, in the downtown area. Some in the neighborhood groups felt the approach to the GBC was hopeless, that these hardheaded businessmen would have neither the time nor the inclination to help. Nevertheless, the GBC was asked for help. The civic groups argued that the downtown renewal project and the new Civic Center would be jeopardized if ringed by miles of ghetto neighborhoods. They pointed out this would be inevitable if efforts were not made to help residents move into every section of the metropolitan area. They stressed the need for the tax money of higher income families to support downtown rehabilitation and the important role attractive, stable neighborhoods could play in keeping these families in the city.

The GBC was asked to support the opening up of additional new and old housing to Negro citizens, to stimulate public awareness of practices that cause disorderly change and to enlist the cooperation of real estate interests in the preservation of the city.

The Committee met in September, 1958, to consider the call for support. To the surprise of the skeptics, a report was adopted that recognized the serious economic consequences of disorderly neighborhood change and directed its Urban Renewal Subcommittee to make a thorough study of the problem and recommend "what role, if any, the Greater Baltimore Committee should play in solving the problems of changing neighborhoods." Subsequently, the words "if any" were dropped from the charge and the membership recommended that a city-wide agency be formed in which the Committee would participate.

Once committed, the GBC moved fast. Within two months a conference of business and community leaders was called. Real estate representatives, lawyers, bankers, city planners, educators, members of neighborhood associations, and city government officials held panel discussions on blockbusting, new housing for Negroes, and improvement of older houses.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the conference chairman, James W. Rouse, mortgage banker and urban renewal expert, said:

"We find that the rapid conversion of neighborhoods from all white to all Negro occupancy presents Baltimore with one of its most serious economic crises in recent years. The flight of the medium and upper income families from the city limits and their replacement by persons of both races of the lowest income levels is a threat not only to our municipal solvency but to the economic stability of the entire metropolitan area. It is therefore recommended that there be formed a city-wide organization composed of representatives of civic and labor organizations, improvement associations, the Real Estate Board of Greater Baltimore, the Greater Baltimore Committee, the Association of Commerce, the homebuilders, and the city and state governments. During the preliminary stages and until the city-wide group is well established, the Greater Baltimore Committee will provide clerical and professional staff assistance."

BNI Formation

In March, 1959, this city-wide organization GBC recommended came into being when by-laws and articles of incorporation were approved for Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc. (BNI). Original members included the Greater Baltimore Committee, the neighborhood associations which had started the movement, several civic and religious groups, and interested individuals.

The early work of BNI emphasized community education and the organization of additional neighborhood groups to promote the concept, and feasibility, of racially stabilized neighborhoods. A tangible note of success came in 1960 when BNI drafted and was instrumental in securing passage of an anti-blockbusting ordinance. This made it unlawful for any salesman or real estate firm to misrepresent facts concerning present or future occupancy, or the value of property.

In 1961 BNI took two steps which set it on the course followed today. Directors decided that a program of neighborhood stabilization could not in itself achieve BNI objectives and so a second goal was set: expansion of housing opportunities for Negroes throughout the metropolitan area. Secondly, BNI hired a full-time professional executive director, Edward L. Holmgren, a University of Chicago graduate in political science, who had worked with the Chicago Housing Authority, American Friends, and Urban League.

BNI also received a financial boost in setting up an expanded program when two foundations, Taconic and Field, each gave $11,500 in 1961 and again in the following year. The first issue of a BNI newsletter claimed it was "the only foundation-supported agency in the nation seeking a comprehensive solution to an urban dilemma — preventing the city from becoming an all-Negro ghetto while at the

same time promoting equal housing opportunities for all people, regardless of race."

Since his appointment, Holmgren has had a staff aide, a secretary, and at other times an intern provided under another grant program, plus volunteer workers.

A measure of the acceptance of BNI's efforts in behalf of the entire community is the $10,000 grant from the city government both in 1965 and 1966. BNI's 1966 budget was $45,000, about one-fourth contributed by local business interests, another one-fourth by foundations, and the rest by the city, church, and civic groups and individuals.

BNI Activities

BNI operates in some ways as does the housing division of a city human relations commission. It is a catalyst, an educator, and mediator in any activity which touches on the vital issue of housing for all citizens.

From its inception, BNI has offered a variety of services to neighborhood stabilization groups. Staff members are available for consultation and they also have prepared a series of useful guidelines. One of these outlines suggestions for setting up neighborhood meetings, dealing with practical matters such as the size of the group convened, where it should be held, what should be stressed. Another more detailed guide includes factual answers for the most likely questions on such matters as property values and schools. Others tell how to handle brokers using pressure tactics, how to decide whether you can afford to buy a house, and what neighborhood services are available from the city.

BNI draws on the experience of other cities and various housing studies but interprets these in local terms. In the format for fair housing meetings in the home, for example, there is a suggested answer to the inevitable question about what happens to property values when a Negro family moves in.

Studies are cited which show that experience has proved that property values do not drop, unless white residents flood the market with more homes than the market can absorb. Then, the brochure continues:

"Since Baltimoreans are inclined to be skeptical as to whether developments in other communities have any bearing on their local scene, we will do well to examine some Baltimore facts and figures.

"In 1956 a study was made of four blocks of Longwood Street

in the City. The sale prices to Negroes from 1953 to 1955 (when all but a few homes passed from white to Negro occupancy) was compared with the sale prices of the same houses when sold to whites between 1947 and 1953. Price data was obtained on 31 of the 40 homes in the 2500, 2600 and 2700 blocks of Longwood. In the 2500 block the average price increase was $2,700 including ground, in the 2600 block about $3,500 and in the 2700 block about $2,900. The range of prices to the Negro purchasers was $11,500 to $17,500.

"A later study of property values (1960), in which more than 22,800 residential sales in Baltimore were analyzed, concludes that 'property values do not invariably decline when Negroes are admitted to occupancy in previously restricted neighborhoods.' There was a tendency for homes under 50 years of age to increase in value when subject to open occupancy."

Directors of BNI appointed a Research Advisory Committee four years ago and this has provided other such facts.

BNI is interested in any movement in the metropolitan area which promises an expanded market for Negroes and often is consulted in surrounding jurisdictions. When a Baltimore Colt football player moved into a Baltimore County development a few "For Sale" signs went up. Thanks to intelligent dissuasion by a leading real estate broker and a series of neighborhood meetings conducted by BNI, most of the homeowners decided to stay.

A more serious situation developed four years ago when a Negro couple and their three young children moved into a suburb in adjacent Anne Arundel County. First, a pump was tampered with and the basement flooded even before the family moved in; the owner notified police. Then, in quick succession, a rock was hurled through a window the night the family moved in and the next night a steel tipped arrow was shot into the house, while later an oil-filled bottle was tossed on the front steps.

The husband, who had hoped to cope on his own, then called the president of the county chapter of the NAACP to ask how his family could obtain better police protection. As soon as they learned of the situation, the executive director of Baltimore Fellowship, Holmgren of BNI, and members of the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems joined the NAACP in consulting police and in taking turns visiting the persecuted family every evening. Meanwhile, clergy and others in the community were called on to help the family and to try to calm the neighborhood. Gradually, the community began to accept its new neighbors.

For the most part, panic has been minimal in the communities in both Baltimore and the surrounding counties where Negroes have

moved for the first time. In only one instance was a Negro family forced to move out because of violence.

The first Negroes now have moved into more than a dozen Baltimore suburbs.

Real Estate Industry

One of BNI's primary objectives is a single real estate market where every potential homeowner is treated alike, and has access to any area he chooses and can afford. This calls for the cooperation of the real estate and housing industries.

After a year of negotiation, BNI and the Greater Baltimore Committee four years ago won an agreement from the Real Estate Board to make a concerted effort to get members to drop racial designations in classified real estate advertising. Following this, local newspapers, at the request of the Real Estate Board, stopped accepting such advertising sales. Incongruously, racial designations remained in use in rental advertisements.

At the same time, the Real Estate Board asked members to refrain from dropping listings on properties when the racial character of a neighborhood began to change but instead to "extend every effort to obtain a buyer regardless of race, creed, or national origin."

Following this action, William Wilson, past president of the Real Estate Board, wrote BNI's president: "The experience and aid of your Ed Holmgren and your organization have been invaluable to me in developing a better understanding of this most difficult and sensitive metropolitan problem . . ."

In 1963 the Board sent a letter to all newly licensed real estate brokers, soliciting membership. Probably to the surprise of some long time members, there were a few applications from Negroes. After a little low-key prodding from one or two members, the Board took in six Negro brokers at one time. Today, the Board's multiple listing bureau has a Negro on the Board of Directors.

Several members of the Real Estate Board have served as directors and on the Advisory Board of BNI. In 1964 the Board became an organizational member of BNI.

However, the same year, when a committee appointed by the City Council recommended legislative action to outlaw housing discrimination the Real Estate Board was opposed. The next year it moved in the other direction and BNI could note, "The Real Estate Board of Baltimore became the nation's first real estate board to request the expansion of the Presidential Executive Order #11063 to

prohibit discrimination in the sale of most new housing." Specifically, the Board asked the President to extend an earlier order on open occupancy, which applied to federally insured mortgages, to all new housing financed with mortgages held by federally insured banks and savings and loan institutions.

But then early in 1966 a spokesman for the Board appeared at a state legislative hearing in Annapolis to oppose a pending open occupancy law. The Baltimore *Sunday Sun* commented editorially, "Last year's step forward has become a march to the rear."

Nevertheless, the Board amended its by-laws this year to require realtors to show houses to Negro buyers and renters when the original contract with an owner specifies open occupancy.

BNI offers a real estate referral service designed to encourage and assist white buyers to purchase homes in racially mixed neighborhoods and to help Negro families find homes outside the customary ghettos. BNI notes that more brokers will now handle such sales.

City Government

As 1966 closed, proponents of a fair housing ordinance for Baltimore had not succeeded, despite the backing of Mayor Theodore McKeldin and City Council President Thomas D'Alesandro III. In 1964 a nine-member Baltimore City Housing Advisory Commission was appointed. It found clear discrimination in the sale and rental of housing to Negroes and recommended an open occupancy law. Property owners, and not the real estate interests, bore the major blame for discrimination. The City Council passed a civil rights ordinance, but rejected the open housing section.

This year, another try was made. The City Council held a hearing on a fair housing proposal and 2,000 attended a hotly divided meeting. Lawrence Cardinal Shehan appeared to give a strong endorsement to the measure, which was of particular significance since an estimated 45 percent of Baltimore citizens are Roman Catholic. About one-third of those present booed the Cardinal.

The area Episcopal and Methodist bishops spoke in favor of the bill also, as did a rabbi, the president of the Maryland Council of Churches and the president of the Baltimore Jewish Council. James W. Rouse, chairman of the Greater Baltimore Committee, said that GBC, which previously opposed such legislation, now gave it strong backing on both economic and moral grounds.

Despite such endorsements, the Council killed the bill 13-8.

Housing Conference

Two years ago, BNI asked the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing to hold a meeting in Baltimore on stabilization of racially changing neighborhoods and the need for enlargement of housing opportunities for minorities. The Committee agreed and the third such meeting in the nation was held in Baltimore. BNI's board and staff did a major proportion of the program planning.

Over 600 representatives of industry, labor, banking, religions, civil rights groups, housing, and educators took part in four workshops at an all day session. As a result of the conference and the resulting publicity, a broad segment of the community was made more aware of the urgent need to improve housing opportunities for minorities. The consensus of the workshops was that residents of every section of the Baltimore metropolitan area would suffer if the trend toward the extension of the existing ghetto in the central city and the formation of new ghettos ringed by white suburbia were not halted.

A housing developer and former president of the Home Builders Association told the conference that an all inclusive federal fair housing law was the only practical solution to the growing economic problem of housing discrimination.

Plus and Minus

Where does Baltimore stand today? On the negative side, it still is not covered either by local or state fair housing legislation. The much talked of white backlash appeared in its most virulent form in the 1966 gubernatorial election. However, the candidate who campaigned on the single issue "your home is your castle — protect it" was defeated.

The 35 percent Negro population of Baltimore in 1960 is now about 42 percent and is expected to reach 47 percent in 1970. The Research Advisory Committee of BNI estimates that in the five years, 1966 through 1970, the Negro housing market in Baltimore will require an average of 4,000 additional units a year, or 20,000 units. Demands will stem from new Negro household formations and, to a lesser extent, from demolitions resulting from highway construction and renewal programs, and the hopeless deterioration of sub-standard housing.

As recently as 1962 there was practically no new housing available to Negroes but in the past few years some new middle income housing has been opened to them. This year an estimated 500 new

private housing and apartment units will be available to Negro families.

Clearly, the demand will have to be met in large part by an extension of Negro housing in racially changing areas or by greater availability of housing beyond the city limits. Currently, only about one percent of the Negro population is moving to surrounding counties.

There has been a slight change in the "whites only" policy of major apartment owners but this is a problem of continuing concern to BNI.

The housing problem is very closely tied to public schools, which today have a 75 percent nonwhite enrollment. Two weeks after the Supreme Court ruled in the school desegregation cases in 1954 the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners declared the city would henceforth have a desegregated school system. Pupils were given the right to transfer to schools of their choice. However, the plan was better on paper than in practice and change was minimal. The city has a new school superintendent now who seems determined to find answers to the problems of de facto segregation and the quality of education offered in all schools.

On the neighborhood level, a good deal remains to be done. One all white community in the northern part of the city reacted to word of the first Negro purchase there by banding together to collect money to buy the house and then persuading the Negro family to sell. The community purchase was made in the face of BNI warnings that residents would be left open to a kind of blackmail by any opportunist who threatened to sell to Negroes in order to force the community to take a house off his hands. Recently, some change of attitude there was noted. One group of citizens began working to set up a stabilization program and neighborhood religious bodies, silent before, backed this move.

On the positive side, at least 10 associations are working to promote stable, interracial neighborhoods. Some have a scattering of Negro families while other neighborhoods are from 40 to 70 percent Negro.

Ashburton and Windsor Hills are now each one-third white. Another area, Forrest Park, which began changing racially about the same time, had no organization working for stabilization and is today almost entirely Negro. Windsor Hills has upgraded its zoning requirements and the Improvement Association has decided the community has reached the point where it is no longer necessary to put major emphasis on a program to attract white buyers. Instead, the

emphasis is now on making Windsor Hills a model integrated community.

Advice

The office of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., is located at One Charles Center, on the eleventh floor of the tall new building which is a focal point of the downtown renewal area. Nearby, in the same building, are the offices of the Greater Baltimore Committee, which extends the use of its conference room and other facilities to BNI. The location is appropriate for BNI, in the center of new Baltimore, next door to community leaders. The view through floor to ceiling windows is of two luxury apartments going up across the street and, in the distance, of neighborhoods both segregated and changing. The suburbs are just out of sight.

In his office here, BNI Director Holmgren was asked what observations and advice he could give other neighborhood groups and cities, based on the Baltimore experience.

First, he emphasized, central city neighborhood stabilization programs must be tied to a metropolitan program to achieve open housing. Without this effort beyond city boundaries, a stabilization program will in the long run be only a delaying action, because of the urgent need for decent Negro housing. Cities, counties, states, and the federal government must pass fair housing laws for ultimate success of the open occupancy concept.

The active support of community leaders is important. Business, government, real estate, labor, banking, and church groups must be persuaded of the need for positive steps to solve housing problems.

Neighborhood groups working to stabilize their communities, Holmgren added, must see that city services are maintained, zoning laws observed, and property maintained in conformance with city codes.

Every effort must be made to improve local schools, for the school situation, Holmgren is convinced, is the "single most tender spot in any community."

In most instances, neighborhood meetings on racial changes should focus on economics, rather than the morals of the situation. Have some hard facts to counter emotion and prejudice.

Asked whether the Baltimore stabilization groups might function more effectively if several smaller ones would join forces in order to finance a paid staff member, Holmgren said yes. He agreed that it is difficult for a voluntary group to sustain the original

momentum and for busy homeowners to find the necessary time to coordinate and direct continuing programs.

Some civil rights militants criticize BNI for its middle class orientation, Holmgren said, and added, "They're right, we are geared to the middle classes; so is practically every fair housing group in the country." It was obvious Holmgren felt all such groups, BNI included, must broaden their programs to include measures for helping low income groups.

The Future

Communities which are presently all white will be much better prepared to accept the inevitable appearance of a Negro family if they begin preparations now, Holmgren emphasized. This message, counseling calm acceptance of change, is one of the most vital BNI has communicated to an increasing number of citizens, for, as Mayor McKeldin has commented:

"The principle of equal opportunity in housing will eventually succeed — the only question is how soon, and with how little panic and ill-will. The answer lies, more surely than anywhere else, with the wide range of private individuals and groups throughout our entire Baltimore urban area who care enough to work hard for equality of housing opportunity in their own neighborhoods."

CONCLUSIONS

Citizens working to make their neighborhood racially stable sooner or later have to consider three fundamental questions: Why are we trying to attract white families to our area? Doesn't this imply that they are somehow superior? Isn't this a gratuitous insult to Negro families?

White and Negro homeowners have to discuss these questions freely, if they are to work together. This is not always easy, for years of segregation have left each race distrustful and ignorant of the other.

Negroes in integrated neighborhoods know there is nothing particularly desirable about a white neighbor per se. They may even feel guilty about trying to get more white families into the area, when Negroes need these houses, too. However, they also know that white citizens still control the government, big business, the school boards. Because of this they know from experience that all Negro neighborhoods are apt to suffer from a dearth of money for schools, parks, city services.

Once the conversational barriers are down this can be discussed dispassionately and a clear understanding reached that no one believes there is anything especially superior about a white family or inferior about a Negro family. A neighborhood can be all white, all Negro, or any racial mixture in between and still be a desirable place to live.

The next step is to agree that this particular group likes its neighborhood, and that one of the chief reasons is the fact that it is "inclusive" rather than "exclusive." Once all agree that they prefer living in a diversified setting, where they and their children will know others of different races, creeds, and backgrounds, the question becomes one of keeping it that way.

This is one reason for making a special effort to attract new white families to the neighborhood. An unfortunate comment upon our society is that no special effort has to be made to attract Negro families to a central city neighborhood because their need for housing is so great.

After this delicate, but basic, issue is faced, white and Negro citizens can work together to make theirs an integrated neighborhood. Discussions then can center on method.

First, any group will have to concern itself with a fairly large area; a few city blocks cannot be stabilized. Also, as soon as finan-

cially feasible, a group will be better off if it can employ a coordinator or executive secretary to maintain momentum and direction.

Block meetings are important in the early stages of a changing neighborhood but there must be at least one person present who will be armed with facts about property values and speculators.

Very early, special efforts must be made to cope with school problems; parents can provide supplemental books and services, badger education boards for more money and better facilities.

As soon as possible the group must begin to promote a sense of community, emphasizing features which make the neighborhood worth saving and improving. Persons of outstanding stature should be involved in the work. Functions which add a note of prestige also are useful. Some form of newsletter to keep members informed and to counter rumors is essential.

Then other committees can be formed to see that zoning codes are enforced, sanitation laws observed, and city services maintained and improved where needed. This does not imply that interracial neighborhoods have any special reason to fear deterioration or code violations. All good neighborhood associations need such committees.

Eventually, all associations will want to become involved in the housing problems of the entire metropolitan area and to cooperate with other organizations in promoting a real estate market open to all on an equal basis.

Once the market has opened up, neighborhood associations may want to work on programs to encourage Negroes to move into new areas. Almost every metropolitan area has suburbs where white homeowners have indicated they would welcome Negro neighbors, but who have become discouraged because they could find none willing to move in. Perhaps a neighborhood association could sponsor a series of meetings between white suburbanites and Negro city dwellers to help each side understand why this is so.

The year 1966 unfortunately provided ample evidence that this nation is not yet firmly committed to fair and open housing despite the fact that every court decision and every piece of legislation dealing with race for the past 20 years has moved us step-by-step closer to a policy of racial justice. We stand now at a point of great decision that could have far-reaching results for many years to come.

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"WHAT HAPPENED AFTER YOU DESEGREGATED THE WHITE SCHOOL?"

BY MARK CHESLER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W., ATLANTA, GA.

"WHAT HAPPENED AFTER YOU DESEGREGATED THE WHITE SCHOOL?"

BY MARK CHESLER

Mark Chesler is Project Director for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, the University of Michigan. The recordings upon which he bases his analysis here were made while he was a visiting instructor at Tuskegee Institute in 1966. This analysis together with transcripts of four separate taped interview sessions of Negro students talking about their experiences in desegregated schools will be published shortly by the Southern Regional Council under the title IN THEIR OWN WORDS.

——Every time I get talking about my experience at the white school something happens to me. I can't really express myself and I can't really tell what happens. It's like I was kind of in a trance; I was just walking around from day to day and doing what I thought I was supposed to do and trying not to do what I wasn't supposed to do.

——Sometimes you can say things here and you don't mean it to be a particular insult, but you don't want to step on anybody's toes, so you just have to be careful of what you say and how you say it.

These comments reflect some Negro students' reactions to their experiences in newly desegregated white schools in the Deep South. It is clear that placing Negro youngsters into "white" schools is only the first—and in many ways the easiest—phase of the school desegregation process. In many cases real discomfort, overt discrimination, intimidation and insight begin only when young Negroes enter southern white schools. Physical proximity in the classroom sets the stage for young people of both races to cut through or restore myths, to learn about or hide from each other, to cooperate in friendship or separate in hostility. The hope that social interaction leads to growth is dependent upon the youngsters, their teachers, principals and communities.

This report records the comments of 20 Negro teenagers who were among the first members of their race to attend previously all-white public schools in the Deep South. These youngsters and their experiences are not necessarily typical of

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the South and the desegregation process. They live in three small rural communities in the black belt South; the most hard core areas of white resistance.[1] Several hours of tape recorded conversation have been abstracted with brief comments, and these direct words of Negro youngsters highlight some of the problems beyond desegregation—beyond the physical introduction of Negro students into previously all-white schools.

Several major themes stand out in these students' reflections and responses to our questions. The character of their teachers and principals seems to be the most important element in their early adjustment to the white school, and vice versa. The reactions of white peers, and the lack of development of positive relations across racial lines, seems to be a most pervasive issue in these rural communities. It is through experiences with their young white classmates that Negro students have now learned some of the practical realities of interracial harmony, trust and progress. Then, too, these youngsters had to deal with their "back-home" relations, with the Negro community's reaction to such pioneering efforts. These seem to be some of the most critical general issues documented by Negro "desegregators," and it is their feelings and perceptions about the school desegregation process, told in their own words, to which we turn for information.

The school staff

The adult whites with whom these Negro students had the greatest degree of contact were their teachers. More than police, vigilantes or roughnecks, who did call upon some of these youngsters, teachers met with them daily in relatively peaceful circumstances. As adult authority, as knowledge transmitter, as arbiter of classroom process, and as legitimate cultural representative, the teacher is in a position of considerable power and influence. He can encourage classroom norms of openness or resistance, of collaboration or isolation. In many ways the white teacher acts as a role model, often emulated by white students. How was this complex and influential role handled?

Teachers apparently defined their goals and designed their classroom approaches in a variety of ways. In some cases it appeared that teachers almost deliberately misunderstood or underestimated the potential problems facing youngsters attempting to bridge the cultural gap between the races.

> ——We were not accustomed to saying "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" and she wouldn't realize that we couldn't do it overnight. If we made one mistake in English and said "yeah," she would write on a little piece of paper and say, "I am going to have you all put out of school for insubordination." It seemed as if all she did the whole time was to just wait for us to say "yes" so she could make a big thing out of it. It seems like if you say "yes" one time, she won't miss it. She will ask you right away, "What's that you say?" She will ask you questions to try to make you say "yes ma'am." She got fed up at me because I got tired of her trying to make me say "yes ma'am" and I started saying, "I think so," or "I don't really think so," or something like

[1]A more representative interview study of several hundred such youngsters, their families, and a control sample of non-desegregating Negroes is currently in progress.

that just to keep from saying "ma'am," because I figured she was doing it on purpose.

——I felt at first that they would expect us to say "yassum" and "noum." It was the idea that I just didn't want to say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to a white woman. I found that this was the way they expected any of their students to address them.

——One teacher, he felt that we were just trying to start things. But we were just trying to get things straight. We ended up arguing most of the time instead of getting much done. It was kind of difficult.

——I forgot I was supposed to say "yes ma'am" to her and was saying "yeah, sure," and so on. She said, "Have you forgotten about saying "yes ma'am?" I said, "No, ma'am, I haven't." She said, "Now let's not forget that." She works around to try to get the opinion of most of the Negroes concerning race. Then she will tell you her opinion and ask you whether you shouldn't feel the same way. Most of the time you don't.

In a number of classrooms, however, it became more apparent that misunderstanding could not possibly be the case. There are many examples where teachers were perceived as abdicating part of their impartial classroom management role, deliberately colluding with white students in isolating or pressuring Negro youngsters, or sometimes taking the lead in such discriminatory treatment.

——Some of the teachers will try to be funny. When they get to a word like Negro, they call it Nigger or else try to make fun.

——When we got in there they started throwing rocks and crayons at us. I told the teacher and she went back there, and they all started laughing, and she was laughing with them. And then they went outside and they brought more rocks and they started throwing them.

——Our home economics teacher would have the new machines on one side of the room and the old on the other side, and would put us into groups to let us use the old machines and the white girls use the new ones. And in cooking she would always give out the recipes and stuff and we would always get the small amount. And she would separate us into three groups so that the three Negro girls were in the same group together.

——I had this teacher who divided the class up into groups. The Negroes sit on one side and the white students sit on the other side. She would teach the Negroes like on one half of the class and then she would go over to the white kids. If we came to anything about communism or something relating to civil rights, she would bring up King's name and say something like, "In a little time our freedom will be gone." Their freedom, the whites. She feels that just because she is a teacher she can talk about anything.

——In history class it was very bad. There were always conversations going on between the teacher and the students about the Governor and integration

and the President and the federal government and all such as that. They were talking against the federal government because the government was for integration and like they were talking against integration because they don't see any sense to it. And the teacher was always saying some kind of wise crack just to hurt your feelings and like that. He was always praising the Governor. The students acted the same as the teacher did in their class, you know, there was always something that they could say and try and hurt my feelings.

——My history teacher would call on me to read mostly all the time, and because I couldn't read very well the children would laugh. The teacher would go out of the class almost every day so the kids could call on me and have fun on me. Every time I would call on someone to read the class would laugh. One of the other problems was my English teacher; he would make jokes up about me and some of the other Negro students said that he made jokes up about them.

——Our teacher was always calling on us when we wouldn't have our hands up, and when we did have our hands up she wouldn't call on us; when we'd take them down that's when she would call on us. And then one morning in our first period class, my friend was at his desk, and she called him up in front of the class, trying to embarrass him. He had soap on his face that couldn't come off good and she told him that he had soap on his face and that he hadn't washed his face. Well, they'd make remarks about him and laugh at him.

——If I had a test or something, six-week test or something like that, she would get some of the dumbest children to grade my paper and they would put anything down. And when the children made a mistake she said that she couldn't do anything about it, so I just left them alone until the next day. They kept giving me F's on my paper when I made a B or something like that.

When these youngsters were asked to compare their white teachers with the Negro teachers they knew, there was considerable variation in reactions. Some felt the white teachers were intellectually superior, some not; some felt the white teachers were superior managers, some not. But almost all felt there were important differences, especially in the fairness of the teachers to them.

——The Negro college is not a very good school for teachers. The white teachers have more opportunities and have more challenge than the teachers in the Negro college could have. And the school of the teacher makes a lot of difference.

——I gather that the teachers at the Negro school are more experienced but they are not up to date. Two or three years ago, when they were in college they were, but now there are new techniques. Most of the teachers at the white school, well, they are fresh out of college and they know more and learn more by the modern way. Whereas, the teachers at the Negro school are sort of . . . like, old fashioned. The teachers there have been out of school for quite some time. Some of them don't bother about going back. Here you can learn more because in the classroom you can get more over to the students

when you can teach them individually. So therefore, well, both teachers have faults. One such as inexperience and the other who didn't know much about the modern way of work. But basically both teachers are trying to help.

——They're not teaching a lot of the time. They're often doing their monthly report instead of teaching us. And as far as incidents are concerned here, if something happens in the classroom most of the time it goes unnoticed unless the white students get the worse end of it. But at the old school incidents are always given the best consideration and both parties usually go to the office and get it settled. But the teachers at the white school see it different, and only the Negroes go to the office if the white person gets hurt bad enough to report it.

——I think the teachers at the new school are worse than the ones at the Negro school because they don't give you exactly what you make. At the Negro school they don't give you exactly what you make either, but they're worse here. If you make a good grade they'll give you a bad grade and if you make a bad grade then they still give it to you. But they also make it lower and they don't treat you equally. When something happens they put it all on us and they don't do anything about it. They do stay in their room longer but when something happens they still don't know about it because they don't try to find out about anything. At the old school the teachers stayed out of the room more, but still if you tell them about something they do something about it. But here they just don't treat us equally because we are Negroes and the other children are white.

In addition to the direct influence of the teachers, the school principal was often singled out for attention. More than the teachers, the southern principal is in a particularly vulnerable role vis-a-vis the school staff and the local community. In order to maintain an orderly school system he may have to defend racial desegregation against considerable white and perhaps even Negro resistance. If he disapproves strongly, he must try to resist desegregation without openly threatening or obviously endangering the lives of Negro and white youngsters. These role demands must be met regardless of his views; and when the system changes he must still represent it or resign. Furthermore, he must keep his teaching staff in relatively good order and humor, and support their efforts as far as he can without causing direct harm to youngsters of either race. In these turbulent situations he also has some special direct responsibility for creating a school atmosphere that either supports or denies standards of fair play, justice and peace. How were principals seen to perform these various and stressful roles?

Often these Negro youngsters showed remarkable acuity and insight into the principal's behavior and role conflict; at times they manifested criticism and impatience. When helpful things were done, they were often noted and appreciated; and when harmful or unhelpful stances were taken they were decried. Consider:

——The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have any friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.

——I also heard that all the children had to do was get used to you and they would get better, but toward the end of the school term instead of getting better they was getting worse. I would say that the reason for this was because at the beginning of the school term the principal was really rough and tight on them, but he begun to slack up on them and they began to get like they were the year before.

——I went and reported it to the principal and he said, like the Governor said a long time ago, "Do it like you do it with mud, you let it dry and it will shake off better." He always had some slogan like that to say in every situation.

——[These two girls] came into the bathroom and said, "Two of the Negroes in the hall were trying to fight and we told the principal about it but you know he didn't do anything about it, because they are privileged characters. I don't care if I could paint my face black so I could be a privileged character too." Then they started talking: "You know we'll be going to the Negro schools this year" and the other girl said, "Yeah and I'm going to get myself one of those Negro boyfriends, too." They didn't know I was there.

——See, if something happened during the school hour a group of them would go to the office and tell him something, tell something was stolen and try to trip us all up. He didn't know what to believe most times so he just never paid any attention.

——The principal got a refrigerator and put it in there for us. He went and got drinks for us also. He would ask us in the morning what we would like to have and would go out of his way to get it for us. He was pretty nice.

——It's tough on the principal, although I really can't say why I think that. The girl cheerleaders say that the only thing he thinks about is sex going on in the school, but he hasn't said anything to me about that. I can't see he does that. They say that he's mean and forces things on them they don't want to do. Maybe we think differently because he does the things I want him to do and not what they want him to do. They want to get rid of him and talk about it a lot.

——The atmosphere this year is very different from last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another.

Relations with white classmates

In addition to the classroom and building management personnel, the new Negro student learned from his constant interaction with white peers in the classroom. Educational research has demonstrated how important peer influences and associations are for student learning, and recent laboratory research has emphasized

some of the important threat and reward influences of white peers upon Negro youngsters' learning performance. But academic lessons are only one part of the total learning that goes on in the classroom. What do Negro youngsters learn about their white peers; what do they learn about their friendship, their fears, their abilities and their potential for working together?

First, let us examine views of the way white students received and interacted with their new Negro classmates; and the ways these young Negroes felt about these reactions.

——[Kids with] real BB guns would stand around the bus and aim at us and threaten us. Boys would ride around on motorcycles and throw rocks at us from the outside. The elementary kids would throw rotten eggs at us. The police would ignore them.

——You also get used to things written on the bathroom walls, a lot of stuff. But this is something you have to take. When you come to think about it, when kids call you a name you laugh and joke it off. When you get down there, it's a little different because it's white people.

——Really, I didn't know how I would take being called a Nigger because I had never been called a Nigger before. I just didn't know how I would take it. I couldn't tell anybody I wouldn't hit anybody when they called me Nigger. But after I got over there and had been called a Nigger about a thousand times during the first six-week period I'd feel a burning inside, and after the third six-week period I'd get over this burning inside, but really a Nigger still seems kind of like insulting to me.

——Sometimes we be going down the hall and if any of the white students was standing in the hall and they see us coming they say here come a black Nigger, you better stand back, or something. They would get back up against the wall. In the morning sometime we'd be standing by our locker and they would get off the bus and come in and try to walk close up by the wall or something pretending that they didn't want to get close to touch us or anything.

——For the most part those children over there want to be friendly, some of them do, but their parents tell them what to do and what not to do and all. You can tell that some of them want to say something to you but they are scared that if they say something to you then the other one is going to call them Nigger lover and all that kind of junk. They just go back and tell 'em and so they just don't want to get involved.

——I found myself not acting myself. They expected a whole lot out of me. They expected me to be different. I had to go along with their crude jokes. They were no good but I laughed anyway. They would run things in the ground but I would keep laughing. Lately I have decided that I really shouldn't try to act different from what I really am. I have decided that I don't have to prove anything to anybody. I lost a few friends by doing that but I've gotten fed up with it. When I first came into the situation I wanted to be friendly. I guess anybody wants to be friends with everybody. We got along okay. We joked about the white and Negro relationship. This was good and okay, but I just got tired of it.

——After you go back and look at both sides of the story, you can't blame them really because after all you don't want people to say, "Oh no, I am scared to touch her because her black might rub off on me." If you were in their situation, you might feel the same way. You have to understand that they're not going to fall in love with you overnight. Nobody likes for his friends to turn their backs on him and laugh at him and all of that. More than likely that would be what would happen.

——And when we'd be in Physical Education class the coach wouldn't be there, he had boys lead the class. We would be playing football. Every day they'd tell the boys to try to hurt us and knock us down and they would do it. One of them would pretend to act nice and tell them not to do it, but he didn't mean it anyway and this other one would tell them to keep on.

——It turned out with three of the characters that were white in the book being played by three Negro girls. There was a scene in the opening part of the play where we had two uncles and the uncles were white boys. When they came in we were supposed to hug them. When we wrote this script, nobody knew who was going to play who so we wrote it just like it was supposed to be written. When the boys found out that we were supposed to hug them, they weren't happy about it; they were pretty upset. One boy said, "I just can't do that." Well, we laughed about it but they were pretty serious. I kept getting the impression that it was because of what would happen when their friends saw them do this, or when their fathers or their relatives saw them.

——I was kind of shocked when two white boys and myself were backstage in the wings together and one of them had a gun that we were to use in the play. He said, "If I had to shoot all the Negroes in the school, I would shoot you last." I said, "Why?" He said, "I like you because you know how to cope with our white jokes."

——This is the first thing that comes over them, intermarriage. Well, it takes two to marry somebody. Nobody wants to marry them; you just want to be their friends, that's all.

——They have been led to believe that the Negro thinks about one thing, sex.

——No, no, I don't think that. They know that they think about getting married. They are afraid that they may find a Negro that they like, not necessarily that a Negro likes them. Maybe they already got a crush on them. I just believe that they are afraid. If they were not afraid of us, maybe they could stand us a little better. But when you have a guilty conscience yourself, things get down on you a little worse.

These perceptions only begin to hint at the distance that typically separates Negro and white youngsters in many desegregated schools. Negroes report a range of experiences with young whites; from physical violence and threats to name calling, and from joking and teasing to awkward attempts at friendliness. The complicity of teachers in maintaining old patterns is again manifest. In some cases it seems that time and contact have decreased the social distance; in other cases contacts have made Negro youngsters wiser and warier. We were interested in knowing whether Negro students' perceptions of the intelligence and decorum of white youngsters had changed as a result of their contact.

——After I got there I wasn't a bit surprised at the attitude of the students there because it had been said before that these kids are absolutely wild. They wouldn't listen to the principal and wouldn't mind the teachers and I wasn't a bit surprised. I was kind of prepared for some of the incidents that happened.

——Some people think that white people are higher class than Negroes, but from the way the children did behave they are lower class people than the Negro. We went in class one day and everybody sat down and when the teacher went out of the room some of the students had spit in the vacant seats that nobody sits in. And they put chewing gum all over the desks. I mean you didn't find too much chewing gum over at the Negro schools; they threw it out the window or trash can. But over there you find the desk packed with chewing gum and stuff like that.

——Before we started school our principal at the Negro school told us to be quiet on the bus, "You should hear how quiet the white children are on the bus and everything." You can't hear anything on that bus, you know, from the time you get on the bus to when you get off.

——I was really surprised as I went to the white school. They say, "Oh, the Negroes are so dumb," but I really found out that the Negroes are not really dumb at all. If they really had the chance and opportunities they would be a lot smarter than the white children because the white children who went to that school ever since the first grade I had caught up with in the first six weeks I went there. Now I was kind of backward on some subjects, like math, because the only time I took that I was in seventh grade and I had a hard time with math. But in all my other subjects I caught up with most of the white children and passed them in the first six weeks. They really get hot with you when you get ahead of them and I really had lots of trouble with that because I was smarter than most of them, most of the other children in my room, especially in the tenth grade. I don't know about the other grades, but I do feel that the white race is not smarter than the Negro. If the Negro kids had the opportunity and would get down to it and work for it, the Negro race could get up with the white race any time.

——There is just one thing I would like to say. We have a lot of dumb people in our class—you know, dumb, white people. It's true! They want to graduate, but they don't want to do anything.

——Well, before I went to the white school I always did think that the white person was smarter than we are. I used to think that they were just born smarter, just because they were white, but I found out this year that this isn't true. There were a lot of them who had more trouble than I had in getting their lessons and they had been in this school and in this situation, maybe not in the same situation, but they had been around their friends and their teachers for eleven years before then. Some of them couldn't do half as good as I could, and I don't see how some of them even graduated. They failed some subjects and took an extra subject, and make D's in that subject and they still passed. I just don't understand it. I think that maybe the reason we think that we aren't as smart as they are is because they've made us feel like we don't know anything.

——I feel that they made us feel that we don't know anything because they always keep us in jobs like in the kitchen or in the yard or on the farms. They never have made us feel like we should be anything; never made me feel like anything.

It is clear that there have been instances where interracial classroom contact has permitted Negroes to break down some of their traditional myths about the superiority of white people. They now see some of the differences among young whites, and can even account for some of their own prior assumptions. What about the other learnings about white people that have occurred? Does it appear that desegregating classrooms has led to cross-racial friendships? Has it led to greater Negro receptivity to white advances, and vice versa? Has it increased interracial trust?

——I wouldn't invite a white person to my house unless I trusted them a lot because I wouldn't just invite anybody to my house. They could just be setting a trap by setting a bomb in the house or something, but if it was someone that I knew well and trusted a lot, I would.

——Well, I trust white people less, because since I've been around them I am more familiar with them and their ways. The only thing I knew about white people was when they came around they would be friendly and all that. When I started school some of those people who I thought would be friendly looked like they were my worst enemies. Every time they smiled in your face they were just trying to get some information, that's all; and when they get that they are gone and they are just like any other white person. Therefore, I trust them less.

——Like in our class, you see the same people every day and they have gotten used to the fact that they have got to talk to us. We have a nice conversation. We laugh at their jokes and everything and then if you see them on the street, the same person that you have been joking around with all day will look the other way and they won't speak. That kind of thing bothers you. They will talk to you when you are by yourself or with just a few people, but if you are in a group with some of their other friends around, they don't know you at all. That kind of thing makes you distrust their friendship at all.

——Sunday we stopped in at the dairy farm and two of the white boys that went to school last year drove up there and they went in. We were standing up there to the window getting waited on and they looked over and waved to us. That's the way they are when they are out of school; when they are in school they act all different.

——I don't trust white people either because you may think that they are being friendly but come to think of it they are not. In other words, when you get around them they'll be friendly, but if a white person is with me and then we see a group of other white people and they see him with me, they will call him a Nigger lover. So you be thinking that he'd be a friend

and the white people get mad; so he just quit being friends. Sometimes he'd be friendly and sometimes he won't.

——They all seem to be afraid of what someone else might think. They can't seem to think for themselves. They can't even follow their own moral right. They are always afraid of what someone else might think. There are very few incidences of violence, killings, etc., but they are afraid to take me home after practice. They say, "Somebody might shoot me." "Take you home in broad daylight, you must be kidding." Sometimes they will take me home and sometimes they will make up excuses. They are just afraid. They are afraid of nothing; there's nothing to be afraid of. Sometimes I invite them to come over, but they think that the Negroes just hate white people; they think they will come over here and get killed. I try to explain to them that there are so many white people over here now that it's a thing that is accepted. One man is just another man that you pass on the street. They can't seem to understand that. The white people who associate with us here are what they refer to as "Nigger lovers."

——I feel that we have given the wrong impression that our relationship with the white kids at the high school is entirely a hostile one. This is wrong although sometimes we talk that way. We have conversations and all and often the boys talk about girls. But the thing is that sometimes you may say something and you don't know who you can trust, even those who look like they're being sincere. You don't know whether you can trust them or if they'll say something behind your back.

The Negro community

A number of critical issues developed in the Negro communities when youngsters decided to desegregate white schools. Some Negro community leaders feared white retaliation, and some deplored any desegregation efforts at all. Others encouraged these transfers and went out of their way to support them. When young Negro students changed to white schools they often left behind their old school and neighborhood peer groups. Were they able to return? Did old friends still receive them openly? Or did going to a white school mean isolation from friends as well as from traditions of the past? With regard to the Negro communities' reactions:

——In our community all of them were very encouraging. We had been having small mass meetings around our community to try and encourage people to try to enroll students in this school because you could get a better education there. Everyone was very glad that I was chosen to go there and they was trying to encourage me as much as possible to continue.

——Well, the Negro people in my home community didn't seem as if they were at all for it. They would say that we aren't ready to be with the white people yet; "We should stay and try and get ourselves together first before we try and get with somebody else," integrate the Negro first is what they were saying. But here in this town there were a lot of people who gave me a lot of encouragement and the encouragement enabled me to go on and graduate.

——People in my neighborhood didn't like my going to the white school because they said that I was just trying to be popular and the white school wasn't any better than the Negro school. They said that the Negro school was the newest school. They said that our house was going to be burned and the Klu Klux Klan was going to get us and lots of people was going to get killed. They wasn't going and didn't want those people coming in their neighborhood. Our house did get burned, and when it did people said, "That's what I told you was going to happen."

——Well, the colored people in my community, well, some of the colored anyway, the Uncle Toms, would tell me to stay in my place and that they weren't going to sit near us over there and get throwed at and called Nigger.

——The way I see it is that people want things to happen but they are waiting for somebody else to do it. They will not realize that those who do something have to sacrifice. They don't realize that those who first went down had to sacrifice. They didn't have all the opportunities and all the extracurricular activities that the Negro school had, like ball games, etc. Another thing, a lot of kids came up to me and told me they would like to come but they would like to be on the basketball team. But we don't have a football or basketball team. They are just plain scared and they don't want to give up anything.

Friends appeared and disappeared throughout the semester. The crucible of change fragmented many superficial relationships, but it also seemed to anneal and highlight others. Some Negro peers were jealous, others threatened; some were interested and asked what was going on, others projected their fears and attacked. This seemed to be one of the areas of greatest surprise and hurt for the desegregating students.

——And when I'd come home from school the children would come up to me and ask me, "Well, who did you get into a fight with today?" "What white girl did you beat up?" "And who's your white boyfriend?" They never did try to help us; all they did was try to get funny.

——I noticed that some of the kids at the Negro school would say that we were stuck-up. I asked one person why did she think this and she said that because they expect so much out of us, that we are supposed to be smart and have our names on the honor roll and everything. It seems as if they are the first to say you won't speak to them any more. But they won't give you a chance. They turn away or make some snide remark and that discourages you. They say, "You think you are so big or so important that you can't be around your old friends any more."

——It's the same way with some of your friends who go to the Negro school. Some people think that because you want to go to an integrated school that you want to be white. I have heard a lot of people say this. When you get into a discussion with someone who is not going to an integrated school, or a heated argument when they can't think of anything else to say, they are going to bring up, "You think you are so good because you go to an inte-

grated school; you think you are white." I found that you are not going to ever get around this. This is one of the things that you are going to have to accept!

——She told her friend, "Guess what, I am over to the 'big Niggers' house." I was wondering how could she say "big Niggers." Just because I went to the white school didn't mean that we were "big Niggers." She got the impression that we were "big Niggers" and had a lot of money and everything which we don't.

——I didn't really lose any friends. The people who were not my friends but acted close to me soon stopped speaking. This year it was pretty bad during basketball season. A group of girls said that we thought we were white. They said that we come to their basketball games and sit up and try to act intelligent because we thought we were white. It was just that group of people because our friends are still our friends and close friends and they don't think that way.

And what of the future?

In reflecting about their experiences, these youngsters indicate something of what we may expect about the future of change in the South. As classrooms and schools change, other major institutions will be forced to keep pace. In the face of these prospects and current debates over civil rights activity and strategy, it is illuminating to inquire into these youngsters' feelings about the future. It appears that many of these young Negroes will be followed by more of their race in the school desegregation process. What would be likely to happen if more young Negroes joined them?

——To make the school a better place I think it will take courageous Negro students and some large Negro boys that are big and that have a lot of courage, and an integrated faculty, and that's about all I think it would take.

——I think the situation would be better if more Negro students went because a lot of the students just pick on you because they think they can get by with it. I don't think a student would hit a Negro student if he thought somebody was behind him to give him just that much more. He wouldn't do it even if he thought somebody was behind him that would see him and tell the student who it was.

——They would be afraid to bother you if they knew somebody else was with you, if they knew somebody else was with you and on your side and would help you if you needed that help. But like it is now with so many whites, they can just pick on you and there are not enough Negroes to do them enough harm back.

——I wish I was going back; I just want some of them to pick at me like they did last year so I can get them back. When we have about an equal number of students we'll see if we can get in a fight over there. We will have the same number in our color as they got in their color so we probably have

a better chance of fighting. If they're looking for a fight this year then I'm going to fight.

——You have to be in an area where you can be accepted together. It's not like that down here. That's what's wrong, and it'll take time, a long time, to change.

A long, long time indeed. Will we find new means besides getting bigger Negroes and bigger whites? No one knows now, but it is our hope that this sort of constant public examination of the deeds and processes of change may help us learn how to shorten that time, how to make it more peaceful and less painful. Clearly, changes in schools will not come about without change in other social institutions; just as clearly school change sets the pace and tone for community change. One certainty is the need to develop, experiment with, and document new change strategies. We need to develop new support systems in Negro and white communities; new ways of encouraging white and Negro youngsters to face one another squarely and without fear of external sanctions. Youngsters who are willing to reach out to one another must be fortified against the familial and communal pressures that promote separation. We need to find new ways to help the principal deal with changing school-community and teacher-pupil relations. Finally, we need to develop new ways of helping teachers cope with their own ambivalences, with Negro reluctance and white resistance; teachers need new designs to explore the never-never land of social contact between students. The barriers to growth explored in this paper need to be turned into facilitators of justice, peace and progress. The development of such change strategies requires the best minds and bodies of the South and the Nation; it extends the process of change beyond the initial physical desegregation of educational facilities.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

a student appraisal of what happened after school desegregation

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Analysis by MARK A. CHESLER

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PREFACE

This study on the experiences of Negro children in school desegregation in Alabama was conducted by Dr. Mark A. Chesler, Project Director, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

We believe this study has the most serious implications for our hope of the possibilities of one people living together in a democratic society. Certainly, any society which subjects its children to cruelty is in desperate need of taking a new and critical look at itself.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

January, 1967

"What Happened After You Desegregated the White School?"

Everytime I get talking about my experience at the white school something happens to me. I can't really express myself and I can't really tell what happens. It's like I was kind of in a trance, I was just walking around from day to day and doing what I thought I was supposed to do and trying not to do what I wasn't supposed to do.

Sometimes you say things here and you don't mean it to be a particular insult, but you don't want to step on anybody's toes, so you just have to be careful of what you say and how you say it.

THESE COMMENTS REFLECT some Negro students' reactions to their experiences in newly desegregated white schools in the Deep South. It is clear that placing Negro youngsters into "white" schools is only the first—and in many ways the easiest—phase of the school desegregation process. In many cases real discomfort, overt discrimination, intimidation and insight begin only when young Negroes enter southern white schools. Physical proximity in the classroom sets the stage for young people of both races to cut through or restore myths, to learn about or hide from each other, to cooperate in friendship or separate in hostility. The hope that social interaction leads to growth is dependent upon the youngsters, their teachers, principals and communities.

This report records the comments of 20 Negro teenagers who were among the first members of their race to attend previously all-white public schools in the Deep South. These youngsters and their experiences are not necessarily typical of the South and the desegregation process. They live in three small rural communities in the black belt South, the most hard core areas of white resistance.* Several hours of tape recorded conversation have been abstracted with brief comments, and these direct words of Negro youngsters highlight some of the problems beyond desegregation—beyond the physical introduction of Negro students into previously all-white schools.

Several major themes stand out in these students' reflections and responses to our questions. The character of their teachers and principals seems to be the most important element in their early adjustment to the white school, and vice versa. The reactions of white peers and the lack of development of positive relations across racial lines seems to be a most pervasive issue in

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The author is Project Director, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, The University of Michigan. The recordings on which this study is based were made while Dr. Chesler was a Visiting Instructor at Tuskegee Institute, 1966. Appreciation is extended to Eric Krystall, Barbara Oppenheimer, and Marvin Burns for assistance in their collection and to Franklin Neff for critical comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

*A more representative interview study of several hundred such youngsters, their families, and a control sample of non-desegregating Negroes is currently in progress.

these rural communities. It is through experiences with their young white classmates that Negro students have now learned some of the practical realities of interracial harmony, trust and progress. Then, too, these youngsters had to deal with their "back-home" relations, with the Negro community's reaction to such pioneering efforts. These seem to be some of the most critical general issues documented by Negro "desegregators," and it is their feelings and perceptions about the school desegregation process, told in their own words, to which we turn for information.

The school staff

The adult whites with whom these Negro students had the greatest degree of contact were their teachers. More than police, vigilantes or roughnecks, who did call upon some of these youngsters, teachers met with them daily in relatively peaceful circumstances. As adult authority, as knowledge transmitter, as arbiter of classroom process, and as legitimate cultural representative, the teacher is in a position of considerable power and influence. He can encourage classroom norms of openness or resistance, of collaboration or isolation. In many ways the white teacher acts as a role model, often emulated by white students. How was this complex and influential role handled?

Teachers apparently defined their goals and designed their classroom approaches in a variety of ways. In some cases it appeared that teachers almost deliberately misunderstood or underestimated the potential problems facing youngsters attempting to bridge the cultural gap between the races.

> We were not accustomed to saying "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" and she wouldn't realize that we couldn't do it overnight. If we made one mistake in English and said "yeah," she would write on a little piece of paper and say, "I am going to have you all put out of school for insubordination." It seemed as if all she did the whole time was to just wait for us to say "yes" so she could make a big thing out of it. It seems like if you say "yes" one time, she won't miss it. She will ask you right away, "What's that you say?" She will ask you questions to try to make you say "yes ma'am." She got fed up at me because I got tired of her trying to make me say "yes ma'am" and I started saying, "I think so," or "I don't really think so," or something like that just to keep from saying "ma'am," because I figured she was doing it on purpose.

* * *

> I felt at first that they would expect us to say "yassum" and "noum." It was the idea that I just didn't want to say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to a white woman. I found that this was the way they expected any of their students to address them.

* * *

> One teacher, he felt that we were just trying to start things. But we were just trying to get things straight. We ended up arguing most of the time instead of getting much done. It was kind of difficult.

* * *

I forgot I was supposed to say "yes ma'am" to her and was saying "yeah, sure," and so on. She said, "Have you forgotten about saying 'yes ma'am'?" I said, "No ma'am, I haven't." She said, "Now let's not forget that." She works around to try to get the opinion of most of the Negroes concerning race. Then she will tell you her opinion and ask you whether you shouldn't feel the same way. Most of the time you don't.

In a number of classrooms, however, it became more apparent that misunderstanding could not possibly be the case. There are many examples where teachers were perceived as abdicating part of their impartial classroom management role, deliberately colluding with white students in isolating or pressuring Negro youngsters, or sometimes taking the lead in such discriminatory treatment.

Some of the teachers will try to be funny. When they get to a word like Negro, they call it Nigger or else try to make fun.

* * *

When we got in there they started throwing rocks and crayons at us. I told the teacher and she went back there, and they all started laughing, and she was laughing with them. And then they went outside and they brought more rocks and they started throwing them.

* * *

Our home economics teacher would have the new machines on one side of the room and the old on the other side, and would put us into groups to let us use the old machines and the white girls use the new ones. And in cooking she would always give out the recipes and stuff and we would always get the small amount. And she would separate us into three groups so that the three Negro girls were in the same group together.

* * *

I had this teacher who divided the class up into groups. The Negroes sit on one side and the white students sit on the other side. She would teach the Negroes like on one half of the class and then she would go over to the white kids. If we came to anything about communism or something relating to civil rights, she would bring up King's name and say something like, "In a little time our freedom will be gone." Their freedom, the whites. She feels that just because she is a teacher she can talk about anything.

* * *

In history class it was very bad. There were always conversations going on between the teacher and the students about the Governor and integration and the President and the federal government and all such that. They were talking against the federal government because the government was for integration and like they were talking against integration because they don't see any sense to it. And the teacher was always saying some kind of wise crack just to hurt your feelings and like that. He was always praising the Governor. The students acted the same as the teacher

did in their class, you know, there was always something that they could say and try and hurt my feelings.

* * *

My history teacher would call on me to read mostly all the time, and because I couldn't read very well the children would laugh. The teacher would go out of the class almost every day so the kids could call on me and have fun on me. Every time I would call on someone to read the class would laugh. One of the other problems was my English teacher; he would make up jokes about me and some of the other Negro students said that he made jokes up about them.

* * *

Our teacher was always calling on us when we wouldn't have our hands up, and when we did have our hands up she wouldn't call on us; when we'd take them down, that's when she would call on us. And then one morning in our first period class, my friend was at his desk, and she called him up in front of the class, trying to embarrass him. He had soap on his face that couldn't come off good and she told him that he had soap on his face and that he hadn't washed his face. Well, they'd make remarks about him and laugh at him.

* * *

If I had a test or something, six-week test or something like that, she would get some of the dumbest children to grade my paper and they would put anything down. And when the children made a mistake she said that she couldn't do anything about it, so I just left them alone until the next day. They kept giving me F's on my paper when I made a B or something like that.

When these youngsters were asked to compare their white teachers with the Negro teachers they knew, there was considerable variation in reactions. Some felt the white teachers were intellectually superior, some not; some felt the white teachers were superior managers, some not. But almost all felt there were important differences, especially in the fairness of the teachers to them.

The Negro college is not a very good school for teachers. The white teachers have more opportunities and have more challenge than the teachers in the Negro college could have. And the school of the teacher makes a lot of difference.

* * *

I gather that the teachers at the Negro school are more experienced but they are not up to date. Two or three years ago when they were in college they were, but now there are new techniques. Most of the teachers at the white school, well, they are fresh out of college and they know more and learn more by the modern way. Whereas, the teachers at the Negro school are sort of . . . like, old fashioned. The teachers there have been out of school for quite some time. Some of them don't bother about

going back. Here you can learn more because in the classroom you can get more over to the students when you can teach them individually. So therefore, well, both teachers have faults. One such as inexperience and the other who didn't know much about the modern way of work. But basically both teachers are trying to help.

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They're not teaching a lot of the time. They're often doing their monthly report instead of teaching us. And as far as incidents are concerned here, if something happens in the classroom most time it goes unnoticed unless the white students get the worst end of it. But at the old school incidents are always given the best consideration and both parties usually go to the office and get it settled. But the teachers at the white school see it different, and only the Negroes go to the office if the white person gets hurt bad enough to report it.

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I think the teachers at the new school are worse than the ones at the Negro school because they don't give you exactly what you make. At the Negro school they don't give you exactly what you make either, but they're worse here. If you make a good grade they'll give you a bad grade and if you make a bad grade then they still give it to you. But they also make it lower and they don't treat you equally. When something happens they put it all on us and they don't do anything about it. They do stay in their room longer but when something happens they still don't know about it because they don't try to find out about anything. At the old school the teachers stayed out of the room more, but still if you tell them about something they do something about it. But here they just don't treat us equally because we are Negroes and the other children are white.

In addition to the direct influence of the teachers, the school principal was often singled out for attention. More than the teachers, the southern principal is in a particularly vulnerable role vis-a-vis the school staff and the local community. In order to maintain an orderly school system he may have to defend racial desegregation against considerable white and perhaps even Negro resistance. If he disapproves strongly, he must try to resist desegregation without openly threatening or obviously endangering the lives of Negro and white youngsters. These role demands must be met regardless of his views; and when the system changes he must still represent it or resign. Furthermore, he must keep his teaching staff in relatively good order and humor, and support their efforts as far as he can without causing direct harm to youngsters of either race. In these turbulent situations he also has some special direct responsibility for creating a school atmosphere that either supports or denies standards of fair play, justice and peace. How were principals seen to perform these various and stressful roles?

Often these Negro youngsters showed remarkable acuity and insight into the principals' behavior and role conflict; at times they manifested criticism and impatience. When helpful things were done, they were often noted and

appreciated; and when harmful or unhelpful stances were taken they were decried. Consider:

> The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have many friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.
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> I also heard that all the children had to do was get used to you and they would get better, but toward the end of the school term instead of getting better they were getting worse. I would say that the reason for this was because at the beginning of the school term the principal was really rough and tight on them, but he begun to slack up on them and they began to get like they was the year before.
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> I went and reported it to the principal and he said, like the Governor said a long time ago, "Do it like you do it with mud, you let it dry and it will shake off better." He always had some slogan like that to say in every situation.
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> [These two girls] came into the bathroom and said, "Two of the Negroes in the hall were trying to fight and we told the principal about it but you know he didn't do anything about it, because they are privileged characters. I don't care, if I could paint my face black so I could be a privileged character too." Then they started talking, "You know we'll be going to the Negro schools this year," and the other girl said, "Yeah and I'm going to get myself one of those Negro boyfriends too." They didn't know I was there.
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> See, if something happened during the school hour a group of them would go to the office and tell him something, tell something was stolen and try to trip us all up. He didn't know what to believe most times so he just never paid any attention.
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> The principal got a refrigerator and put it in there for us. He went and got drinks for us also. He would ask us in the morning what we would like to have and would go out of his way to get it for us. He was pretty nice.
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> It's tough on the principal, although I really can't say why I think that. The girl cheerleaders say that the only thing he thinks about is sex going on in the school, but he hasn't said anything to me about that. I can't see he does that. They say that he's mean and forces things on them they don't want to do. Maybe we think differently because he does the things I want him to do and not what they want him to do. They want to get rid of him and talk about it a lot.
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> * * *

The atmosphere this year is very different from last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another.

Relations with white classmates

In addition to the classroom and building management personnel, the new Negro student learned from his constant interaction with white peers in the classroom. Educational research has demonstrated how important peer influences and associations are for student learning, and recent laboratory research has emphasized some of the important threat and reward influences of white peers upon Negro youngsters' learning performance. But academic lessons are only one part of the total learning that goes on in the classroom. What do Negro youngsters learn about their white peers; what do they learn about their friendship, their fears, their abilities and their potential for working together?

First, let us examine views of the way white students received and interacted with their new Negro classmates, and the ways these young Negroes felt about these reactions.

> [Kids with] real BB guns would stand around the bus and aim at us and threaten us. Boys would ride around on motorcycles and throw rocks at us from the outside. The elementary kids would throw rotten eggs at us. The police would ignore them.
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> You also get used to things written on the bathroom walls, a lot of stuff. But this is something you have to take. When you come to think about it, when kids call you a name you laugh and joke it off. When you get down there, it's a little different because it's white people.
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> Really I didn't know how I would take being called a Nigger because I had never been called a Nigger before. I just didn't know how I would take it. I couldn't tell anybody I wouldn't hit anybody when they called me Nigger. But after I got over there and had been called a Nigger about a thousand times during the first six-week period I'd feel a burning inside, and after the third six-week period I'd get over this burning inside, but really a Nigger still seems kind of like insulting to me.
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> Sometimes we be going down the hall and if any of the white students was standing in the hall and they see us coming they say here

come a black Nigger, you better stand back or something. They would get back up against the wall. In the morning sometime we'd be standing by our locker and they would get off the bus and come in and try to walk close up by the wall or something pretending that they didn't want to get close to touch us or anything.

* * *

For the most part those children over there want to be friendly, some of them do, but their parents tell them what to do and what not to do and all. You can tell that some of them want to say something to you but they are scared that if they say something to you then the other one is going to call them Nigger lover and all that kind of junk. They just go back and tell 'em and so they just don't want to get involved.

* * *

I found myself not acting myself. They expected a whole lot out of me. They expected me to be different. I had to go along with their crude jokes. They were no good but I laughed anyway. They would run things in the ground but I would keep laughing. Lately I have decided that I really shouldn't try to act different from what I really am. I have decided that I don't have to prove anything to anybody. I lost a few friends by doing that but I've gotten fed up with it. When I first came into the situation I wanted to be friendly. I guess anybody wants to be friends with everybody. We got along okay. We joked about the white and Negro relationship. This was good and okay, but I just got tired of it.

* * *

After you go back and look at both sides of the story, you can't blame them really because after all you don't want people to say, "Oh, no, I am scared to touch her because her black might rub off on me." If you were in their situation, you might feel the same way. You have to understand that they're not going to fall in love with you overnight. Nobody likes for his friends to turn their backs on him and laugh at him and all of that. More than likely that would be what would happen.

* * *

And when we'd be in Physical Education class the coach wouldn't be there, he had boys lead the class. We would be playing football. Every day they'd tell the boys to try to hurt us and knock us down and they would do it. One of them would pretend to act nice and tell them not to do it, but he didn't mean it anyway and this other one would tell them to keep on.

* * *

It turned out with three of the characters that were white in the book being played by three Negro girls. There was a scene in the opening part of the play where we had two uncles and the uncles were white boys. When they came in we were supposed to hug them. When we wrote this script, nobody knew who was going to play who so we wrote it just like it was supposed to be written. When the boys found out that we were

supposed to hug them, they weren't happy about it; they were pretty upset. One boy said, "I just can't do that." Well we laughed about it but they were pretty serious. I kept getting the impression that it was because of what would happen when their friends saw them do this, or when their fathers or their relatives saw them.

* * *

I was kind of shocked when two white boys and myself were backstage in the wings together and one of them had a gun that we were to use in the play. He said, "If I had to shoot all the Negroes in the school, I would shoot you last." I said, "Why?" He said, "I like you because you know how to cope with our white jokes."

* * *

This is the first thing that comes over them, intermarriage. Well it takes two to marry somebody. Nobody wants to marry them; you just want to be their friends, that's all.

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They have been led to believe that the Negro thinks about one thing, sex.

* * *

No, no, I don't think that. They know that they think about getting married. They are afraid that they may find a Negro that they like, not necessarily that a Negro likes them. Maybe they already got a crush on them. I just believe that they are afraid. If they were not afraid of us, maybe they could stand us a little better. But when you have a guilty conscience yourself, things get down on you a little worse.

These perceptions only begin to hint at the distance that typically separates Negro and white youngsters in many desegregated schools. Negroes report a range of experiences with young whites, from physical violence and threats to name calling, and from joking and teasing to awkward attempts at friendliness. The complicity of teachers in maintaining old patterns is again manifest. In some cases it seems that time and contact have decreased the social distance; in other cases contacts have made Negro youngsters wiser and warier. We were interested in knowing whether Negro students' perceptions of the intelligence and decorum of white youngsters had changed as a result of their contact.

After I got there I wasn't a bit surprised at the attitude of the students there because it had been said before that these kids are absolutely wild. They wouldn't listen to the principal and wouldn't mind the teachers and I wasn't a bit surprised. I was kind of prepared for some of the incidents that happened.

* * *

Some people think that white people are higher class than Negroes, but from the way the children did behave they are lower class people

than the Negro. We went in class one day and everybody sat down and when the teacher went out of the room some of the students had spit in the vacant seats that nobody sits in. And they put chewing gum all over the desks. I mean you didn't find too much chewing gum over at the Negro schools; they threw it out the window or trash can. But over there you find the desk packed with chewing gum and stuff like that.

* * *

Before we started school our principal at the Negro school told us to be quiet on the bus, "You should hear how quiet the white children are on the bus and everything." You can't hear anything on that bus, you know, from the time you get on the bus to when you get off.

* * *

I was really surprised as I went to the white school. They say, "Oh, the Negroes are so dumb," but I really found out that the Negroes are not really dumb at all. If they really had the chance and opportunities they would be a lot smarter than the white children because the white children who went to that school ever since the first grade I had caught up with in the first six weeks I went there. Now I was kind of backward on some subjects, like math, because the only time I took that I was in seventh grade and I had a hard time with math. But in all my other subjects I caught up with most of the white children and passed them in the first six weeks. They really get hot with you when you get ahead of them and I really had lots of trouble with that because I was smarter than most of them, most of the other children in my room, especially in the tenth grade. I don't know about the other grades, but I do feel that the white race is not smarter than the Negro. If the Negro kids had the opportunity and would get down to it and work for it, the Negro race could get up with the white race anytime.

* * *

There is just one thing I would like to say. We have a lot of dumb people in our class—you know, dumb white people. It's true! They want to graduate, but they don't want to do anything.

* * *

Well, before I went to the white school I always did think that the white person was smarter than we are. I used to think that they were just born smarter, just because they were white, but I found out this year that this isn't true. There were a lot of them who had more trouble than I had in getting their lessons and they had been in this school and in this situation, maybe not in the same situation, but they had been around their friends and their teachers for eleven years before then. Some of them couldn't do half as good as I could, and I don't see how some of them even graduated. They failed some subjects and took an extra subject, and made D's in that subject and they still passed. I just don't understand it. I think that maybe the reason we think that we aren't as smart as they are is because they've made us feel like we don't know anything.

* * *

I feel that they made us feel that we don't know anything because they always keep us in jobs like in the kitchen or in the yard or on the farms. They never have made us feel like we should be anything; never made me feel like anything.

It is clear that there have been instances where interracial classroom contact has permitted Negroes to break down some of their traditional myths about the superiority of white people. They now see some of the differences among young whites, and can even account for some of their own prior assumptions. What of the other learnings about white people that have occurred? Does it appear that desegregating classrooms has led to cross-racial friendships? Has it led to greater Negro receptivity to white advances, and vice versa? Has it increased interracial trust?

I wouldn't invite a white person to my house unless I trusted them a lot because I wouldn't just invite anybody to my house. They could just be setting a trap by setting a bomb in the house or something, but if it was someone that I knew well and trusted a lot, I would.

* * *

Well, I trust white people less, because since I've been around them I am more familiar with them and their ways. The only thing I knew about white people was when they came around and they would be friendly and all that. When I started school some of those people who I thought would be friendly looked like they were my worst enemies. Everytime they smiled in your face they were just trying to get some information, that's all; and when they get that they are gone and they are just like any other white person. Therefore, I trust them less.

* * *

Like in our class, you see the same people every day and they have gotten used to the fact that they have got to talk to us. We have a nice conversation. We laugh at their jokes and everything and then if you see them on the street, the same person that you have been joking around with all day will look the other way and they won't speak. That kind of thing bothers you. They will talk to you when you are by yourself or with just a few people, but if you are in a group with some of their other friends around, they don't know you at all. That kind of thing makes you distrust their friendship at all.

* * *

Sunday we stopped in at the dairy farm and two of the white boys that went to school last year drove up there and they went in. We was standing up there to the window getting waited on and they looked over and waved to us. That's the way they are when they are out of school; when they are in school they act all different.

* * *

I don't trust white people either because you may think that they are being friendly but come to think of it they are not. In other words,

when you get around them they'll be friendly, but if a white person is with me and then we see a group of other white people and they see him with me, they will call him a Nigger lover. So you be thinking that he'd be a friend and the white people get mad; so he just quit being friends. Sometimes he'd be friendly and sometimes he won't.

* * *

They all seem to be afraid of what someone else might think. They can't seem to think for themselves. They can't even follow their own moral right. They are always afraid of what someone else might think. There are very few incidences of violence, killings, etc., but they are afraid to take me home after practice. They say, "Somebody might shoot me." "Take you home in broad daylight, you must be kidding." Sometimes they will take me home and sometimes they will make up excuses. They are just afraid. They are afraid of nothing; there's nothing to be afraid of. Sometimes I invite them to come over, but they think that the Negroes just hate white people; they think they will come over here and get killed. I try to explain to them that there are so many white people over here now that it's a thing that is accepted. One man is just another man that you pass on the street. They can't seem to understand that. The white people who associate with us here are what they refer to as "Nigger lovers."

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I feel that we have given the wrong impression that our relationship with the white kids at the high school is entirely a hostile one. This is wrong although sometimes we talk that way. We have conversations and all and often the boys talk about girls. But the thing is that sometimes you may say something and you don't know who you can trust, even those who look like they're being sincere. You don't know whether you can trust them or if they'll say something behind your back.

The Negro community

A number of critical issues developed in the Negro communities when youngsters decided to desegregate white schools. Some Negro community leaders feared white retaliation, and some deplored any desegregation efforts at all. Others encouraged these transfers and went out of their way to support them. When young Negro students changed to white schools they often left behind their old school and neighborhood peer groups. Were they able to return? Did old friends still receive them openly? Or did going to a white school mean isolation from friends as well as from traditions of the past? With regard to the Negro communities' reactions:

In our community all of them were very encouraging. We had been having small mass meetings around our community to try and encourage people to try to enroll students in this school because you get a better education there. Everyone was very glad that I was chosen to go there and they was trying to encourage me as much as possible to continue.

* * *

Well, the Negro people in my home community didn't seem as if they were at all for it. They would say that we aren't ready to be with the white people yet; "We should stay and try to get ourselves together first before we try and get with somebody else"; integrate the Negro first is what they were saying. But here in this town there were a lot of people who gave me a lot of encouragement and the encouragement enabled me to go on and graduate.

* * *

People in my neighborhood didn't like my going to the white school because they said that I was just trying to be popular and the white school wasn't any better than the Negro school. They said that the Negro school was the newest school. They said that our house was going to be burned and the Ku Klux Klan was going to get us and lots of people was going to get killed. They wasn't going and didn't want those people coming in their neighborhood. Our house did get burned, and when it did people said, "That's what I told you was going to happen."

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Well the colored people in my community, well some of the colored anyway, the Uncle Toms, would tell me to stay in my place and that they weren't going to sit near us over there and get throwed at and called Nigger.

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The way I see it is that people want things to happen but they are waiting for somebody else to do it. They will not realize that those who do something have to sacrifice. They don't realize that those who first went down had to sacrifice. They didn't have all the opportunities and all the extracurricular activities that the Negro school had, like ball games, etc. Another thing, a lot of kids came up to me and told me they would like to come but they would like to be on the basketball team. But we don't have a football or basketball team. They are just plain scared and they don't want to give up anything.

Friends appeared and disappeared throughout the semester. The crucible of change fragmented many superficial relationships, but it also seemed to anneal and highlight others. Some Negro peers were jealous, others threatened; some were interested and asked what was going on, others projected their fears and attacked. This seemed to be one of the areas of greatest surprise and hurt for the desegregating students.

And when I'd come home from school the children would come up to me and ask me, "Well, who did you get into a fight with today?" "What white girl did you beat up?" "And who's your white boyfriend?" They never did try to help us; all they did was try to get funny.

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I noticed that some of the kids at the Negro school would say that we were stuck up. I asked one person why did she think this and she said that because they expect so much out of us, that we are supposed to be

smart and have our names on the honor roll and everything. It seems as if they are the first to say you won't speak to them anymore. But they won't give you a chance. They turn away or make some snide remark and that discourages you. They say, "You think you are so big or so important that you can't be around your old friends anymore."

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It's the same way with some of your friends who go to the Negro school. Some people think that because you want to go to an integrated school that you want to be white. I have heard a lot of people say this. When you get into a discussion with someone who is not going to an integrated school, or a heated argument when they can't think of anything else to say, they are going to bring up, "You think you are so good because you go to an integrated school; you think you are white." I found that you are not going to ever get around this. This is one of the things that you are going to have to accept!

* * *

She told her friend, "Guess what, I am over to the 'big Niggers' house." I was wondering how could she say "big Niggers." Just because I went to the white school didn't mean that we were "big Niggers." She got the impression that we were "big Niggers" and had a lot of money and everything which we don't.

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I didn't really lose any friends. The people who were not my friends but acted close to me soon stopped speaking. This year it was pretty bad during basketball season. A group of girls said that we thought we were white. They said that we come to their basketball games and sit up and try to act intelligent because we thought we were white. It was just that group of people because our friends are still our friends and close friends and they don't think that way.

And what of the future?

In reflecting about their experiences, these youngsters indicate something of what we may expect about the future of change in the South. As classrooms and schools change, other major institutions will be forced to keep pace. In the face of these prospects and current debates over civil rights activity and strategy it is illuminating to inquire into these youngsters' feelings about the future. It appears that many of these young Negroes will be followed by more of their race in the school desegregation process. What would be likely to happen if more young Negroes joined them?

To make the school a better place I think it will take courageous Negro students and some large Negro boys that are big and that has lots of courage, and an integrated faculty, and that's about all I think it would take.

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I think the situation would be better if more Negro students went be-

cause a lot of the students just pick on you because they think they can get by with it. I don't think a student would hit a Negro student if he thought somebody was behind him to give him just that much more. He wouldn't do it even if he thought somebody was behind him that would see him and tell the student who it was.

* * *

They would be afraid to bother you if they knew somebody else was with you, if they knew somebody else was with you and on your side and would help you if you needed that help. But like it is now with so many whites, they can just pick on you and there are not enough Negroes to do them enough harm back.

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I wish I was going back; I just want some of them to pick at me like they did last year so I can get them back. When we have about an equal number of students we'll see if we can get in a fight over there. We will have the same number in our color as they got in their color so we probably have a better chance of fighting. If they're looking for a fight this year then I'm going to fight.

* * *

You have to be in an area where you can be accepted together. It's not like that down here. That's what's wrong, and it'll take time, a long time, to change.

A long, long time indeed. Will we find new means besides getting bigger Negroes and bigger whites? No one knows now, but it is our hope that this sort of constant public examination of the deeds and processes of change may help us learn how to shorten that time, how to make it more peaceful and less painful. Clearly, changes in schools will not come about without change in other social institutions; just as clearly, school change sets the pace and tone for community change. One certainty is the need to develop, experiment with, and document new change strategies. We need to develop new support systems in Negro and white communities; new ways of encouraging white and Negro youngsters to face one another squarely and without fear of external sanctions. Youngsters who are willing to reach out to one another must be fortified against the familial and communal pressures that promote separation. We need to find new ways to help the principal deal with changing school-community and teacher-pupil relations. Finally we need to develop new ways of helping teachers cope with their own ambivalences, with Negro reluctance and white resistance; teachers need new designs to explore the never-never land of social contact between students. The barriers to growth explored in this paper need to be turned into facilitators of justice, peace and progress. The development of such change strategies requires the best minds and bodies of the South and the nation; it extends the process of change beyond the initial physical desegregation of educational facilities.

Reflections on School Integration: I.

(This is a transcript of a three-hour session with eight Negro youngsters who desegregated and are attending a predominantly white school in the Deep South. All students are in the tenth through twelfth grades. 5/66)

QUESTION: Who made the decision for you to go to a white school and how was it made? What were the first days like?

GIRL NO. 1: The first year my parents didn't decide whether they wanted me to go or not. In fact, they didn't want me to go. While on our vacation we heard on the news that teachers were petitioning the county board of education for desegregating the schools in the county. I decided that I wanted to go down and apply. I took it down to the superintendent's office. In about two days they called and asked that some kids come down and take a test in the school library. It took about a half day. Two or three days later we heard on the news that we students had been accepted. They told the number of boys and the number of girls but didn't give any names. The first day we went down in a block, for they wouldn't let us go to the school at first. They passed out papers from the governor stating that we couldn't come. We went back to the superintendent's office and had a little conference with him. We also had a conference with the principal to get our schedules worked out. As soon as we did get in school some of the kids started checking out and some of the teachers approached some of the students and asked them if they had made their phone calls yet. So there were only us left. About the second semester the school closed. We went to the superintendent's office to get things straight. We asked the superintendent if we could apply to go to other schools in the county. He said it was possible; so, we had a conference with the families involved and six decided to go to _____ and six decided to go to _____. One boy didn't go because he was expelled for insubordination. My mother decided I would go to _____ because she was afraid something might happen at _____. That's really where all the excitement was. When we went we had people constantly following us from the Justice Department. They would escort us back and forth. When we got there we had a nice reception with the confederate flag and state troopers standing all around. The first day we went they stopped the bus. They had each of us to stand up as they called our names so they could count us. As soon as we got off the bus at school, the students inside started calling us names. The first two or three days we stayed in the library and didn't go to class. The principal had to give us a conference one by one. He gave us the rules we had to go by. The first thing he asked us was why we wanted to come there. We all said basically the same thing; that we thought it was our constitutional right to go to any school we wanted to, and that we wanted to further our education. He then told us the regulations of the school. He said there would be no corn chunking (throwing corn kernels in the class) and no smoking. He said that

any day he might ask a girl to let him see her pocketbook and if he found any cigarettes or liquor, he would throw her out of school. Then he told us that we were to get cups for the water fountain and we had a separate restroom for the girls. I asked him why we were to drink out of cups and he said that students were leaving the school and that he wanted to keep them there; so he suggested that we drink out of paper cups for the time being. Nobody drank out of the cups and nobody went to the bathrooms. When we went to the other bathrooms, to see what separate booth we had, we saw that on the first day they had written "Private." The next day they had written on a big white sign "Nigger" in red lipstick. They tore up the snack machines and everything. Soon everybody left and there were about ten teachers and six students. The lunch program was cut out so we had to bring our lunches. The teachers taught at two schools and they would leave anytime they wanted to. They went to teach at the elementary school and when we had a class they would come down there. They didn't want to stay in class with us but they felt they had an obligation and, of course, they wanted to get paid. Soon we were subpoenaed to go to court. My teacher approached me and asked me to ask my lawyer not to do anything that would hinder the income of the teachers. I told her I didn't have anything to do with that; but still she told me to be sure to tell him. We went to court and the principal told us that he couldn't excuse us because we didn't have a legal excuse from the school. He said we would have to get an excuse from our lawyer. We had a verbal subpoena, and so did the principal. We all went down to court that Friday morning. All the people who were to appear in court stood around in a circle. The next day the principal told us that it was good we told the truth, but he couldn't excuse us for that day from school. We brought an excuse from our lawyer and finally he accepted it.

When school was out the principal came to each of our houses individually. During this time we had received some threats so we told him about them. He told us that one of the teachers at the school was also threatened. He said he had notified the police; but the police didn't do anything. The sheriff came down to the school and he interviewed us and told us that he knew all of our parents and they were nice and everything.

GIRL NO. 2: My experiences were somewhat different. The first day a news reporter rode the bus with us. All around us were state troopers. In front of them were federal marshals. When we got to town there were lines of people and cars all along the road. A man without a badge or anything got on the bus and started beating up the newspaper reporter. You could tell he was hurt because he was crying. They threw the camera all over the bus and broke it, and they threw the reporter all over the floor. Then they picked him up by the feet and took him to the door and threw him out on the ground. He was crying and bleeding. When we got to the school the students were all around looking through the windows and everything. The mayor made a little speech about fire hazards and all that. He said we couldn't come there because the school was already filled to capacity. He indicated that if six of us

came in it would be a fire hazard. He told us to turn around and go back. We turned around and the students started yelling and clapping and everything. We went back to the office of the board of education. When I got home, my parents were at work and I got this call from my lawyer saying I was not to go back. It was quite a while before we went back because we had to go to court. After we got there we were called to the stand. At first it was kind of frightening; they asked us what happened. After court they told us that the decision was that we could go back. When we went back there were no students there at all. There were only two teachers left. The rest of the teachers left so they had to bring a couple of teachers from other places to teach. They were very nice considering what had happened. Very often when we came to school we would see things written all over the front of the building and pictures were drawn all over the walls. They would always draw a little black man with a lynch rope around his head. As you go up the stairs you would see stuff written like, "get rid of Robert Kennedy." Our lawyer had told us to take note of these things that went on but the teacher would tell us to come in and not bother about it. He said the people on the other side of the street were taking note of how we acted and we wouldn't want to make it difficult. The principal was pretty nice. He would let us go about things casually. He wouldn't distrust us. They didn't have a milk machine and he would go out of his way to go to the store to buy cookies and things and would just bring them out and tell us to get them and put our money in the box. He didn't stand around and watch us or anything. One day in April we got a call that said the school would be burned and that there would be no school. We had to go back to court. We decided after court to go back to school. Since nothing was burned but the high school department, we had school in the auditorium. We had classes on each side of the stage, in dressing rooms and wings. The principal got a refrigerator and put it in there for us. He went and got drinks for us also. He would ask us in the morning what we would like to have and would go out of his way to get it for us. He was pretty nice. They told us that they had gotten threats during the last part of the year saying that if they gave diplomas to the three seniors that they would kill them or something. They decided to let us get out of school a day early and give the diplomas to us then. The shocking thing was during the graduation ceremonies. All six of the students got together to make a speech. After we finished, I looked around and saw three teachers crying. The principal had tears in his eyes and he got up to make a little speech about us. He told the truth for he said at first he didn't think he would enjoy being around us. You could see in his face that he was really touched. We said something like we really enjoyed school together and that we were glad they stuck it out and all that kind of stuff. There was one boy who constantly bothered our bus driver. We always got out one period early. He would wait for school to get out and get up on his truck and wait for us and when the light turned green he would just sit there and wouldn't move. The police station was right down the street but they wouldn't do anything about it. This continued until our bus driver told him off. Several times

when we would come through town in the morning they would have guns out in the hobby shop. One girl on the bus would always get upset and start crying. They were really BB guns and they would stand around the bus and aim at us and threaten us. Boys would ride around on motorcycles and throw rocks at us from the outside. The elementary kids would throw rotten eggs at us. The police would ignore them. The first day at school here there were not many students but there were some. The principal was not very nice. I'm sure everybody had something to say about him. The students in class were having fake reactions, but I guess everybody had those at first. But later in the year we got to know each other pretty well and got into good discussions with teachers.

GIRL NO. 1: Last year, maybe because of the principal, wasn't a good year at all. Maybe, because we didn't have many activities like we had this year. The principal was just teaching there because he couldn't find a better job somewhere else, for he didn't do very much for the school. The first day there was marching and cameramen taking pictures. The teachers were pretty good for most of them were young graduates of the University. I guess they were pretty nice and everything. It was just that we didn't have any activities and that made it a sorry year. The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have many friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.

GIRL NO. 3: We had this strange teacher. In the first part of the year he didn't say anything to us about our grades. Some of us had pretty good grades on tests and everything. I had the feeling that he didn't want us to do that; he wanted them to do better than we did. He seemed to make the tests harder for he figured that if we failed, it actually was difficult. He never wanted us to say that what he said was wrong. In one case he got mad because he was wrong and we said he was wrong. It was a case concerning the male part of the flower and he said they were the pistil. On the chart the name of the thing was stamen. A couple of the white students agreed with him. As far as he was concerned he was right and there was nothing else to say about it. He felt that we were just trying to start things. But we were just trying to get things straight. We ended up arguing most of the time instead of getting much done. It was kind of difficult.

GIRL NO. 4: This year seemed to be entirely different for me, for it was my first year. It was actually almost like any other first day at a new school. We didn't know anybody and couldn't expect for everybody to come up and kiss us and all of that. The teachers seemed to accept me as well as the rest of the students. Although I didn't have any close friends, I never found anybody who acted like they would die if I got close to them. It has been almost a normal year for me.

GIRL NO. 1: The atmosphere this year is very different than last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many

friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another. Most of the students are afraid of their parents.

GIRL No. 3: I had this teacher who divided the class up into groups. The Negroes sit on one side and the white students sit on the other side. She would teach the Negroes like on half of the class and then she would go over to the white kids. If we came to anything about communism or something relating to civil rights, she would bring up King's name and say something like, "In a little time our freedom will be gone," their freedom, the whites. She feels that just because she is a teacher she can talk about anything.

GIRL No. 1: When I first came down she compelled me to say, "yes, ma'am." I realize that it is a way of showing respect and adults like children to show respect. But when somebody compels you to say that, and my parents don't require me to say that to them, it kinds of gets on me. If you didn't say it she would take off points from your grades. I also notice that she didn't like people from the East, West, and North. She doesn't like redheads, for they give her the impression that they are mean. Don't let a person have green eyes because to her they are fierce. If there is anything she wants to know about the race problem, she will call you. She used to call me to see what was going on during the summer. I forgot I was supposed to say "yes ma'am" to her and was saying "yeah, sure," and so on. She said, "Have you forgotten about saying 'yes ma'am'?" I said, "no, ma'am, I haven't." She said, "Now let's not forget that." She works around to try to get the opinion of most of the Negroes concerning race. Then she will tell you her opinion and ask you whether you shouldn't feel the same way. Most of the time you don't.

BOY No. 1: Concerning answering, "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am," I find that this is the way almost any teacher will expect their students to address them. If you think about it, if you were someplace else, you would probably address the teachers the same. In our situation, being Negro, I felt at first that they would expect us to say "yassum" and "noam." It was the idea that I just didn't want to say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to a white woman. I found that this was the way they expected any of their students to address them.

GIRL No. 2: I remember the first year one teacher threatened to have him put out of school because he wouldn't say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to her. We were not accustomed to saying it and she wouldn't realize that we couldn't do it overnight. If we made one mistake in English and said "yeah," she would write on a little piece of paper and say, "I am going to

have you all put out of school for insubordination." It seemed as if all she did the whole time was to just wait for us to say "yes" so she could make a big thing out of it. It seems like if you say "yes" one time, she won't miss it. She will ask you right away, "What's that you say?" She will ask you questions to try to make you say "yes ma'am." She got fed up at me because I got tired of her trying to make me say "yes ma'am" and I started saying, "I think so," or "I don't really think so," or something like that just to keep from saying "ma'am," because I figured she was doing it on purpose.

GIRL NO. 1: When I first went there, I ran sort of a little test on all of my teachers to see how many wanted me to say "yes ma'am." I found that she was the only one who tried to compel me to say it. She asked me, "Don't you say 'yes ma'am' to your mother and father?" I said, "No, sometimes I might say, 'yes mother' or 'yes father,' or something like that." She thought it was just terrible. That's the reason she thought I was a bad girl.

BOY NO. 2: The first day at school the teacher made it a point that we would say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to her. One day she asked me something and I said, "Yes." She told me that the correct way to speak to her was to say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am." About three or four days after school had started, a white student came into our class. She was from the North and had an accent to prove it. She had to drop the course because the teacher was very partial toward her. She would stick with us instead of the white kids and the teacher didn't appreciate that. When we were in class doing something, she would ask the white kids questions and if they couldn't answer them she would ask us, "What do you all have to say?" She could not teach. She would ask us to read certain things in economics and the next day she would come and say the very same thing that was in the book. We didn't need to take that over again because we read it that night. What was the use of reading the same thing over again? Actually we didn't learn anything except what was in the book.

BOY NO. 1: Speaking of the inability of the teachers to teach, what do you think about the teachers down there, do you think they are any better or what?

GIRL NO. 1: Personally, I like the teachers in the white school better than any of the teachers I have ever had. From the sixth grade down, my teachers always called me by my first name; from the seventh grade on they called me by my last name. I feel that it is very impersonal. Maybe it is because my classes were very crowded and my teachers didn't have time to help us as it is in a smaller classroom. When I got to the white school, the teachers were much more personal. None of them have ever called me by my last name. They take, or some take, more time with you; therefore, I feel that they are better.

GIRL NO. 3: I don't think they are any better or any worse than any other teacher I have had. People are people and some teachers are good and some are bad. I find that some of the teachers there are better and some are worse.

You can't put the teachers together and say, "These teachers are better," or "These teachers are worse."

BOY NO. 1: What I had reference to was, I found at the Negro school there is much more strictness of discipline or many more strict teachers. The teachers are more experienced and their teaching techniques are different and their presentation of the lesson plan is better.

GIRL NO. 2: It's not necessarily that they are more experienced in teaching techniques, it's just that they have techniques of their own. You are used to their techniques and you have just got to get used to other teachers' techniques. You can't just say that this teacher's techniques are better because he has a better teaching technique because you are used to them. Maybe, after and if, you get used to the teaching techniques that are unfamiliar to you, you might like them.

BOY NO. 1: Once before we did mention teachers being better or worse and everybody else said that you could not compare the teachers actually because every teacher has his own teaching technique. But I would disagree; I would say our teachers at the Negro high school are better. The teachers here are inexperienced—most of them are just out of college and they are not, just do not have the technique. Wait, let me! No, let me finish. At the Negro school, there are teachers who have more class activities, the teacher explains things and we have more class discussions, whereas at our high school, we read the book and have a test. That's about all there is to it. Some people may say that is the teacher's technique, his own technique. You can't say he is worse or better, that's just his technique, but I would say there is a difference.

GIRL NO. 1: Now, mainly he was speaking about just one teacher who is an individual. Again, you can't compare science with English; you will always give illustrations with slides and visual aids and things like that. I feel that English is usually a most boring subject.

BOY NO. 1: But both as far as teaching techniques and what goes on in the classroom, and how the teacher gets lessons over to the students, that's how you tell a good teacher.

GIRL NO. 1: Maybe she is better to you because she was teaching a difficult subject. Take for instance, science, you can always give movies, any visual aid—anything is interesting in science. Those things will always be more interesting to most people. But English is usually boring. Grammar, and how to punctuate, verbs and things like that. And it's usually nothing to worry about too much. Then if the teacher can make him interested, then she is a good teacher.

BOY NO. 1: What I'm saying is that you said you have never been to any other school except the high school and you cannot compare other means and ways of teaching techniques. What I'm saying is that you haven't been a student at the high school so you couldn't compare.

GIRL NO. 4: Now, during the time I was at the Negro high school, we used to go to one man and the classrooms were overcrowded and I'm not saying that the teachers were bad, but we didn't do anything that was not customary. And when I changed schools that was when I found that the work was harder. I guess because classes were smaller and it's according to how the teacher lectures—whether it's boring or whether it's interesting.

BOY NO. 2: I gather that the teachers at the Negro school are more experienced but they are not up-to-date. Two or three years ago, when they were in college they were, but now there are new techniques. Most of the teachers at the white school, well, they are fresh out of college and they are sure they will know more and learn more by the modern way. Whereas, the teachers at the Negro school are sort of . . . like, old fashioned. The teachers there have been out of school for quite some time. Some of them don't bother about going back. Here you can learn more because in the classroom you can get more over to the students when you can teach them individually. So therefore, well, both teachers have faults. One such as inexperience and the other who didn't know much about the modern way of work. But basically both teachers are trying to help.

GIRL NO. 3: The Negro college there is not a very good school for teachers. The white teachers have more opportunities and have more challenge than the teachers in the Negro college could have. And the school of the teacher makes a lot of difference.

BOY NO. 1: Well, what would you rather have, an "A" student with a "B" character or a "B" student with an "A" character? The teachers at the Negro school have more experience, well, they've done it every year. They learn by experience. Each time they make a mistake, they're warned that that's one they've made. Even though these teachers in the white school are new they have just gotten out of college—that doesn't mean too much.

GIRL NO. 1: They have to learn by experience also. So, you've got to give them time to learn too. We just can't say A character or B character and teachers with an A character are better teachers than those with B character. You also have to grade B character over a period of time. You just have to give them time too.

GIRL NO. 1: I knew a lot of teachers at the Negro school before I came here. It seemed to me they were trying to maintain a reputation they had for being tough and for putting students out of class and sending them to the office and all of that. A lot of times things we should have discussed in homeroom, we'd discuss at our English period because we didn't have enough time in homeroom. A lot of teachers at the white school go to a lot of trouble trying to figure out ways of staying out of class so late by taking long coffee breaks. One time our history teacher was out of class so late that he came in at almost the end of the class period and gave us half an hour of notes to be taken in ten minutes. I don't think this is fair.

GIRL NO. 1: The impression that I got of the Negro teachers, maybe be-

cause so many students go there, is that they try to build up some sort of big impression for themselves. When I went to the white school it didn't seem that way. I guess because the classes were so small. Everybody has a pretty good impression and the teachers wouldn't go out of their way to help you just to make an impression or practice some discipline just to get back at you.

GIRL NO. 3: I kind of think the way you do. At the Negro school some of the teachers seem to have a complex. They seem to want to show you that they are just as good as the white teachers at any other place. I want to show you I'm great too. They go all out of their way to do little things that really don't help you learn anything; but they think they are making an impression on you. That didn't help me any; I just wanted someone who could teach, who could help me without putting on an act.

GIRL NO. 1: I found this too. When they wanted me to apply for the white school, I was happy and I told two of my teachers. One teacher constantly reminded me that I am a member of the Negro race and that since I was going to school with white children, I would have to change because they are different. She said that if I am going to school down there, I would have to stop being bad. Every time I'd do something she'd tell me I better change because that is why the whites didn't want us down there now because we are so bad. Things like this lead Negro children to think that they are actually in a minority and are different.

QUESTION: Why do you think she did that?

GIRL NO. 1: I really don't know. I kind of think she really thought that. That they didn't want us because we're noisy. After I got over there I found out differently. They're as bad as we are. You just can't say that because we are Negroes and they are whites that we are different. Everything that my instructor told me to look out for was just the opposite of what she had led me to believe.

GIRL NO. 3: The same thing happened to me. Whenever you tell somebody you want to do something different you get this. I told one of my teachers that I planned to apply to the white school and she told me what to do and what not to do. People really make you believe that you are different, you know, "little black girl is stupid," and that we have to act differently around white children. When you get into the situation children are children, they are going to do what they want to do anyway. It kind of makes you feel funny because you don't like to feel that you have to act in a different way because you want to make a good impression on the white kids. I want to be me.

GIRL NO. 1: It's the same way with some of your friends who go to the Negro school. Some people think that because you want to go to an integrated school that you want to be white. I have heard a lot of people say this. When you get into a discussion with someone who is not going to an

integrated school, or a heated argument when they can't think of anything else to say, they are going to bring up, "You think you are so good because you go to an integrated school; you think you are white." I found that you are not going to ever get around this. This is one of the things that you are going to have to accept!

QUESTION: Have you lost any friends as a result?

GIRL No. 1: The people that I had in mind were not my friends in the first place.

GIRL No. 2: I didn't really lose any friends. The people who were not my friends but acted close to me soon stopped speaking. This year it was pretty bad during basketball season. A group of girls said that we thought we were white. They said that we come to their basketball games and sit up and try to act intelligent because we thought we were white. It was just that group of people because our friends are still our friends and close friends and they don't think that way.

BOY No. 2: The first year that I went down there, we had this friend who lived sort of out in the country. My father went and picked her up for dinner one day. After we finished eating dinner, she asked me how I was getting along at my new school. I told her. She asked my father if she could use the telephone and he said, "yes." She had known us for the six years that we have lived here and before. She was talking with one of her friends on the phone and she didn't know we were listening. She told her friend, "Guess what, I am over to the 'big Niggers' house." I was wondering how could she say "big Niggers." Just because I went to the white school didn't mean that we were "big Niggers." She got the impression that we were "big Niggers" and had a lot of money and everything which we don't. Actually my father didn't want me to go down there at first. Considering my going to school, I said that actually any Negro child can do this because all he has to do is fill out an application. She still couldn't get rid of the idea that we were "big Niggers." I just can't understand how they can say that. I said I'm no different than you are. Every time we would go over to her house, she would call some of her friends over and introduce them to the "big Niggers." I just stopped going over there. It's not only the children who are that way but it is the grownups also. A few neighbors around my house think it's a crime for me to rake or cut the lawn cause they think I'm so important. Once they learn that we are no different from them, and white people are no different from colored people, the situation will be much better. I'll be glad when that day comes.

GIRL No. 2: That's the way a lady in our neighborhood is. She doesn't think that we are any better than she is but she thinks that we think we are. She will do anything to get us out of the neighborhood. She talks about me when I come down the street. You can tell when someone is talking about you because they look at you from the side and talk out of the corner of

their mouth. She told some of the neighbors that we think we are rich just because I was one of the first Negroes who integrated the school. She looked at me and watched me walk down the street and the lady she was talking with told me that she said, "You ought to see her when she gets off the bus, she throws her head up like she is so big." It used to hurt me and I talked with my mother about it and she and I decided to ignore it because you find people like that in every group. It's going to be hard, just as I'm reading a book by Sammy Davis, Jr., "Yes I Can." He didn't know anything about the difference between a Negro and a white because his father protected him. And that was wrong. When he got in the Army the men painted him white and rubbed him with turpentine. They said, "See the white paint comes off but your brown don't." They did awful things to him. He had the talent and wanted to make it big. When he did, the whites got mad at him because he did and the Negroes got mad at him because there weren't any Negroes at his party. That's the way it is here. The whites got mad at us for going to that school and the Negroes got mad too.

GIRL No. 1: I noticed that some of the kids at the Negro school would say that we were stuck up. I asked one person why did she think this and she said that because they expect so much out of us, that we are supposed to be smart and have our names on the honor roll and everything. It seems as if they are the first to say you won't speak to them anymore. But they won't give you a chance. They turn away or make some snide remark and that discourages you. They say, "You think you are so big or so important that you can't be around your old friends anymore."

GIRL No. 3: If you really look at it, I don't know if jealousy is the right word, but it seems as if they want to be a part of it too, and they are angry because you are in it. It doesn't make very much sense because they can do the same thing but nobody has the initiative to do it.

GIRL No. 1: What I have noticed is that many of the kids say they want to change schools or they want to participate in the activities, but their parents say they can't. Some say they are scared or something like that. I believe that a lot of them wanted to but they feel that they don't have the opportunities we had. It was easy for us because we had help.

GIRL No. 3: I was talking to one boy and I want someone to explain to me what he meant. He said he was thinking about applying to the white school but that he changed his mind because he said he thinks he will be intimidated for the school belongs to me now. I didn't understand him but I never got the chance to ask him what he meant. It just didn't make sense to me; I couldn't understand it.

BOY No. 1: He probably felt that since you were among the first who integrated the school and since there was only a few of us that maybe he felt that he would be intruding on something that you had started, that you had begun.

GIRL No. 3: Maybe that is how he felt, but I wish that we or that some-

body could make people see that we were not just going there to get our names in the papers. Somebody had to start it sometime. We were not just going to say that we are the only ones that go to the white school. We were going, or rather we were doing this to help everybody. Why can't they see that it's their school too? If they want to go, why don't they just go?

GIRL NO. 1: The way I see it is that people want things to happen but they are waiting for somebody else to do it. They will not realize that those who do something have to sacrifice. They don't realize that those who first went down had to sacrifice. They didn't have all the opportunities and all the extracurricular activities that the Negro school had, like ball games, etc. Another thing, a lot of kids came up to me and told me they would like to come but they would like to be on the basketball team. But we don't have a football or basketball team. They are just plain scared and they don't want to give up anything.

BOY NO. 1: Going back to what you said about representing everyone. A person really can represent no one but himself. When I went, I didn't go for what you might call the Negro cause.

GIRL NO. 3: I didn't mean like that. If I had been one of the first to go, maybe I would have felt different. I am glad I didn't go that first year because I don't think I would have been able to stand up the way you all did. I think that more people should go.

QUESTION: Talk a little about your association with white students.

GIRL NO. 1: Sometimes when we are sitting in assembly we have a few students who don't want to sit by us and they make insinuating remarks like, "I had better not get too close to you," or something like that. You go to the bathroom and you see little notes and everything.

BOY NO. 2: It turned out with us talking about the governor and his administration. They all said that he is doing a good thing. I said, "You are dang right. He is doing a good thing. Had it not been for him, the university wouldn't be as integrated as it is; if he hadn't made a fool of himself trying to defy the federal government." He is always talking about this sovereign state so I asked them what did "sovereign state" mean, and would they refer to our state as being sovereign. They said yes. I asked them how they could possibly think this when we are getting money from the federal government; we are getting food from the federal government; the federal government is practically supporting you. If it were not for the federal government, we really couldn't have anything, schools or anything.

GIRL NO. 3: When I first decided to come to the white school I got a lot of suggestions from teachers and friends; but the best suggestion I got was to be open minded. I had no idea how it would be; I could only come and find out. You tend to form impressions or ideas of what it's going to be like. They are going to think you are going to be a certain way so don't try to be that way. They are going to think you are like this because all Negroes are

like this so you have got to try to be different. Negroes can be prejudiced too and can have ideas about whites too. It's just as simple as not knowing what it's going to be like so you got to be open minded. If you are not going to be open minded and try to learn together you can't want to progress. Not being open minded is going to hinder you.

GIRL NO. 2: In our English class we had to try out for all kinds of parts in the play. We got upset at first because our English teacher didn't try out the Negro boys for anything but the part of the Negro. She didn't try any of the white boys out for that part either. We got upset because even though they were Negroes, and they have to be in the part, she could have thought of making us feel a little better by letting the white boys try for the part.

QUESTION: Well, what did you do about it?

BOY NO. 1: We went to the principal and asked him about it. He said that the part did call for a Negro. Well, I agree with this. The part called for a Negro and there were two Negro boys in the class so both of us tried out for the part. However, she might have let us try out for some other parts also. The principal said that if we did let a white person play the part then the thing would become a comedy and everyone would sit up and laugh and the actual meaning of the play wouldn't come out. The play is supposed to build up a better relationship between the whites and the Negroes. The principal suggested that we go on and do it. We never said anything to the instructor about it.

GIRL NO. 2: After the two Negro boys tried out, I began to think that the Negro girls could only play the parts of colored women and Negro slaves. I sort of got a little frustrated. But she had all of the girls both white and Negro to try out for the other parts. It turned out with three of the characters that were white in the book being played by three Negro girls. There was a scene in the opening part of the play where we had two uncles and the uncles were white boys. When they came in we were supposed to hug them. When we wrote this script, nobody knew who was going to play who so we wrote it just like it was supposed to be written. When the boys found out that we were supposed to hug them, they weren't happy about it; they were pretty upset. One boy said, "I just can't do that." Well we laughed about it but they were pretty serious. I kept getting the impression that it was because of what would happen when their friends saw them do this, or when their fathers or their relatives saw them.

QUESTION: Would you have done it?

GIRL NO. 2: I don't think I would have been any less embarrassed than they, but I would have done it. You see I don't really care about what anybody is going to say if they see me hug him. They just gave me the impression that it was more what would happen when their friends saw them do this. They just have to maintain their relationship with their white friends.

Now they have us shaking hands. At first they didn't want us to do anything but just wave at each other. One of the boys was making a big scene knocking down chairs and everything saying, "No, no, I can't do that." One of them was supposed to rub his sister's hair. "No I can't do that." Then he changed his mind and said he might be able to rub her hair but I can't hug her. The other one wouldn't say anything. He said it didn't make any difference with him.

GIRL NO. 1: After you go back and look at both sides of the story, you can't blame them really because after all you don't want people to say, "Oh no, I am scared to touch her because her black might rub off on me." If you were in their situation, you might feel the same way. You have to understand that they're not going to fall in love with you overnight. Nobody likes for his friends to turn their backs on him and laugh at him and all of that. More than likely that would be what would happen.

GIRL NO. 2: In the play I was the daughter and I was the only Negro in the whole family. They go around and call everybody brother and sister and mom and dad and they get to me and call me sister. When we sat around the table, I was expecting them to move their chairs over but they didn't do that. I was kind of shocked when two white boys and myself were backstage in the wings together and one of them had a gun that we were to use in the play. He said "If I had to shoot all the Negroes in the school, I would shoot you last." I said, "Why?" He said, "I like you because you know how to cope with our white jokes." I asked him what he meant and he said that when he tells us jokes we just laugh about them and don't get upset. I didn't know whether to take it as a compliment or not.

BOY NO. 1: I found myself not acting myself. They expected a whole lot out of me. They expected me to be different. I had to go along with their crude jokes. They were no good but I laughed anyway. They would run things in the ground but I would keep laughing. Lately I have decided that I really shouldn't try to act different from what I really am. I have decided that I don't have to prove anything to anybody. I lost a few friends by doing that but I've gotten fed up with it. When I first came into the situation, I wanted to be friendly. I guess anybody wants to be friends with everybody. We got along okay. We joked about the white and Negro relationship. This was good and okay but I just got tired of it.

GIRL NO. 4: What about the junior and senior banquet?

GIRL NO. 2: We had a meeting and the instructor asked how many of us thought we were coming. All of the Negroes' hands went up. There was one white girl whose hand went up. After she looked around and saw all of the other white students who didn't raise their hands, hers went down again. She was the main one who wanted to have it. Just when she saw their reactions, I think she was afraid she might lose her friends if she came. She keeps avoiding the principal so he won't ask her if she's coming. She keeps saying that

she is not sure. The instructor said, "Well why don't you want to come?" She said, "I am not sure now." She's not sure but she might be out of town.

GIRL NO. 1: You talk about the reason they don't want to come is maybe because they didn't want to sit next to us. One day we were sitting around talking and I asked some white girls just why they didn't want Negroes to sit next to them or touch them or anything. They came up with the reason that they don't believe in intermarriage. Now, what does marriage have to do with sitting by somebody?

BOY NO. 1: Maybe they feel that if they get friendly with us and sit beside us and talk that might lead to something.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, it takes two to marry somebody. This is the first thing that comes over them, intermarriage. Nobody wants to marry them; you just want to be their friends, that's all.

BOY NO. 1: They have been led to believe that the Negro thinks about one thing, sex.

GIRL NO. 2: No, no, I don't think that. They know that they think about getting married. They are afraid that they may find a Negro that they like, not necessarily that a Negro likes them. Maybe they already got a crush on them. I just believe that they are afraid. If they were not afraid of us, maybe they could stand us a little better. But when you have a guilty conscience yourself, things get down on you a little worse.

GIRL NO. 1: I think they get many of these ideas from their parents. Most of the adults feel that integration results in intermarriage, especially in the elementary school.

GIRL NO. 2: There was one girl in my homeroom who is okay. She would talk to us and when we are in some kind of trouble, she will help us out. I found that she likes a lot of things that I like. She doesn't sit around and keep it to herself and her white friends. Like when we are doing something and you have to pick someone to be on your team, a lot of white students will pick some white students first because they are white. She is different, she will pick you because she thinks you are good.

GIRL NO. 3: As part of being somebody you aren't, I have trouble, because you don't want to be over nice, yet you want to be nice. In one class I have, there are only five of us in there. There are two white boys, two white girls, and myself. Usually, I don't sit with anyone. If we are going to talk or anything our teacher tells us to be quiet. They will start their conversation about anything. It is just boring to me. Someone might say, "Why don't you come and sit with us?" I can't tell them that I don't want to sit with you because I don't enjoy talking with them. I have to laugh at their stupid jokes or they'll think I'm square. It's just that you can't act yourself around them. You want to be with your friends, the Negroes. I can be me more then. If it were a place where whites and Negroes lived together and did things together it'd be different. I guess it's just the situation that makes it that way.

GIRL NO. 2: Like when we had our first party, everybody started running all over the building. It ended up with all of the Negroes having a party in one room and all the whites having a party in another. Everybody enjoyed this because we wanted our music and they wanted theirs. We just couldn't all be together and enjoy the same music. I like to do the "Dog" but to their music all you can do is jump around. Their music has a louder and faster beat than ours. We would end up playing one record that they liked and they would end up playing one record that we liked. I only like one record out of their collection and that was "Hang on Snoopy" and that wasn't too much. So we just ended up having two parties. We all enjoyed it.

GIRL NO. 3: Something else concerning the divided society. There is a girl that goes to choir practice with me. We have something to talk about together sometimes away from school. She is a friend of mine but not that close. If the town were arranged differently, the situation would probably be different.

GIRL NO. 1: We need more activities together so we'll have more in common. Maybe gradually in two or three years we'll do more things together like proms and dances.

GIRL NO. 2: It's tough on the principal, although I really can't say why I think that. The girl cheerleaders say that the only thing he thinks about is sex going on in the school, but he hasn't said anything to me about that. I can't see he does that. They say that he's mean and forces things on them they don't want to do. Maybe we think differently because he does the things I want him to do and not what they want him to do. They want to get rid of him and talk about it a lot.

GIRL NO. 1: Those who say that always break the rules anyway, like smoking. Last year they got away with some of it, but this year it's different. If you get caught, you got to pay the consequences.

QUESTION: Tell us some more about the kids in your classes. Are they friendly . . . are they as smart as you thought they were?

ALL: No! (LAUGHTER)

GIRL NO. 3: In our class one of the white boys decided that he is not going to do anything. He isn't going to cooperate. The teacher asked him to read a poem and he said he would rather not. She would just call on somebody else.

GIRL NO. 1: There's a lot of white students who act like they think they are doing you a favor if they let you be their friends. It's like it is a privilege for you to be their friend. Well, that's not the kind of friend I need. If you are going to be my friend I don't care what you are or what you claim to be. This one girl acts as if it is a privilege, and that you ought to be glad that she is going to be your friend. She acts like a counselor over you. There's a lot more like this too. They will talk to their friends about you, then they

will come and get your opinion about something, then they will turn what you said to just the opposite and start something.

GIRL No. 3: What makes me feel sort of bad is when you go to a place out of the South, where there is integration and it is so perfect. People seem wonderful and you just forget about what you are, about your color and everything. Then when you come back you see that it is just the opposite. It makes you sick. You realize how perfect society can be but people just don't care enough to try to start it. It just makes you think. You see a way that you would like for things to be but it just can't be.

GIRL No. 2: I'm so used to white people objecting to many of the things that I do that I think I'll leave. I kind of question myself: "Here is a friend but does she really mean it?" I don't want to be that kind of person. I want to accept someone to be my friend without this kind of doubt. I think it's just being here. I get somewhere else and find white people being very nice and kind and I say to myself: "Look what they're doing." I don't want to feel that, I want to accept it.

GIRL No. 1: Like in our class, you see the same people every day and they have gotten used to the fact that they have got to talk to us. We have a nice conversation. We laugh at their jokes and everything and then if you see them on the street, the same person that you have been joking around with all day will look the other way and they won't speak. That kind of thing bothers you. They will talk to you when you are by yourself or with just a few people but if you are in a group with some of their other friends around, they don't know you at all. That kind of thing makes you distrust their friendship at all.

QUESTION: Are you girls saying that you are more distrustful of white people now than you were a few years ago? Is that the common reaction or not?

GIRL No. 2: If I had been around them all of my days and know how they react with me in school is different from the way that they react with me out, I could go along with it. When I was in the North I went to an integrated group and I didn't think anything about it. Now when some of them are being nice to me I find myself saying: "Look what they are doing for me, going out of their way to do it."

BOY No. 1: I don't know if this is representative of everyone, but I find that in our schools, the white kids will turn on each other. They will be friends and then when something happens, they always point the thing to the other. Even though they are friends, they can't seem to trust each other.

QUESTION: That doesn't happen among Negro friends?

BOY No. 1: I would say it was not as prevalent.

QUESTION: What other things do you see down there among the white kids?

BOY NO. 1: They all seem to be afraid of what someone else might think. They can't seem to think for themselves. They can't even follow their own moral right. They are always afraid of what someone else might think. There are very few incidences of violence, killings, etc., but they are afraid to take me home after practice. They say, "somebody might shoot me," "take you home in broad daylight, you must be kidding." Sometimes they will take me home and sometimes they will make up excuses. They are just afraid. They are afraid of nothing; there's nothing to be afraid of. Sometimes I invite them to come over to some of the activities. But they think that the Negroes just hate white people, they think they will come over here and get killed. I try to explain to them that it is a thing that is accepted. One man is just another man that you pass on the street. They can't seem to understand that. The white people who associate with us are what they refer to as "nigger lovers." I find that this is not only at the school but is characteristic of the entire white population. All of them are afraid of what others will think. I don't know very much about the city council but I think this exists in the city council.

GIRL NO. 2: We were talking about the junior-senior banquet, and —— asked whether the whites and the Negroes would want to avoid each other at the banquet. I said, "Why don't you sit next to me and we'll set an example." He said to me later, "Do you really want to sit by me?" I'm always joking around so I said, "Oh yes, sure, you know I want to sit by you." I was only joking, but maybe he took it seriously. He said to me later, "Do you want to sit next to me because I can't do that—my friends wouldn't like it?" I said, "Oh, that's all right. I will bring my date and we can sit on the other side of you." I was just joking around. I didn't know whether he was taking me serious or not but he asked me again and I said, "No, that's all right."

BOY NO. 1: He was serious—because he asked me. (LAUGHTER.) What do you think about this desegregation for next year? How will it work? That's between Negroes and whites.

GIRL NO. 1: All kids coming down here, they are going to be this, on that and on the other thing. If the whites hear all this half of them will drop out. Many of them have left already. But you can't just turn down the Negroes because parents say, you picked the best kids, you didn't pick my son or daughter and they start this rejection toward the school. Then next year you beg them to come down and they won't. They say you said you picked the best ones and you didn't pick my son or daughter then. I don't know what we are going to do about it. We got problems here.

QUESTION: What kind of reactions do you think white teachers would get from predominantly all Negro schools?

GIRL NO. 2: I know of one teacher who left, but she wasn't a good teacher, that's why.

GIRL NO. 3: They have one now. They said he was accepted fairly well.

You just have to think about personality. I don't know—can't be much worse.

GIRL No. 2: From what I've heard from students about the white teacher that was just the excuse she gave for leaving, that Negro kids don't know how to respect white teachers. Wherever you go kids are going to act like this. Maybe she felt funny teaching a class of all Negroes and not any whites.

GIRL No. 4: Well I think I would have felt the same way had I been in her place. At least some will try to show her we're bad, we don't need you. Negroes are prejudiced too, at least some are. Make her feel different. Nobody wants to feel that way, you know. She is going to think she is different, and she *is* different. She *would* think she had a special reason for leaving. I think I would have left too.

GIRL No. 1: Why did she come? She should have gone. Children are going to be children, and they will act like this! I guess it's just the way the teacher has to handle the class. Maybe the way she presents her work. If you send down a Negro teacher to an all-white school, or an integrated school, you send your best Negro teacher and if you send a white teacher to an all Negro school, you send your best white teacher. I don't think that she was their best. If she couldn't cope with the students like the Negro teacher can, she wasn't that good. I heard that she sat around in her chair all of the time. You know most teachers walk around in a classroom. She would still have to discipline her class. If she just didn't make it seem like "I'm white." She wasn't their best teacher. They should have sent one of their better white teachers and it would have worked out.

GIRL No. 3: There is just one thing I would like to say. . . . We have a lot of dumb people in our class . . . you know, dumb, white people. (LAUGHTER) It's true! They want to graduate, but they don't want to do anything. I noticed this before. I was absent a lot and I was behind, had a lot of back work to do in order to catch up. There was one time I didn't finish my short stories. I had seventeen and I turned in sixteen. I noticed that she didn't give me credit but for the sixteen. I know that there are some white kids . . . well this one boy, he never does his homework, he doesn't even bring books to class. He could get an "I" and he can make it up. It should be the same for all. The teacher would always say, "Did you understand it?" and he would say, "No, I didn't." She would say, "Well, see me after class and bring it in later at the sixth period." He is just far behind and yet, he is going to graduate. It's the same way with another girl.

GIRL No. 1: I guess they expect a lot from you. I kind of noticed that when they are in class they don't recite and can't answer questions right. The majority of the white kids in our classroom have a don't-carish attitude. They say I don't care about school. Maybe they feel that they are going to graduate without much trouble anyway, they'll get a passing grade and it seems that they aren't going to college. Probably they are going to get married so it doesn't really matter just so long as "I get my degree."

BOY No. 1: Last night the superintendent, myself, and the coach were

discussing this attitude that was in the school and it seems to be the problem with the team. These kids seem to have the idea that if they can't win, they don't care. Coach was saying that actually they don't care and that in home games, this attitude was prevalent in the parents and it rubs off on the kids. It's been like this since she has been here, the white people act like they don't care. They have never been together and they just have an "I don't care" attitude.

BOY NO. 2: What about the boy who comes to class unprepared and has no excuse, does exactly nothing and the teacher asks him why he doesn't have his work? And he answers, "I was sick," "I had to work" or "go to band practice." And she says bring it in tomorrow. Tomorrow comes, then the next tomorrow—all day—and then he still doesn't turn it in. And actually he doesn't do anything in class but yet, he could be making good grades. She is actually giving him grades. She is just doing it, just to pass him. He thinks, I am doing you a favor just by coming to school when he actually isn't doing anyone any good because the time she takes up with him trying to explain things to him, he is actually hindering everybody instead of trying to help them because he actually does nothing in the classroom. He just sits there occupying space. That's all he is doing.

GIRL NO. 1: If he doesn't graduate I think maybe he will go into the armed services. If he doesn't graduate he is not coming back to school another year. He just doesn't care.

QUESTION: What are you people going to do after you finish classes, when you finish high school?

BOY NO. 1: Our plans after we graduate from school . . . I think all of us plan to go to college.

BOY NO. 2: The white kids always talk about getting married or joining the armed services, so I asked one what he is going to do when he gets out of the armed services. He tells me he is going to get a job somewhere. I say get a job doing what? I try to tell him that the world is becoming more mechanized day by day; I mean it's going to be hard to make a living. He tells me that he is going to do this and he is going to do that. I say he's going to be lost. But he says he can find something and I try to tell him that it's not going to work. Then he thinks I am being uppity and all this, so he gets mad and walks off.

GIRL NO. 1: Oh, I think most kids feel that college isn't for everyone—which is true, and that some people are better off in trade school, better off married, some are better off lost.

GIRL NO. 4: In our English class, I believe it was at the end of the semester, our teacher divided the class into two groups—the group that was planning to go to college and the group that was not. And it seems to me that the majority of the kids, well, the kids in college preparatory groups are the

ones that have a closer relationship than the ones in the other group. I feel that, they don't have anything to say to the other group. I mean, this was before the division was made as well as now. There is only one girl in the non-college group and the other girls are in the college prep group. This seems to have some relationship to the atmosphere in our class.

QUESTION: You said not many of you were friendly with the white kids after school, I'm wondering if you are friendly with each other?

BOY NO. 1: Yes!! That's all we can do. We have to talk to somebody, so we just have to talk to each other.

GIRL NO. 1: One thing we have different in the white school, we don't have dances. Our main activity should be the high school. The white kids have to go outside and maybe that's why they are not more together. You see, we can go to the other school.

QUESTION: Suppose you were approached and asked for suggestions about going to a white school? What would you tell them?

GIRL NO. 1: I would say that there are really no activities, you should be willing to take the insults they sometimes make, and you won't really be accepted as best friends all the time because sometimes that's not true. But I realize that myself.

BOY NO. 2: I would tell them to be prepared for a change because it's a great change from the other school to this high school and don't form any opinions about the school. Just come and more or less observe. One thing is the change in social atmosphere. I mean that you can joke around, just more freedom. But down here, sometimes you can say things here and you don't mean it to be a particular insult but—you don't want to step on anybody's toes, so you just have to be careful of what you say and how you say it. Really, there's a strain. There also seems to be more homework here.

GIRL NO. 1: You see, there seems to be more activities to take up school periods and I find I talked to one of my old friends and they say that they are way behind in their books. It's just that we don't have so many activities. I think it's up to anyone to come and make their own suggestions because like I found people gave me advice and it was different advice that they gave me even though they weren't in the situation. I don't think I can because I am in the situation and right now if I were to give advice it'd be different from others in this room. I think that the only thing I could tell them would be to make up their minds to want to come and when they get here to be themselves and don't put on a big show. This is not to say you have to be different in order to get along with other people. It's not that way at all. You find that people judge you by your group without getting to know you at first. The Negro group is such and such. After that they get to know you as the individual as you are.

BOY NO. 2: Another thing about impressions, when I was down here a year ago I got the impression that they were trying to push me around and I was called a show-off. I was called this often and constantly. I got to the point where I believed it. So my first year down there I got the attitude, you know, that I don't care about this and that. Well, when I got down there I found out in a couple of months that it wasn't like this. But after I had practiced this for so long, then after I started changing myself it was difficult to change and I couldn't really start changing until this year. I lost quite a few friends that I really didn't mean to, because of my attitude last year. So far as giving people advice on what to do down there, I hardly know how to react myself in certain situations. I would tell them just don't and use your own discretion as far as possible. But I would not tell them, you know, especially, they did this and they did that to me, because this really proves to be a handicap and it's very hard to correct the mistake that you have gotten influenced beforehand.

GIRL NO. 2: I find that you should watch out for a couple of things. My advice is for you not to do things in class that would impress the teacher or impress the students—or maybe impress yourself. And that's one of the things you find later on, just do your job and don't try to impress anybody, and you will get a little better reaction, where you wouldn't try to impress anybody.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, I would like to offer a few suggestions—give them my reaction. Tell them what to expect and maybe some of the things I came in contact with may cause them to be separated and things like that. But they can use it or not.

QUESTION: Do people call you names to your face?

GIRL NO. 1: Yes, not regularly, but maybe after a person gets angry with you and they call you names every week or pass you by without speaking. This makes you angry.

GIRL NO. 2: It's not as much as it was before.

BOY NO. 2: You also get used to things written on the bathroom walls, a lot of stuff. But this is something you have to take. When you come to think about it, when kids call you a name you laugh and joke it off. When you get down there, it's a little different because it's white people.

GIRL NO. 2: I find myself, I don't think about it now. We call each other a nigger right off, y'know we joke about it. But you turn around and a white person call me a nigger I don't know how to take it. When the whites see Negroes calling each other nigger then they use it. So I catch myself and when I'm joking around in the halls I don't say it down there.

GIRL NO. 1: I had this white friend this summer. We were just talking about things, the school situation and stuff, and she asked me what did I think if she called me a nigger. I told her I'd be offended. So she said she

could see this because where she went to school some of her friends call her a peck or a cracker and they laugh it off. But if I called her a name like that she'd be offended too.

BOY NO. 1: Well, I'd like to say this. I feel that we have given the wrong impression that our relationship with the white kids at the high school is entirely a hostile one. This is wrong although sometimes we talk that way. We have conversations and all and often the boys talk about girls. But the thing is that sometimes you may say something and you don't know who you can trust, even those who look like they're being sincere. You don't know whether you can trust them or if they'll say something behind your back.

GIRL NO. 2: All in all the situation is not bad. There always is a rotten apple but we expected this. Some people ask what it's like down there and they expect me to say it's tough and mean. But it's not like that at all. It's nice, considering the situation. Things are better than they were last year.

QUESTION: Have any of you had any of your white classmates to your homes, or have you gone to any of theirs?

BOY NO. 1: I've been to the front door. (LAUGHTER) When I invited one over he was cautious about it. I had four or five over on some business to check on some studies. After the first visit the ice was broken and some of them came by again. And once he was cautious about going into the house. I said, "C'mon, nobody else will know." (LAUGHTER) I got him into the house and we had a good time. He came by once on a friendly visit, and they stay outside sometimes and blow their horns.

GIRL NO. 2: One day this girl took me home and when we got there she just sat in the car and I said, "If you want to come in, come in." She said, "Sure." She walked in through the house and looked into every room. So I took her around and told her this was the living room, and this was the kitchen, and this was the bedroom and so on. She just looked and stared. She said, "Your house is really nice," in a surprised tone. I said, "Thank you." There was another girl who associated with us last year when things were pretty hot. Sometime later I saw her in school and she said she wanted to come over but it was hard. I invited her and didn't tell anybody. So she came and we talked and joked. She brought all her brothers and everything.

BOY NO. 1: A lot of them were surprised to find that I lived in a better house than they did. I almost got into a fight one day over this visiting bit. I asked _____ about would he invite me over for a visit. He said, "No!" And I asked, "Why not?" He said, "Going to school is okay, but that's the limit." I said, "What do you mean?" At first I was joking around because I didn't expect him to invite me to his house. But I said, "I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll come over and pretend like I'm cutting the hedges and I'll go around the back and come in the back door." (LAUGHTER) Well, we got serious about it and he said he just couldn't invite me to his house. So I said, "Well, I invite you to come to my house anytime you want." He said, "I won't do that either." And I said, "Well, why not?" He finally said, "Let's

face it, a spade is a spade." I swear I almost hit him. I was mad. I stopped the conversation and walked away right there. If I had said anything else I would have hit him. Ooooh! (LAUGHTER)

GIRL NO. 2: You see, a lot of things start off joking around and digging about race and stuff and then it suddenly gets serious. They sometimes do things just to see my reactions; and I try to keep them to myself. They once in a while come up behind me and say, "Boo! I'm a segregationist."

BOY NO. 1: I think actually some of them are trying to make fools of us. They make a joke out of race and are grinning and laughing at us. It's not a joke. But I don't get sucked in, I know what it is. I go along, because I go out of my way to make somebody happy. But I tell them, I know what's going on and nobody's pulling the wool over me.

GIRL NO. 1: We were sitting in class one day and a boy said, "White for the right." I said, "What makes you say that?" He said, "Don't take me seriously. I'm only fooling." But he wasn't laughing or even smiling.

BOY NO. 1: Sometimes we come back from a weekend and talk about girls and stuff. Then we have a regular conversation. Then sometimes it goes back to joking about race like, "Hey, nigger boy, c'mere and shine my shoes." And then I joke right back.

GIRL NO. 2: One day in the school bus we were going on a trip. Most of us got in the front and the white kids were in the back. And someone said, "Hey, isn't it supposed to be the other way around?"

GIRL NO. 1: Then some of them really express how they feel, and they don't hide it from us. I like them better because you know what to expect from them. Like there's one boy, he'll tell you he likes the governor and believes in the governor. He says it in a joking way but he means it. He's telling the truth and you know what to expect from him.

GIRL NO. 3: There's a problem when you talk about the society again. I have a close white friend. She was in camp with me, and camp is different y'know; we were tight together there. I was thinking of inviting her down here but I can't because our society wouldn't accept her here. And I can't go to her society because she lives with white folks . . . I guess that's right because she is white folk. (LAUGHTER) You have to be in an area where you can be accepted together. It's not like that down here. That's what's wrong, and it'll take time, a long time, to change.

Reflections on School Integration: II.

(This is a transcript of an hour and one-half session with seven Negro youngsters who desegregated and are attending a predominantly white school in the Deep South. All students are in the ninth through twelfth grades. 8/66)

QUESTION: Who made the decision for you to go to a white school and how was it made? What were the first days like?

GIRL NO. 1: Well, last year we got these applications to fill out, it was a freedom of choice thing, and you chose the school that you wanted to go to the next year. I chose to go because I felt that I could get a better education here. I knew that the school that I was then attending wasn't giving me exactly what I should have had. We needed more materials and things there that we didn't have. As far as the Science Department was concerned, it just didn't have the chemicals we needed and I just decided to change. When I went over the students there weren't very friendly and when I graduated they still weren't. They didn't want us there and they made that plain, but we went there anyway and we stuck it out. The lessons there were harder, lots harder, but I studied and I managed to pass all my subjects. I had the most trouble in Physical Education, that's where we'd play games. They'd get dirty in the games and try to hurt us. I was outside one day, as a typical example; we were playing and the teacher had gone inside. The boys started calling names and I tried to ignore them, I had been instructed to do so by my parents. I tried to ignore them, but you know there's only so much you can take. So when they called me nigger or black nigger, well I just called them yellow nigger or something back. And that just leads from one word to another and pretty soon we had a pretty heated argument started and, you know, I just tried to forget it, just forget that they were talking, ignore them again. That's when they started throwing green pecans, they were on the trees there. I reported it to the teacher and she acted as if it wasn't anything. I went and reported it to the principal and he said, like the Governor said a long time ago, "Do it like you do it with mud, you let it dry and it will shake off better." He always had some slogan like this to say to us. I would always get into a lot of trouble in P.E. but I don't think that I would get into the trouble really, the trouble would come to me. They'd always start something, throwing something at me, or calling me names. In Physical Education, I was the only Negro in their class. It was a class of three grades, kids out of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades. And everytime I reported something to the teacher she acted as if it wasn't anything, so then I just started hitting them back if they hit me. One day this girl and I started throwing books, she hit me with a book and I picked it up and I hit her back, then she threw a purse and I picked it up and threw it back, and everything she threw I hit it back. Then the next thing the P.E. teacher heard about it and called us into the shower room, and I don't think this other girl liked that. So we went into the shower

room and she talked to us and she told me that I brought a lot of these things on myself and she talked as if it was my fault that the girl hit me. Well, I told her that I didn't think it was my fault. She got real angry with me that day and at the end of that six week period I had a D. I got a D. in P.E., the easiest subject there was; when I got an A in Biology for the same six weeks, and B in Chemistry and like this.

GIRL No. 2: One of our worst problems was the lunch system. Our cooks were very rough; I would go through the lunch line and they would fix my food up sloppy. We reported this to some of the people in the community and they talked with the principal about it. One of my other problems was that my history teacher would call on me to read mostly all the time, and because I couldn't read very well the children would laugh. Everytime I would call on someone to read the class would laugh. The teacher would go out of the class almost everyday so the kids could call on me and have fun on me. One of the other problems was my English teacher; he would make jokes up about me and some of the other students said that he made jokes up about them. I decided to go because I had no experience with going to school with white children before and a few of my friends were doing it so I decided I would too.

GIRL No. 3: I made my decision to go for one main reason, even though I was kind of popular at my old school. Most of the children who were valedictorian or salutatorian at the old school went to college. They had to study very hard and some of them couldn't even pass their entrance examination. I decided I wanted to go to college after I finished high school, so what I wanted to do was go to a school so I could get the proper education so when I went to college I wouldn't be embarrassed by my fellow students who thought I was so smart. That was the reason I made this decision to go to a white school and I think that is my main reason for going. After I got there I wasn't a bit surprised at the attitude of the students there because it had been said before that these kids are absolutely wild. They wouldn't listen to the principal and wouldn't mind the teachers and I wasn't a bit surprised. I was kind of prepared for some of the incidents that happened. Really, I didn't know how I would take being called a Nigger because I had never been called a Nigger before. I just didn't know how I would take it. I couldn't tell anybody I wouldn't hit anybody when they called me Nigger. But after I got over there and had been called a Nigger about a thousand times during the first six-week period I'd feel a burning inside, and after the third six-week period I'd get over this burning inside, but really a Nigger still seems kind of like insulting to me. Anyway I got over being called a Nigger but I didn't get over being hit with paper. I just couldn't take that. I had one very mild and calm teacher. Well one reason I say this was he didn't want me to tell him anything out loud and I had to be sure to go back and whisper to him if I was telling him anything about the students. One day I had to call him and tell him the students were hitting me with paper and but he didn't hear, so I called to him louder and he answered, but he still didn't make any mention of the kids

throwing paper. I also heard that all the children had to do was get used to you and they would get better, but toward the end of the school term instead of getting better they were getting worse. I would say that the reason for this was because at the beginning of the school term the principal was really rough and tight on them but he began to slack up on them and they began to get like they were the year before. Well, we went to the graduation and there were incidents at the graduation, and it was just like the students said. The principal wouldn't take anything serious; everything would go so calm with him. He would make some joke about it or have some kind of slogan or motto to make about every incident. My sister was in that one incident and we went to the office and I think that was pretty serious, blood on the coats and shirts and everything and he took it so calmly. He told us that everything would pass over easy, well, we just could leave it there. Well, we could see that he wanted to rest there, because he said that that would be the end of it. But later he decided he wanted to go further because he called the superintendent's office, but he didn't know who was in the superintendent's office and that's why he got into it, because some men from Washington were down asking questions and going on and they came right over to the situation. But, in all, I think I got what I was going there for, even if it was only for one year. I think if I was sent back to school this year I don't think it would do any good because what I wanted to go there for would be the whole three years, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. I think that's the only way it would help me in college. I did get a great deal of what I was going for. The lessons are harder, especially our English and Literature. The school is better than the old school, for instance, the library and the typing room. They have more typewriters and more books in the library; you could double it from the school we went to before. In the home economics classroom they have more machines; and this is another place that we found that we were discriminated against. Our home economics teacher would have the new machines on one side of the room and the old on the other side, and would put us into groups to let us use the old machines and the white girls use the new ones. And in cooking she would always give out the recipes and stuff and we would always get the small amount. And she would separate us into three groups so that the three Negro girls were in the same group together. In the lunch room we had trouble also. Near the end of the school term a girl's plate was shattered with something a boy threw in it. The principal just looked at that and I think just passed it over. Anyway it was a great experience for me and I think all the other children that went.

GIRL NO. 4: Well, I decided to go because I figured that I could get a better education there and there would be better facilities for me than at the other school I went to. When I started it seemed as though it was going to be pretty nice. At least the first day the students and instructors were pretty friendly, but after about two weeks of school trouble began for me. The first of the week I just ignored everything as I had been instructed to do, but one day about the last of the week I was hit in my back by a rubber band. I

turned around and I didn't see anything, everyone looked so innocent. There were two Negro girls sitting in back of me so I asked them "Who hit me?" and they told me the boy who hit me. I hit him back, and it went on. We were going to a pep rally, and the pep rally was pretty nasty, for me at least, because the students were throwing spit balls around, shooting rubber bands that would hit you in the back, and sailing airplanes in the bleachers. They were at the top of the bleachers and they would sail things down that would hit you in the back of the head and everything. The instructors were down there but they were acting like nothing was going on, so we just ignored it. I missed school on Monday because the busses that had been picking us up at our home had been stopped because of the man that lived next door to us. He owned the land and said the bus was travelling over his private property, so we didn't go to school because the bus didn't come for us. But Tuesday I was in school, and after lunch I was going to my class and one of the students shot me and hit me in my back with a rubber band, so I turned around and hit him back. I went to my classroom and approximately fifteen minutes after I got into the classroom the principal came and asked the instructor if he could speak to me. So after I went into the office I found that this boy that I hit was in the office too. The principal asked me if I hit this boy, and I said yes. Then he asked me why and I told him why — all the trouble that I had had with this boy in the beginning — and so he asked this boy had he had any trouble out of me. This boy said no, he had never seen me before. I knew that that was untrue because I was an unusual person over there, he would have noticed me before just because of the color of my skin and all. Another way I found out he was telling a story is that I had hit this boy back once before and then he still told the principal that he had never seen me before. So the principal told me that it was settled, and I went back to my classroom. The next day at school I was called out of my classroom during the first period and we went to the counseling room. They told me that they wanted to talk to me and wanted me to tell them what happened. So I told them and they wanted to know whether I was telling the truth. They also wanted to know whether I was being paid to do the things that I did — such as go to that school — and was I being informed by anyone to do those things. I told them no. They were also recording the things I said on a tape recorder. All the other Negro students were called in and they were taped too about this incident and asked if they knew about this boy hitting me and anything. Some of the students said no but they knew about them being hit themselves; well, they told them that that wasn't the point. And so they told me first period that it was settled, but third period I was called into the office again. I went into the office and the principal told me that I was suspended by him for five days and he said after that it was out of his hands, but it might be further suspended by the board of education. So after my five day suspension was up I thought I would come back to school, but I never did, not during that semester. As I was leaving the office there was a deputy standing there; as I started to go down the hall he said, "Hey," so I just kept on walking because my name wasn't hey. He said come

and go with me for you are under arrest. I said for what. He said for assault and battery. I said who was the arrest made by and all and he told me. So I went along and stayed all night in jail; my parents tried to get me out but they failed; it wasn't possible for them to do so. At first they were not going to let my parents sign the bond, then they were going to let people who were eligible sign the bond. So my parents went home and they were back early next morning and they got me out of jail. I had to go on trial too so the lawyer that we got told us that we would have to go on trial. When the day of the trial came and we went into the courthouse, the counselor said that there wouldn't be any need of going through a trial since my main point was getting back into school. So they didn't have the trial and I thought I was going to get back into school pretty soon, and my mother kept trying to catch up with the superintendent. My mother made several trips to his office but never could get in touch with the superintendent to find out when I was going to go back to school. He never was there, and she also make an appointment but he wasn't there at the time of the appointment. So by this time it was near the end of November, I think, the first of December, when a man from Washington came and interviewed me. He told me that I would get back to school pretty soon and I was informed by the superintendent of the school that I could come back in school in January. He said there wouldn't be any need of me coming in the first semester because I wouldn't get any grades for it. So I started school January 3rd and tension was high there. The students were still yelling and everything and some of the instructors were pretty nasty but some of them were pretty nice. This typing instructor was real bad. When my books would be misplaced or put in the trash can and I would ask her about them she would say you should keep them in your own place, I'm not responsible for them. I couldn't even turn my back and some of my books were missing and moved. I'd have to go around the room and she doesn't even know anything about it. For an example, one day I was carrying my books to the room and I had to go out. When I came back my books were gone and my bag also. I didn't say anything, I asked her if I could go to the office. She said is it important and I said yes it is, and she said well what do you want. I said I want my books and she said oh, your books, I think they are in the trash can. She left the room before the class period was all done and I assumed that she had gone to the office, because by the time the bell sounded and I went to the principal's office the principal was already informed about what happened. He said you'll just have to ignore those things, the best way to solve the problem is to ignore those things. That was his usual saying. So, some more incidents that I had in typing was that everytime I would come in the room the typewriter would have a staple in the machine or my desk would have powder from the eraser. I went back to the principal and he must have called the instructor about it because it didn't happen any more. Another incident I had after I got back in school was a terrible fight I had. I was getting off the bus and one of the guys hit me in the face and of course I got off the bus behind him and he just turned, that's what he said. But he later changed it and said

that I pushed him and so that's why he hit me. I went into the office myself, and the principal had to send for this boy. When he got into the office he acted like he still wanted to fight me and wanted to jump on me then. The principal had to talk to him and then sent him out for a few minutes to get control of himself but I still was in the office telling him what happened. When this boy came back he told his side of the story and the principal asked him what he called me. He told him he wouldn't like to repeat what he said so the principal told him that he knew what he said anyway. Well, I wanted to call my mother but the principal insisted that I shouldn't call my mother because he didn't want any trouble aroused. If it was, he said, it probably would be in Washington by tomorrow that I called my mother. I said I still wanted to call my mother because the first time that I got in trouble things were done over her head and she didn't know anything about it. I said that I just insist that I call my mother. He said no don't call her so I didn't call my mother. So about third period the superintendent and two men from Washington were there and they interviewed all of us and asked what had happened. So this time both of the students were suspended for three days. Those were about the worse incidents that I had, after that I still decided that I would go back because it had been a great experience.

Boy No. 1: Well, when they gave out the choice to decide on which school you would go to I decided I would go because I would get a better education. When school opened a group of us went over there into the auditorium and we stayed in there for a while until they made out the forms and things for which class we were going to go to. Our teacher was always calling on us when we wouldn't have our hands up, and when we did have our hands up she wouldn't call on us, when we'd take them down that's when she would call on us. And then one morning in our first period class, my friend was at his desk, and she called him up in front of the class, trying to embarrass him. He had soap on his face that couldn't come off good and she told him that he had soap on his face and that he hadn't washed his face. Well they'd make remarks about him and laugh at him. And then he went and took his seat. And when we'd be in P.E. class the coach wouldn't be there, he had boys lead the class. We would be playing football. Every day they'd tell the boys to try to hurt us and knock us down and they would do it. One of them would pretend to act nice and tell them not to do it, but he didn't mean it anyway and this other one would tell them to keep on. So one day, we was playing football and this one boy hit me and I hit him back and then I wouldn't play football no more that day. I told him that I wanted to go see the coach and he told me to run five laps around, and I ran five laps, and then he took me to the coach's office. He wasn't in so he told me to come back and run the rest of the period and I wouldn't run. He told me that if I didn't run he was going to whup me and I told him he wasn't going to whup me and I wasn't going to run. The period was nearly up then so we changed classes and he told me to come back the next day. So I went back the next day and then he asked me what I had to tell him. I told him that I didn't have nothing to tell him today

since he didn't want to listen to what I had to say yesterday. So then when my card came up I had an F in P.E.

BOY NO. 2: Well, I thought I would get a better education here and learn more. The first day I went here and I had trouble with the teachers. She would call on me all the time and when I wouldn't be ready she would call on me. Like if I had a test or something, six week test or something like that, she would get some of the dumbest children to grade my paper and they would put anything down. And when the children made a mistake she said that she couldn't do anything about it, so I just left them alone until the next day. They kept giving me F's on my paper when I made a B or something like that, so I went and told the principal. He said that he had to look into it, so he looked into it and told the teacher that from now on she's suppose to grade the paper. And then another problem I had was when I was going to the lunch room after I got my arm broken playing P.E. You see my arm was broken and I couldn't pick up nothing with one hand. When she gave me something I didn't want she'd say get what I give you and go ahead on. And when I see the white kids get in they say to her that they don't want that and she doesn't give it to them. When I sit down, sometimes I would be the only one in there and they'd throw cups and everything. Once when I was with a group of other Negroes someone threw something in a girl's plate next to me and I went and told the principal. He stood up and that next afternoon those boys who I told on trailed me all the way home and stopped me and asked me why I told on their friend. I said because I wanted to and they pulled out a knife and said if you tell again we gonna cut your neck off, and then I just went off. And then the next day they started saying that's the nigger that I'm going to cut his head off and all that. I went and told the principal and he said there was nothing he could do about it. Everyday when I come home they follow me and try to run me off the road or something like that.

GIRL NO. 5: I went because I knew that the curriculum was greater and they had more equipment and better facilities. When I first went I had trouble with Physical Ed; I was the only Negro in that class because I was the only Negro in my grade. When I was playing, the teacher, the coach would tell the P.E. instructor that he would let the boys play with the girls. We were playing bombard, and all the boys said they must all try and get the nigger. They would throw the ball and always hit me, so next time I said I wasn't going to play. I went back and sat down on the bleachers and the teacher said for me to go back out there and play. I said that I wasn't going to play because they kept hitting me with the ball too hard. She said that they weren't hitting me any harder than they were hitting the white children. So I went back out there and played and the next thing this white girl hit me real bad. And when we first started school we didn't have a bus to ride, so we had to walk, and my brother would take me in his car. Then his car stopped working then and we had to walk home. And this one evening some boys followed us home and he tried to run over one of my sisters. We told the principal the next day and he said that he couldn't do anything about it. And when we were walking

home my mother picked me up and she called these Washington people and they came down and he told me to write a report on it and send it to Washington. I told them about everything but my letter didn't get to Washington because people in the post office did something to it. When these men came back they asked me why I didn't write to them and I told them I did, but they said that they didn't get my letter. I guess they went to the post office and checked on it. They would hold up a lot of our mail and it would never get to us. One day I was walking down the hall and this boy shot me in the back with a rubber band. I went to the office and told the principal. He asked me who did it, and I said that there were lots of kids walking behind me and I didn't know. He said that there wasn't anything he could do about it. When we went to court and I had to testify about this girl who stuck this boy with a pencil, I told him that I didn't know anything about that but that they had shot me. He said he didn't ask me about that and he had asked me about this girl and this other boy. And one day I was the only person in my class and this boy threw a pencil and it hit me. This policeman's boy was picking up these pencils and crayons and handing it to this boy. He threw and he hit me and I told the teacher. She asked me if it hurt and I said no, but this boy shouldn't have hit me with it anyway. She said well, just forget about it then. When I was going to study hall this boy was throwing rocks at me and this other girl. This Negro girl was already in the study hall and they locked me out of the class and she couldn't open the door. When we got in there they started throwing rocks and crayons at us. I told the teacher and she went back there, and they all started laughing, and she was laughing with them. And then they went outside and they brought more rocks and they started throwing them.

QUESTION: Are the teachers at your new school any different, any better or worse, than at your old school?

GIRL NO. 5: I think the teachers at the new school are worse than the ones at the Negro school because they don't give you exactly what you make. At the Negro school they don't give you exactly what you make either, but they're worse here. If you make a good grade they'll give you a bad grade and if you make a bad grade then they still give it to you. But they also make it lower and they don't treat you equally. When something happens they put it all on us and they don't do anything about it. They do stay in their room longer but when something happens they still don't know about it because they don't try to find out about anything. At the old school the teachers stayed out of the room more, but still if you tell them about something they do something about it. But here they just don't treat us equally because we are Negroes and the other children are white.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, I don't know what teachers are the best but I know the teachers over at the old school, some of them, do the best of their ability. They teach us what they can, some of them, and the white teachers over here are better educated and they have better ability to teach us than some of the Negro teachers. That's the only way that I can say that the teachers are better

at the white school than at the Negro school. The grading system was that if you make a high grade, like if you made an A you would get an A. But over here you would get a B, and if you made a B you might get a D minus or an F. I know in one class that I thought I got a B and this one teacher always gave me C's, and I improved in my class but still the highest mark in that class was a C minus.

BOY NO. 2: Well, I think the teachers are worse here because they don't give you what you make. When you have a test one teacher gives some of the students your paper to grade and then she would go over it and she would take off for spelling. I had a teacher who was real nice; she helped you out with your lesson and if they was bothering you she would make them stop and punish them. She would give you what you make, and if you didn't make it then she would help you out and give you a few points to make you pass.

GIRL NO. 4: I think the teachers at the white school are better than the ones at the Negro school because they teach you better and they do stay in the classroom.

GIRL NO. 5: I think its hard to say which teachers are better because teachers here and at the old school both have their bad points. For that matter at any Negro or white school they all have some good points and some bad points. The teachers at the Negro school could teach more than they do, but like it has been said, they don't spend enough time in their classroom. When they do they're not teaching a lot of the time. They're often doing their monthly report instead of teaching us. And as far as incidents are concerned here, if something happens in the classroom most time it goes unnoticed unless the white students get the worse end of it. But at the old school incidents are always given the best consideration and both parties usually go to the office and get it settled. But the teachers at the white school see it different, and only the Negroes go to the office if the white person gets hurt bad enough to report it.

GIRL NO. 3: It is kind of hard to compare the teachers at the school because each has their bad points. I think at the old school the teachers would do better if they'd get more education and more facilities and equipment to work with. They don't have these things and just don't care. I think that they would prefer to be in the lounge. And at the white school they do stay in the room more. I had a few just teachers over here, about two, that would give you just what you make. They really were better teachers, especially, as I said before, in English; they had more materials because they would send out for these work books and they could explain the lessons better than the Negro teachers. But as far as their personalities was concerned the teachers at the old school were the best and I think everybody should know that and the reason for that. But there are some things that can improve at the Negro school I went to, because I think they'd do better if the teachers had stricter rules they would go by. But at this school now we went a great deal further in our books than we did in the former Negro school I went to.

QUESTION: How did the Negro community react to your going to a previously all-white school?

GIRL NO. 2: I think the Negro people in our community gave us quite a deal of encouragement because when our house was bombed they really went in and helped us a great deal. But I guess you can see there the whites' attitude from our house getting bombed; they weren't too cooperative in our going to the white school. But the Negro people were really cooperative because when we had problems in school they got a civic leader and went together and formed this committee to go and see the principal at school about some incidents that happened in the lunch room and that really improved.

GIRL NO. 4: Well, the Negro people in my home community didn't seem as if they were at all for it. They would say that we aren't ready to be with the white people yet; we should stay and try and get ourselves together first before we try and get with somebody else; integrate the Negro first is what they were saying. But here in this town there were a lot of people who gave me a lot of encouragement and the encouragement enabled me to go on and graduate and be the first Negro girl to graduate from a previously all-white school. They were very nice to me because I had a very hard time getting to school and I had to catch ways of getting to school. The people in this community drove me to school and then I could catch the Negro school's bus back. But in my community they weren't at all for it, and now that I've graduated they still say I don't see any good that you've done, any reason why you went there. Talking about my graduation, everything inside went fine but after I stepped out the door after the line marched out somebody hit me with a raw egg and the egg slid down my gown. I didn't know what to do then. I didn't want to run because they would say that I was afraid but I should have, I just stood there. I just had to think and get myself together and then I walked around to the car and waited to meet my mother, but she got mixed up and went to the wrong door looking for me. So I went to the car and she saw what had happened so she, my father, and my aunt took the robe to the principal and the senior advisor and showed it to them so they couldn't say that I just said it happened. They saw what was on the robe and he said I sure do hate it that that happened, that's all he could say, the principal, we sure are sorry about that. Commencement exercises, well, things weren't too bad; a man from the Health, Education and Welfare Department in Washington drove me to the exercises. He was waiting at the door of my dressing room to get me, and he and my mother and this white lady who's working with group desegregation were waiting for me. I didn't have any trouble getting out of there.

GIRL NO. 1: The Negroes in my community didn't have too much to do with it but the whites would ask the older heads of the community who was the girl. I don't think that they ever found my house, but no one would tell them who it was. But they were picketing my uncle's house because that was where I caught the bus. My uncle stays at the end of the road from my

house, and my house is sort of back up in the hills. That's why they never found my house. And the whites would watch the bus every morning when I went to school, and this man who runs the store, he would watch the bus every morning and I would turn my head so he couldn't see me.

BOY NO. 1: Well, in my community the people was all for me going to the white school, but in other parts of town they would say we shouldn't be going over there and they would be frightened to send their children because they would be afraid that their house would get burned, or bombed, or either they would hurt their children. So they wouldn't send them over there. But even though in my community they was all for me going, only a few still sent their children to the white school.

GIRL NO. 2: Well, in comparing the opinions of the two races the Negroes in my community gave me a lot of encouragement but still they didn't want to send their children. They would want to wait until the barriers were broken down, and then I think they would send their children. But yet they thought it was nice that I was going and they hoped that I didn't have any trouble. That was in the community where I stayed, but the people in the city and around here gave me a lot of encouragement and also helped and also tried to do things like having us get to school and helping us solve problems that arose. The white people, well, they stopped speaking and just looked at you real hard and they didn't say anything. And as I said we had hard stares and they stopped speaking to us, like we had committed a crime, I guess.

BOY NO. 2: Well the colored people in my community, well some of the colored anyway, the Uncle Toms, would tell me to stay in my place and they weren't going to sit near us over there and get throwed at and called Nigger. The white people would pass by at night and throw bombs like the fourth of July. One time a carload of white people passed by and throwed a cherry bomb up on the house and this scared us.

GIRL NO. 5: Well, people in my neighborhood didn't like my going cause they said that I was just trying to be popular and the white school wasn't any better than the Negro school. They said that the Negro was the newest school. They said that our house was going to be burned and the Ku Klux Klan was going to get us and lots of people was going to get killed. They wasn't going and didn't want those people coming in their neighborhood. Our house did get burned, and when it did people said that's what I told you was going to happen. And when I'd come home from school the children would come up to me and ask me, well, who did you get into a fight with today? What white girl did you beat up? And who's your white boyfriend? They never did try to help us, all they did was try to get funny. They would ask well, who rode the Negro bus yesterday, you just ride your white bus and stay off our bus. There aren't many more people going to the white school this year, and there's only two going; the others stayed up at the Negro school.

GIRL NO. 1: The only trouble we were having was the first day the bus

brought us home. Our mother carried us to school that morning but the bus brought us back that afternoon. The next week this man in front of us told us that he didn't want the bus coming over on his property even though the Negro bus had been coming over it for two years and he hadn't mentioned it. He said this bus, because it was supposed to be a white bus, was destroying his land. So we had to meet the bus out the road after that, it was about a mile and a half out there. We had quite a few incidents on the bus, like throwing paper. We sat in the front of the bus because he said we would be more protected because we would be sitting closer to the bus driver and it would be safer for us to sit in the front seat. But I think that was just another disadvantage because we couldn't see behind us and we was just a target up there in front. The bus driver couldn't keep his eyes in the mirror all the time because he had to watch the road. He was a nice bus driver and everything but he was quite nervous, and when he got mad he really got nervous, and he would drive all across the road. But he was real good and tried to help us solve our problems, because he carried some of the children to the office. After the white children get off we was just afraid and we was just the first ones that got on. It kind of improved from the first term on the bus, it kind of improved.

GIRL NO. 4: Well, at the beginning of the school year the bus driver was an old white friend of my family and he was very nice, but some of the white kids made a report that he couldn't control the children. So they took him off and they put a horrible bus driver on.

QUESTION: How was he horrible?

GIRL NO. 4: Well, she never did bother the kids when they bothered me but she just would say that she wished that these Niggers would get a bus of their own or something like that.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, the first day of school I rode the formerly all-white bus and it wasn't any trouble at all for me. Well, in about two weeks we had to walk to the road because the bus was transporting over private property. The Negro bus had been going over it for two years and I don't see how the white bus could have been doing any more damage to the property than the Negro bus, unless it, the reason it was doing damage, was that it was better than the Negro bus. So in other words, we had to walk to the road. They stopped both busses and we had to walk to the road and ride it.

QUESTION: Do you trust white people more or less now that you've been to school with them?

GIRL NO. 5: Well, I trust white people less now because you can never tell about them. They try and act friendly but when they get behind your back they'll start talking and they'll stretch everything you said farther and they'll add more to it and they'll take it around until it gets to their parents. Then the parents will take it to their friends and their friends might be Ku Klux

Klan. You can't hardly say much to the white students because they are slick and sly and you can't hardly trust them.

BOY No. 2: Well, I don't trust white people either because you may think that they are being friendly but come to think of it they are not. In other words, when you get around them they'll be friendly, but if a white person is with me and then we see a group of other white people and they see him with me, they will call him a Nigger lover. So you be thinking that he'd be a friend and the white people get mad; so he just quit being friends. Sometimes he'd be friendly and sometimes he won't.

GIRL No. 4: Well, I trust white people less, because since I've been around them I am more familiar with them and their ways. The only thing I knew about white people was when they came around they would be friendly and all that. When I started school some of those people who I thought would be friendly looked like they were my worst enemies. Everytime they smiled in your face they were just trying to get some information, that's all, and when they get that they are gone and they are just like any other white person. Therefore, I trust them less.

BOY No. 1: Well, I don't trust white people at all, because they'll pretend that they are your friend and when you turn your back then they'll hit you and call you some silly name. They'll turn their back and pretend that they don't know nothing about it.

GIRL No. 1: I trust white people less because there was this white lady that my mother knew and she had promised to send my sister to college, but after I attended the white school she wouldn't have anything to do with my mother.

GIRL No. 2: Well, I trust white people less now than I did before and it's just that you can't be sure about them. You can't be sure where you stand with them ever. Some of them will smile in your face, and some of them really mean it, I think, but they don't want any other white person seeing them talk to you because they are afraid that they'll be called Nigger lover or something. Then, too, there are very few Negroes now that you can trust.

GIRL No. 3: Well, I don't know whether I'd trust them less or more than I did before because the white people in our community wasn't really close with us but you really found out what the white people's attitude was by going to school with them. I don't trust too many white people and I don't think that they trust me either. For instance, I don't say anything to them. Like this teacher asked me one question but to get the whole information she had to ask me five more and that really made her mad with me. I wouldn't tell them anything but yes and no and sometimes not that. But you really know how to act more intelligent around a white person if you are with them every day. I think some Negroes just get excited when they are around a white and they laugh in his face, and at his little funny jokes, and at what he says. He can give you the twinkle in his eye so that it makes

Negroes go crazy. Well, I think you really find out when you go to a white school that when I see one do that it makes me mad instead of friendly. I know that now I get madder quicker with a white person since I went to this school. You really find out his attitude; you know that he didn't mean anything he says because he smiles at you one minute and he's ready to cut your neck off the next. So it really makes you mad when you really find out about him. They really try to take advantage of you with their smiles and their funny words, they really try to take advantage of you.

QUESTION: Are the white kids in your classes as smart as you thought they were?

GIRL NO. 3: On that question, I was really surprised as I went to the white school. They say, "Oh, the Negroes are so dumb," but I really found out that the Negroes are not really dumb at all. If they really had the chance and opportunities they would be a lot smarter than the white children because the white children who went to that school ever since the first grade I had caught up with in the first six weeks I went there. Now I was kind of backward on some subjects, like math, because the only time I took that I was in seventh grade and I had a hard time with math. But in all my other subjects I caught up with most of the white children and passed them in the first six weeks. And I was so surprised with the white children that made F's, and they would be thinking that the teachers were so hard. Most of the children hated my English teacher because she was hard and I think a great many more white children made F's than I did. They really get hot with you when you get ahead of them and I really had lots of trouble with that because I was smarter than most of them, most of the other children in my room, especially in the tenth grade. I don't know about other grades, but I do feel that the white race is not smarter than the Negro. If the Negro kids had the opportunity and would get down to it and work for it the Negro race could get up with the white race any time.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, before I went to the white school I always did think that the white person was smarter than we were. I used to think that they were just born smarter, just because they were white, but I found out this year that this isn't true. There were a lot of them who had more trouble than I had in getting their lesson and they had been in this school and in this situation, maybe not in the same situation, but they had been around their friends and their teachers for eleven years before then. Some of them couldn't do half as good as I could, and I don't see how some of them even graduated. They failed some subject and took an extra subject, and make D's in that subject and they still passed. I just don't understand it. I think that may be the reason we think that we aren't as smart as they are because they've made us feel like we don't know anything.

GIRL NO. 4: I feel that they made us feel that we don't know anything because they always keep us in the kitchen or on the yard or on the farms.

They never have made us feel like we should be anything; never made me feel like anything.

GIRL No. 4: Before I went to the white school I had a feeling that white students were smarter than I; I don't know why, maybe I heard that white people are so smart. But after I went to school with them I learned that the white students really aren't as smart as we are. Comparing the chance that the Negro has had and the chance that the white has had they aren't as smart as the Negro. If the Negro had had the same opportunity as the white has had I would say that they would be smarter than the white. But as it stands the Negro is just as smart as the white if he really gets right down to it.

QUESTION: Why do you think it is that some white people don't want you to go to school with them?

GIRL No. 5: I think they don't want us over here because they have better equipment and they have more facilities and things and they know that we can catch on real fast. When we catch on then we can get better jobs and we will be up with them and maybe we'll pass them. Like they want us under them now and they want to be over us; later on in the future we might be over them and they'd be under us and they are afraid of that.

GIRL No. 1: Well I think it's just a deeply rooted custom in their bones that the Negroes are and should be under them. I guess when they brought our foreparents from Africa they just don't ever think we'd be compared with them. It's hard to get in their heads that the Negro will be equal to them one day.

GIRL No. 2: I think that the whites don't want us to be in school with them because they think or have read in the Bible that one day a black nation will rise up from the East and conquer the world. I think that they think that we might be that black nation. And I think that they think that we think we might be that black nation.

GIRL No. 4: The only reason that I can see is that they think that we will excell over them. They don't understand the Negro and naturally when you don't understand something you're afraid of it. They are afraid of us and don't want us with them. They're afraid of what we can do if we just get what they have—you know the opportunities they have, the facilities they have—just think what we could do.

GIRL No. 3: I think the whites don't want us at the white school because after we get through telling them all our business and doing everything that they want us to do, if we are not doing that then they don't understand it. And if we're not working in the kitchen or in the yard, and if we get up and want an education, well, they just don't understand this. They just won't know what else we'll be wanting to do after we get over here so they really don't want us over here to find out. They want us to stay in our place and they don't want us to get out of our place; they think our place is in their yard or their kitchen or something like that.

QUESTION: What do you think about Negro fellows being drafted to serve in the army in Vietnam?

GIRL NO. 3: Well, that is a confusing subject, but I know that the Negro is improving in the United States, he's getting more now than he has been getting, and I think that if a person is getting what he's supposed to, if he's being treated fairly, he's supposed to help defend his country. Say, for instance, if a parent is feeding a child in a house and is giving the child the correct amount of food and not neglecting it, the child should be able to help defend the household. He should help do the things around the household and obey his parents and I think that's the way it is with the Negro being drafted into the army. I wouldn't say it would have been fair a while back, but if the Negro really gets what he should in America, then he should help defend his country. On the same subject I think that they should give the Negro more than they are now. For instance they are helping the Vietnamese people and those people aren't even in America. They should spend all the money they are spending, as Senator Kennedy said, on the Negro people to help them improve their race. I do think that they should be giving them more than they are now.

GIRL NO. 1: I think that the Negro should be drafted into the army as well as the white man. I mean the Negro is living in this country and he's just beginning to get some of the things he's supposed to have and he should want to fight for his country. But that's not enough, because the Negro people have been behind for so long in this country that they should draft all the white people and let us catch up. (LAUGHTER)

GIRL NO. 3: Well, you have to look at it both ways. For a long time the Negro has been deprived of opportunities that should have been given to him a long time ago. If he couldn't go to a restaurant and eat here in America then he shouldn't go somewhere else and fight for his country. But if he's going to fight for his country then he should be able to eat where he wanted and sit anywhere he wanted. I think he should defend his country if it's necessary, but I think he should be defended in his country also before he goes to try and help defend people outside of his country.

BOY NO. 1: Well, I don't think the Negro should be drafted. The white people want to rule the world and I think they should go and draft all the white people if they want to rule the world.

GIRL NO. 5: I think that the Negro should be drafted into the army, because it's like when you go to school, you have to participate in the activities. The army is like activity and he should participate in it. He should because he's fighting for his country and if he don't fight then they might say that its not his country. He should go into the army and prove to them that it is his country. He should go and fight.

QUESTION: What kind of reactions do you think white teachers would get from predominantly Negro schools?

GIRL NO. 5: I think that if a white teacher went to the Negro school that

we would have to give them the best courtesy. We would have to respect them, probably more than we did the colored people. I guess because the teacher would go back and say that we were ignorant, the principal would probably be saying that we would have to respect them and show our courtesy and show how intelligent we are because they go back and tell these other people. Probably if a colored teacher goes to the white school then they treat this teacher the same way.

BOY NO. 2: Well, if a white teacher came then they would have a great respect for them. They won't holler and they will be saying Yes Ma'am and all that and the place will be so quiet.

GIRL NO. 3: I think that if a white teacher would go to a Negro school they'd be accepted in a bundle of arms, because the Negroes so easily accept a white person. You know Negroes do accept white people quicker than white people accept Negroes. Look at the Negro as a whole, if they hadn't been affiliated with the white man they think they just won't get the white person to like them and they do just anything if they can get them to like them. That's why I think a white teacher would be accepted readily in a Negro school by most students.

GIRL NO. 1: I think a white teacher wouldn't be accepted with the students any more than any other instructor. It has been stated that Negroes don't know how to react to white people, but I think as the generation grows older and the students are more familiar with this racial problem that they would know how to react toward her. I think they would react toward her no more than any other teacher.

QUESTION: Do you see, or are you friendly with, your white classmates outside of school?

GIRL NO. 5: I received a telephone call when I went to school and this girl asked me to meet them in front of the school. When I went back to school I told the principal about it and they said she hadn't called, that it was somebody playing a joke. When I went to school in Physical Education class this girl wrote me a note and told me to come to a party. I didn't know where so I told her something and then this other girl wrote me a note and told me that they were telling stories, that they weren't having this party. I wouldn't invite a white person to my house unless I trusted them a lot because I wouldn't just invite anybody to my house. They could just be setting a trap by setting a bomb in the house or something, but if it was someone that I knew well and trusted a lot I would.

QUESTION: What are your plans after you finish high school?

GIRL NO. 1: Now that I have graduated I plan to enter college in September. I don't know as of yet what my major will be, I'll probably decide that in my second year.

GIRL NO. 3: When I finish high school I'm not sure what college I would

go to, I'm not decided but I am decided on my career. I want to be a social worker, that's why I want to take up social work in college after I finish high school.

GIRL NO. 4: After I finish high school I would like to go to the white college and I would like to major in math and in science.

BOY NO. 2: After I finish high school I haven't decided which college I want to go to but I would like to major in Engineering.

GIRL NO. 1: I am definitely undecided on what I'd like to be but I have thought about being a social worker in and around the community after I finish school. Lately I've been thinking about the Peace Corps and working in foreign countries.

QUESTION: What do you think it will take for race relations to get better down here?

GIRL NO. 1: Well, what I think it would take to improve the condition is more students and integrated faculty and that most Negro students act like they know what they're doing. They should not be afraid and act like they're down to business and then the situation will improve.

GIRL NO. 5: I think to make school a better place I think it will take courageous Negro students and some large Negro boys that are big and that has lots of courage, and an integrated faculty, and that's about all I think it would take.

QUESTION: What do you think would happen if more Negro students went to the white school?

GIRL NO. 4: I think the situation would be better if more Negro students went because a lot of the students just pick on you because they think they can get by with it. I don't think a student would hit a Negro student if he thought somebody was behind him to give him just that much more. He wouldn't do it even if he thought somebody was behind him that would see him and tell the student who it was.

GIRL NO. 1: I think it would be better if more Negro students were at school because, like she said, they would be afraid to bother you if they knew somebody else was with you, if they knew somebody else was with you and on your side and would help you if you needed that help. But like it is now with so many whites, they can just pick on you and there are not enough Negroes to do them enough harm back.

QUESTION: Were you allowed to join any of the organizations this year?

GIRL NO. 1: When we got there they already had the cheering squad and the band picked out and they had been practicing during the summer. If you want to do anything you really got to start on it this year, you know sign up this year before and you get on it the next year.

GIRL NO. 3: Most of the clubs and organizations they have, most of the students were elected in these clubs and organizations and you know I wouldn't be nominated, not last year anyway. To go back to the question on changes down here I think that depends. Now some of them you can change by nonviolence but some of them you just going to show them that you're going to knock something out of them before they'll let you alone. It just depends on the kind of student it is.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, as before stated I think that depends; at first they have to try you and find out what kind of person you are and after they find out what type of person you is well then they will leave you alone. It doesn't matter whether it be violent or nonviolent after they find out what type of person you is.

GIRL NO. 3: Referring to Negro students going to white schools, if they want to play they can stay over at the Negro school, but if they want to make the grade they're going to work when they come. If they're ready to work then they can come but if they're ready to play on every football team every game that comes up and every dance, well then they can stay because they give you time to do it.

QUESTION: How have your Negro friends reacted? Have you gone back to see them at school?

GIRL NO. 1: Well, some of my friends made a lot of wise cracks like, you know, why don't you go over there and play with your little white boyfriend, are you talking to me, golly. But I don't think they really meant anything, if they were really my friends I'd think that they were, you know, just kidding. Most of them around my age were still nice to me, it was just the adults in my neighborhood that acted real snobbish and everything.

GIRL NO. 4: Well, from some of the people I got real encouraging words and that helped me to go on over. In some cases some of the old people that didn't know any better, they felt that we were out of our place. Some cases stated they felt that it was all right. "You can be the first to go on but I wouldn't want my child to go. I think it's nice that you're going and I hope you have a nice time and all."

GIRL NO. 5: Around my neighborhood my friends would call me "Cracker," and they would say "go on little white girl" and I would tell them that the color hadn't rubbed off me yet. They'd be telling me to go down the road and play with my white friends and asking me who I was going to the prom with, what white boy was taking me to the prom. And when they see a white boy up the road they'd say come up here and get your girlfriend, here she is and all that.

GIRL NO. 4: Everytime I get talking about my experience at the white school something happens to me. I can't really express myself and I can't really tell what happens. It's like I was kind of in a trance. I was just walking around from day to day and doing what I thought I was supposed to do and

trying not to do what I wasn't supposed to do. As far as the things that I was studying, I won't know until this year after I enter college whether I really learned them or whether I just memorized them.

GIRL NO. 1: I went away up North and there I attended school. There it's already integrated and everything. I have an inferior complex toward some Negro and some white. While I was there in school, you know when you're down South you don't want to get too close to a white person for fear that they'll turn on you or something and you feel kind of like you got to stay by yourself. When a white person talks to you it kind of strikes you kind of hard. Up there they aren't trying to ask you anything or anything like that. They aren't trying to get any information from you, you are just going to school. But anyway, after I left this school I still felt the same way, that these white children were prejudiced toward me, that they didn't want to be around me, even though they were friendly. I just couldn't get it through my head that they were just being nice without trying to get anything from me.

GIRL NO. 4: I can be a witness to her experience, but it's not only with the whites, it's with Negroes too. I had a greater number of things than many of them—I feel that I don't know who to trust. Sometimes I don't know if someone's being nice and sincere or not. I guess its because when I was out the first semester so many people told me they were trying to get me back in school. The leading people in the community sometimes did things that leave me confused.

Reflections on School Integration: III.

(This is a transcript of an hour and one-half session with five Negro youngsters who desegregated and are attending a predominantly white school in the Deep South. All students are in the tenth through twelfth grades. 8/66)

QUESTION: How did you go about deciding to go to the white school, and what were some of the experiences you had there?

BOY No. 1: I heard it was a better school, and had better equipment and facilities than the Negro school that I was going to.

GIRL No. 1: Well, I understood that you had a chance to get better prepared, a better education than at the Negro school.

BOY No. 2: Not only that, it was a better equipped and higher educated school, an all around better school than the Negro one. My parents asked me if I wanted to go, what did I think about going to this school, and I told them I would like to go and they said I could go.

GIRL No. 1: I wanted to go and decided myself. My parents wouldn't make me go if I didn't want to. But I wanted to and then they let me go.

QUESTION: Did they call you any names?

BOY No. 2: Well not the first day, but later they called us names such as Niggers and all that.

GIRL No. 1: They would stare at you and look at you hard and they wouldn't say too much.

BOY No. 1: Most of the first day if the teachers asked you a question and you answered they mostly laugh.

QUESTION: How were the teachers compared to the teachers you had at the Negro school?

GIRL No. 1: I would say they were more prepared than some of the Negro teachers. I would say that most of them were nice, most of them. Some of them, about two or three, would always make a spectacle of Negroes, you know, would say something about Negroes. Especially one teacher would always try to say something to the kids and they would get a conversation up and all they would do is talk, look back at us and laugh.

BOY No. 1: Yeah, the first day of class I walked in the room and she said, "Have a seat." She said today we have a new student, today, today all day. It was different and that's all.

BOY No. 2: They are not better than Negroes. Most Negroes wear dresses but they are no better here. They may wear better things because they're

more able because they've taken all the Negroes' money and stuff from them.

BOY NO. 1: Some of the teachers will try to be funny. When they get to a word like Negro, they call it Nigger or else try to make fun. When my father got a ticket for driving or something they talked about that and made wisecracks about it and asked how come they have to pay a ticket and he didn't have to pay out.

BOY NO. 3: And again there is the problem of overcrowding classrooms in the Negro school; especially in the seventh grade there'd be about 60 students in the classroom. Over here our home-room teacher got mad at me the day after the election. The children started talking about the election and so we told them that we would have a colored sheriff and all that. We started talking about how many Negroes there were and the black camouflage and he got mad. The next day didn't nobody go to school but me and he told me he didn't want to hear no more about the election and no other kind of party, not in his room.

BOY NO. 2: The same day the election was, he brought the same things up in his classroom while I was in it. He wanted to find out who was running for offices and things like that. He wanted to make out that he was now kind of intending to go with the Black Panther movement. And so that's why he is trying to find out everything — he's saying he might want to come down and decide if he'll vote in the party.

BOY NO. 3: The history teacher had a little election in her room and the children voted. But we didn't vote because we didn't want to.

GIRL NO. 2: During the election the children would take stickers and stick them on our seats on the bus and when we got up off the bus they would start clapping their hands and stuff like that.

BOY NO. 3: And they would trade their stickers for Black Power or Black Panther stickers.

BOY NO. 2: I just gave him one and they would trade them. Except they won't trade with us.

GIRL NO. 3: In history class it was very bad. There were always conversations going on between the teacher and the students about the Governor and integration and the President and the federal government and all such that. They were talking against the federal government because the government was for integration and like they were talking against integration because they don't see any sense to it. And the teachers was always saying some kind of wisecrack just to hurt your feelings and like that. He was always praising the Governor. The students acted the same as the teacher did in their class; you know, there was always something that they could say and try and hurt my feelings. They said anything, like how they was 'feared of all of us, what they thought of the way things were running about integration, or anything like that. They would come right out and say it, especially in that class, because they knew that nothing could be done to them in that class.

GIRL NO. 4: You asked why did I go to the white school. Well, I don't see why I shouldn't go there since we don't have a school that big to attend and they don't have anything in the Negro school for equipment. My parents were getting taxed and they planned to use most of that money in the white school and they get all that equipment. I don't see why I shouldn't go there and get some benefit from it. You know, that's the primary reason for going over there, to get a accurate education. But the students weren't friendly at all and I didn't have any white friends.

QUESTION: What about your friends in school, do you have any white friends in school? Do any of them try to be friendly with you?

BOY NO. 3: If they try to be friendly then a gang of them get up and talk to that one and then they try and push him. Then he tries to be funny or smart, too.

BOY NO. 2: And, you don't never have anything to say regardless of what he's doing.

BOY NO. 1: I was in the bathroom one day and a boy pushed me down, I mean pushed me. He went running down the hall and I went to the principal. I also told you one day I was walking down the hall and a boy tripped me and my friend told the assistant principal. I got tripped and he told the assistant principal and he just didn't do anything about it and when the principal came the assistant told the principal.

BOY NO. 2: The assistant just jumped me once and then told the principal that I would have killed him. I didn't want to fight him. He said I told him I'd kill his damn head and was cussing him or something. But I didn't cuss him. He made it much worse the way he told it to the principal. But he's a dirty man anyway. He told my friend straight out, "Nigger you go to the office for chewing gum." Another friend of mine went to this class he taught and she said that he was always trying to bring on all of this stuff about Negroes and stuff just so they could talk against us.

GIRL NO. 2: Right after you got tripped in the hall that day I went to the bathroom and a lot of girls was talking. They said "You know this Nigger got knocked down in the hall." And some of them said "Yeah, somebody ought to knock all of them down." And one day, two of them went and told the principal that they were fighting in the hall but he didn't do anything about it. They came in the bathroom and said: "Two of the Negroes were in the hall trying to fight and we told the principal about it but you know he didn't do anything about it, because they are privileged characters, I don't care if I could paint my face black so I could be a privileged character too." Then they started talking, "You know we'll be going to the Negro schools this year" and the other girl said, "Yeah and I'm going to get myself one of those Negro boyfriends too." They didn't know I was there.

QUESTION: How did the principal seem? Did he seem fair toward you?

GIRL No. 1: He was nice.

BOY No. 1: The trouble was he was just as strict on the white children as he was on us.

GIRL No. 2: I think that he was more strict on them than on us.

BOY No. 2: That's what made it worse. See if something happened during the school hour a group of them would go to the office and tell him something, tell something was stolen and try to trip us all up. He didn't know what to believe most times so he just never paid any attention.

QUESTION: How did the teachers at the Negro school react when you told them that you were going to transfer to the white school?

BOY No. 2: Well, we didn't know that we were going to transfer until about the middle of June. We definitely went to register earlier but we didn't know that we were going to transfer until this part of last year. The Negro music teacher over there, he was friendly and he told me to try and get the best out of it and they was pretty nice to me.

GIRL No. 3: Yeah, all the teachers at the Negro school was very nice and they tried to encourage us and told us to do the best that we could.

QUESTION: Well, how did your friends react to you since you changed schools?

GIRL No. 3: Well, they were encouraging us too and trying to encourage us to do the best that we could. Some of them were trying to get into there too next year and they were trying to encourage me last year.

BOY No. 1: They used to play a lot and tell us don't let the white children whup us and all like that.

BOY No. 3: This year the principal wrote a paper to everyone that had attended another school and wanted to transfer school through the year of 1966-67. He told them they should come Friday and enroll. I went on the school bus but the school bus was packed with children and they turned the school bus around right after we got into town and I had to get off and go and enroll. They said that no Negro student could go in and enroll but those few that went last year. Everybody else that wanted to go didn't have to register. They were just supposed to go over there in September and start school.

GIRL No. 3: Then the principal told us that he wasn't registering any student that did not attend the school the previous year before and all the students that wanted to come over and register could come but he wasn't registering anyone until the board of education decided what number he could register to go over there. Everyone who came over there, except us, from the year before, he turned them around.

GIRL No. 2: The way the letter was written it could have been interpreted

that all the students that went last year and wanted to go this year, too, could come; but he really meant for ones that went last year. Then we read the letter over and mother interpreted it as being just the students that went last year.

BOY NO. 3: Yeah, and he told my mother that the children that had filled out the sheet to go said they were going to get them another sheet and if you didn't want to go you didn't have to go there but if you still wanted to go they could put it right down there.

QUESTION: Now you've told us about your schools, why don't you tell a little bit about your association with the white students?

BOY NO. 2: Some people think that white people are higher class than Negroes but from the way the children did behave they are lower class people than the Negro. We went in class one day and everybody sat down and when the teacher went out of the room some of the students had spit in the vacant seats that nobody sits in. And they put chewing gum all over the desks. I mean you didn't find too much chewing gum over at the Negro schools, they threw it out the window or trash can. But over there you find the desk packed with chewing gum and stuff like that.

GIRL NO. 2: My association with the white students, you know you can get along with them as long as they didn't have anything to do with us, until they called us names or something like that. They always pick at you and whenever they do something to you they always dare-devil you with a crowd behind you or something like that. Personally they never did anything to me. When all the Negroes was out together standing out in the hall, when they saw that none of us was looking they would throw something at us and like that. I remember once going to class and somebody put stickers all over my desk. When I got in there I found them all over the place, one down where I sit and one about where I write at and then I took it off and put it in the trash can. You know they are always putting something on my desk or doing something like that.

BOY NO. 1: Well, they usually stay away and just like she said if they are going to do anything they do it in a crowd just about. She told you about it, but one day in the halls just before the spring holidays in March I got off the school bus one Friday and I was a janitor in a church and was going to clean the church up. I saw two boys in the car and they had a girl friend of theirs with them and they stopped and asked me if I wanted to fight. I told them "Yeah I'll fight," if they fight why not? I had another friend with me too, and he picked up some rocks and started throwing them across the street. They said that they ain't playing with no rocks and so those kids talked and then they wouldn't get out. So I told them "Let's go" and the other reached for his seat and gave him a shotgun. He pointed it at us and all that. When we got back to school they didn't say anything about it. But on Tuesday or Wednesday they said, "We could have killed you." I said, "Yeah, you

all say if you all meet one of us in the road you'll blow our brains out but that's one you all missed." (LAUGHTER) You see I was brave after they missed me. The sheriff came over to the school to see about it and so they got so worried one of them just didn't say nothing after that. He kept quiet.

GIRL No. 1: There weren't too many friends but we were in gym class where we dress up every day. We took our shoes off and left them in the gym and we were playing. They hid them so we couldn't find but one of them, and they had the other one hid on their feet, and they pretended that none of them knew anything about it. The principal came over, finally, he must have talked to them about it. Another afternoon we were going to our history class. We would usually come up to the room everyday and start studying before classes began and one day they had spread some crayon dust in the seats that we sit in. I told the teacher and she didn't say anything to them, but she gave me this old nasty rag to clean it with and told us that that was all right. I got some tissue from my pocketbook to clean it with. I wanted to tell her about it before I said anything to anyone else. One morning we were standing in the hall and some of the boys brought some bee-bees, you know, shots, and we were standing by the lockers and they threw them all over the hall and mostly to the front by the principal's office. All the teachers came running down the hall and I think they found out who did it though . . . some of the boys.

BOY No. 1: I wouldn't exactly call them friendly but there was a sister and a brother that would ride our bus. They went to school in December. But when we came back they weren't there any more. The girl was in the same class we were in and the boy was a senior. But they were just about the only children that would try to talk to us and try to have anything to do with us. After they stopped nobody else did. One day they shipped all these clothes down to our place and I found an old hat and I sewed up the rim. I wore it to school. I just wore it for the devil of it. The teacher honked her horn and she got mad and she told me to leave it in my locker. So I put it in my locker and when I went to eat lunch and came back somebody had stolen the hat. I reported it to the principal and none of them wanted me to wear the hat to school. The principal told me he couldn't be responsible for it, the hat, because it was something that you weren't supposed to wear to school. He told me if I could get the hat all well and good, but if I couldn't there wasn't anything that he could do about it. And another day I went to school I was wearing a pin, it wasn't a "Black Panther" pin, it was an "End the War in Vietnam" pin. My teacher read what was on it and I think he didn't like what was on it, so he went and told the principal. The principal had been reading the pin for about five days every time when I went to lunch. Later that day I was in study hall and he called me into the office and told me not to wear the pin to school no more. He couldn't fine me for wearing the pin but he said he could punish me for not obeying him. Around the last part of school, when these boys say something we would say it back to them so they started cussing us. One day we started cussing them back and they thought we

were going to fight, at least the teacher did, and he went and told the principal and the principal called us to the office and he told us if he had any more trouble he would had to put us out of school.

QUESTION: Before you came to the white school did you think that most of the white students would be smarter than you? Tell me why and what about now?

BOY NO. 1: Well, I didn't have too much thought about it myself, some of them are smarter but they ain't all that smart. Some of them are real dumb.

GIRL NO. 1: You know, I thought some of them would be smart and some of them would be dumb and that's just the way it was. Some of them are smart and try to get the lesson and some of them are dumb just like the Negroes. I think that anyone could go over there if they studied and they could do just as well as the white children do.

BOY NO. 2: I did think at least the majority would be pretty smart except for one or two of them in the classroom. But in the class I was in about half of them was pretty bad.

GIRL NO. 2: Well I thought I could do just as well as most of them if I tried and I did try. Some of them are smarter and some of them are just as dumb as some of the Negroes are. I guess most of them just don't try. I think I did do just about as well as some of them did.

BOY NO. 3: Well, the teachers are very hard about the lesson because they would try to flunk you all they could and if a white person had the same answer as you had and it wasn't a full answer they took five points off your paper and like took off two off his paper.

QUESTION: Now that they are building a private school for the white students how do you think that would affect things at school?

GIRL NO. 1: Well, for myself I don't care if there be a private school for the whites; I wouldn't mind if all of them would go over there, but I know that all of them aren't going over there. Maybe the ones that have enough money will go but that's not going to be too many of them. Maybe some of them might go to other public schools. I don't think that too many of them are going to be going to the private school. I think over half of them that went over should be over there next year.

BOY NO. 1: Well, about my thought about private schools I don't know how it'll stack up. I wasn't too much for going to this school because it was a white school. I went because it was a better school and a higher school and we have accomplished what we was trying to accomplish. We wanted to get some colored students because it was better equipped. If they go to a private school it won't make too much difference because the Negroes will still be going to a higher school and a better equipped school.

BOY NO. 2: Well, I don't think that it will be too bad as it is, and it don't

make too much difference if they don't associate with us or anything. I believe that they may act a little better than they did last year. This would be because there aren't too many of us here and probably a lot of white friends left that made them not to say anything and pick at us. Some of them won't be here and they'll probably like the private school a lot better.

GIRL No. 2: Well, I guess the white community, the ones that they would go, I guess they are glad that they can get their children out from around the Niggers as they call them. You know they can get them away from us but I guess those that are unable to send their children, they don't have any feelings toward it since it won't help them any. Around where I live the Negro community don't mind as long as they will be more for the Negroes to go and get a better education.

BOY No. 2: The Negroes in my community hardly say too much about it but they are saying that the white people have been in the school of their own and they are entitled to go to school. That's what they say — let them be alone.

QUESTION: How did the people in your community and your neighbors react when you decided to transfer schools?

GIRL No. 1: In our community all of them were very encouraging. We had been having small mass meetings around our community to try and encourage people to try to enroll students in this school because you could get a better education there. Everyone was very glad that I was chosen to go there and they was trying to encourage me as much as possible to continue.

BOY No. 2: Everyone was encouraging me too and telling me that if I needed any help that I could come to them. If they could help they would. And they were kind of glad that I was going.

BOY No. 1: During the time that we was told that we was eligible to go just about everybody was in the mass meeting movement. I was attending mass meetings and just about everybody I saw would shake my hand and encourage me. Just everybody was encouraging, there wasn't anybody discouraging me.

QUESTION: Why do you think the white folks don't want their children going to school with Negroes?

GIRL No. 2: Well, myself, I have no idea. I've heard that they think their children are too good to go to school with us and we're a bad influence upon their children. That's some gossip I've heard; I really don't know.

BOY No. 1: I just think they're stupid.

GIRL No. 3: For the most part those children over there want to be friendly, some of them do, but their parents tell them what to do and what not to do and all. You can tell that some of them want to say something to you but they are scared that if they say something to you then the other one is going

to call them Nigger lover and all that kind of junk. They just go back and tell 'em and so they just don't want to get involved.

BOY No. 1: One day we found out it was mostly a big act because in the lunch room they had Negro cooks. They pretend they hated Negroes so bad but some of the girls would even help the Negro cooks serve the plates and all like that.

BOY No. 2: And they would be laughing and talking to the cooks and even having fun.

GIRL No. 1: A lot of the students that went last year, if you see any of them this summer around home in the fields working, they have Negro children working with them or people cooking for them and all that.

BOY No. 2: Yeah, and you see some go to Negro houses and play and Negroes go to their houses and play. But when you all go to school they are all different then.

GIRL No. 1: I just think they are stupid.

BOY No. 2: It's just that I haven't been brought up around too many white people myself and I never play with them. But from my part it don't make no difference if I play with them or not now, because they don't know any more than me. It don't make no difference if they don't speak to me, then I don't speak to them and that's just it.

GIRL No. 2: Well, Sunday we stopped in at the dairy farm and two of the white boys that went to school last year drove up there and they went in. We was standing up there to the window getting waited on and they looked over and waved to us. That's the way they are when they out of school; when they are in school they act all different.

QUESTION: Have any of your ideas changed any since you've been going to that school?

BOY No. 2: At least some of mine have because I thought they were all pretty close and clean, but the way the children act they are nasty. They're not trustful. If you turn your back you get knocked in the head or something and then you don't see some of them so you have to keep on the watch for some of them and find out who did it or what. I heard people say that Negro children don't act their age but the white children is the children that don't act their age. White boys in the eleventh and twelfth grade will be riding around playing and hollering and kicking like children in the first and second grade.

QUESTION: Did you all ride the bus? How were things on the bus?

GIRL No. 1: Noisy. Before we started school our principal at the Negro school told us to be quiet on the bus, "You should hear how quiet the white children are on the bus and everything." You can't hear anything on that bus, you know, from the time you get on the bus to when you get off.

BOY NO. 1: Just about twice every week the bus driver had to stop the bus to quiet everything down.

GIRL NO. 1: Fighting and doing everything else.

BOY NO. 2: On the bus I ride they just keep up so much fuss, they just throw paper and stuff like that. One afternoon they threw paper at me, they just kept hitting and hitting me with it so I didn't say anything. The next time I got on the bus things started balling up and I said if you hit me I going to fight you this evening. One boy threw and he hit me so I hit him back and we throwing paper by the hour. (LAUGHTER) I sat back down and he didn't say anything so I just went on back to the front of the bus. Once in the winter time when its gets real cold they'll try to let all the windows down in the back of the bus and freeze you. See, the bus driver asked me to sit on the back seat and he put all the girls up to the front and all the boys to the back.

GIRL NO. 2: We had special seats but it was a front seat. You know we couldn't see anything so when you get hit with a piece of paper we just look back.

GIRL NO. 1: I was getting most of the hits 'cause I was in the seat behind them and there wasn't anybody in the seat but me. When we first started school he told them to leave those two seats, don't let anybody sit in those seats. But probably the children would stop sitting there probably for about two evenings and then by third afternoon mostly the small children, they would come up front and sit there. I guess he would tell them not to sit there but they ended up sitting there. A lot of the children who lived near the school came home with a lot of white students and in the morning the bus was real crowded. Our bus would pick them up, in the morning our bus would be real crowded and this little white girl she came in and she sat down next to me. The bus driver was looking in the mirror and he saw that she was sitting there and he told her to take a seat in the back. When we got to school the children started talking about it and saying that the little girl sat down in the seat beside me.

GIRL NO. 2: And as someone sits down next to you everybody would holler here's a seat, come back down here and sit down. The bus driver would look up and see that she was sitting down beside her and he told her get up and go down back and find a seat. He tickled me and I laughed. When we first started school everyone on the bus would speak and say good morning and he would never say anything. We did this for about a week and he never said anything, so from then on we didn't say anything.

GIRL NO. 1: And then one morning our bus was broke down and all the parents took the children to school in their cars. He (the bus driver) came along in his car and picked us up and carried us to school and he opened the door just as nice for us, the back door. He spoke to us just as we spoke, nice good morning, and he spoke back. We didn't say anything. We got out

and went to school. He was talking about the bus, he didn't know what was wrong with the bus, but he was talking nice and all.

BOY NO. 2: Well, I go on the school bus, but the bus driver and I haven't spoke since I started riding the bus. I don't think I ever will speak to him. I think that if I speak to him I don't think he will return the answer, the way he reacts. One day I wanted to get off, and he said he don't let anybody off where they don't supposed to get off. And so I say that I see you letting children get off where they don't suppose to get off; they get off any place they want to get off when they tell you to stop.

QUESTION: What kind of reaction would white teachers get from predominantly Negro schools?

GIRL NO. 1: Well, I don't think any of them from around here would go to an all colored school to teach. Maybe one from up North would come down here and maybe he'd go over there to teach or something like that. Probably he'd be all right as far as the students are concerned, but I don't think any of them around here would. If the only school they could teach in was a colored school I don't think they'd teach around here. Honestly, I think they'd do him or her anyway they could, you know, to flunk them and anything like that. I think they'd do anything to her, or him, or whatever it would be.

BOY NO. 2: I think that it would be ordinary because most of the Negro children are used to the way white children act by the way we tell them and by the way the teachers act but last year there probably would have been a lot of fuss raising.

QUESTION: Were you allowed to participate in the organizations at school?

GIRL NO. 3: For most of the organizations they had in school you had to maintain a certain grade to be on it. I think if you had a high enough grade you could be on it.

BOY NO. 2: Most of the plays and that they had at night and you know, it wouldn't be too neat to go because you'd need a lot of bodyguards.

QUESTION: Did any of you ever go back to the Negro high school for anything? How did you feel?

ALL: Same way.

BOY NO. 1: Yeah, I went over there about four times.

BOY NO. 2: Well, you could go over there and sit in the classroom and the teacher probably wouldn't even know it.

BOY NO. 1: Most of them knows you and asks you how you are doing and they say get the best of it and do the best you can.

QUESTION: Suppose some friends at the Negro school asked you for some suggestions about the white school, what would you tell them?

Boy No. 1: It probably be all in their favor because there ought to be a hundred Negroes or more going.

Girl No. 3: I think that for myself I'd tell them something about the students, and the way the teachers treat them. I'd tell him maybe some of the teachers would treat him ordinary the way they treat the white students, but some of them try all they could to fail you. I'd encourage them to do the best they could and to study hard. There are many of these affairs or certain incidents, such as throwing paper at you, or calling you Nigger or talking from gossip, but they wouldn't do anything really big to you besides throwing paper or something at you. They wouldn't really hurt you in a big way.

Boy No. 1: I don't even believe in that this year myself. There will be about as many colored children going to school as white. Last year they did things because they outnumbered us about twenty to one, but I think now it will be a different story.

Boy No. 2: I wish I was going back; I just want some of them to pick at me like they did last year so I can get them back. When we have about an equal number of students we'll see if we can get in a fight over there. We will have the same number in our color as they got in their color so we probably have a better chance fighting, if they're looking for fight this year then I'm going to fight.

Boy No. 1: Some of the white children must respect a colored child as being more powerful and as stronger or something, because every time one of them come up to us to fight it wouldn't be one of us backing down.

Girl No. 2: You don't fight many small boys, most of them would be big and they walk over and they say you all boys want to fight?

Girl No. 1: Myself, I don't think they're going to let as many Negroes over there as the white. If they let any more go it would only be about five or ten. I don't think that they'll accept half as many Negroes as white.

Boy No. 2: I believe that they will accept as many because President Johnson said that they will cut out segregation this year. There will be integration this year and anybody can go to any school of his or her choice.

Girl No. 1: You see, the school isn't very large and they are going to say that the school is overcrowded and all this. They don't have that many white children over there and I don't believe that they're going to let that many colored children go there.

Boy No. 1: I mean the school will hold over five hundred students. I don't know about how many will register but there ought to be about a hundred Negro students over there.

Boy No. 2: For the school, they had some rooms in the school that they wasn't going to use. I believe that the school ought to hold about 500 students. There will be more room with children going to the private school.

GIRL No. 2: In the Negro school our classroom had mostly about sixty, just about the same number of students in each class.

BOY No. 2: We went for about three six-week periods this way with about 93 children in the classroom. When they divided it they had about 50 or 60 students in the class.

BOY No. 1: The Negro school is the largest but they don't have a gym, they don't have a cafeteria, they don't have a library, and they don't have no kind of equipment in the laboratory, and they don't have no kind of gym clothes to put on when you go in the gym or outdoors when you go out to practice football.

GIRL No. 1: Matter of fact they don't have anything in that gym but a wall and a few seats sitting in it and they have them broken down.

BOY No. 2: Sometime you have to stand up to take tests.

QUESTION: If the Negro candidate wins the election in November how do you think it will affect things in the community?

BOY No. 1: I would be so glad. I mean it would probably help the Negroes because there is a Negro running for sheriff and running for just everything in the county election. If the Negro wins for sheriff it probably be the first one in any county. They got some Negroes who call themselves deputies but they don't wear the clothes that other men wear, they wear khakis and are out in the field. If the Negro wins we probably will have it better, like now, if they catch you driving without a driver's license they will probably give you a twenty-five dollar ticket and if they catch a white person they will probably give him a ten or maybe a twelve dollar ticket.

BOY No. 2: They are not going to stop no white people. When they deputize them I think they told him you a Nigger sheriff, for the Niggers. Those Negro deputies even shot a Negro. They are not trustworthy, I'll tell you. I don't like them myself and I don't fool around with them, you may get shot right quick.

BOY No. 1: They had a bodyguard the first day that we went. When the white kids started fighting their canes started beating us, that's what they did. They wouldn't have the white kids. You know they thought they could fool the Negro people that they was doing something and that the people was on our side.

BOY No. 2: One night I think he was in one of the churches and they come out there and they asked what happened. And one of the leaders said they should get out there so he don't go back and tell his white folks there. One day we was in school in history class and the teacher started talking about the white children and she said that they ought to start thinking about the Negro, the day they came over and the first day and the second day. They had Negro guards and they had forgotten about that.

QUESTION: Well, how did the Negro deputies act while they were guarding people?

BOY NO. 1: They wasn't even on the school campus. They stood outside the road and three of us came in a car together, and we passed on by them. The two on the left looked and the two on the right looked and they turned their head and looked the other way and then we went on into the school. At least they didn't even come on campus, they just stand out there in the road. If everyone want to jump on us they would be behind on the road and we had to go to school.

GIRL NO. 2: I think if everyone wanted to jump on us they would have killed us, it wouldn't have done any good. That's what they wanted to do to us, beat us or jump on us or do what ever they wanted to do.

BOY NO. 2: Because we was on the other side and the guards was on the other side of the building.

BOY NO. 1: If the white kids had jumped up the deputies would have helped them maybe.

GIRL NO. 3: They might not have come.

BOY NO. 1: They might have come but you can bet that they wouldn't have hit anyone, because by the time I knowed I was going, until the day I went, I got discouraged one time. That was the time that they had that killing. People told me that you better not go. At least I didn't know that they was going to have deputies and all like that, and I didn't look for it the first day. The principal told us not to come the first day so we went the second day. I guess they wanted to tell the students what to do or how to act or something.

GIRL NO. 1: I heard the same thing, that he had conference with the children, told them just how he stood, what they could do and what they couldn't do. He said it might just be better if you all didn't come the first day. He told us he couldn't tell us not to come but it might be better if we waited to the second day.

QUESTION: Now you said the white kids would always do things behind your back but did any of them come up to your face and tell you things or call you names?

GIRL NO. 2: They may call you names to your face but they wouldn't hit you when you could see them. You know, they call you a Nigger or curse you or something like that.

BOY NO. 2: At least, every time one of them call me something I call him something back. When they call me Nigger I call them a cracker or something. You're not white, you're red.

GIRL NO. 2: Most times they call you something, you know, they curse

you and call you old damn Nigger or something, anything they want to call you.

BOY NO. 2: Yeah, they made a sling shot one morning and they shot pecans here on the bus. They actually shot pecans off a sling shot.

GIRL NO. 2: But you know in the hallways you would hardly ever see any boys their size come up to them and say you want to fight. You see these great big boys that are about this wide and all around are these great big old boys. Way bigger than you so they looking down on you asking you if you wanna fight.

BOY NO. 2: Even in the class and on the bus we didn't have no big boys that size. Well, in the cafeteria one day one big boy did ask me for my ice cream. Now sometime they will beg in the cafeteria, some of them. I gave it to him that day but they won't get nothing else from me though. (LAUGHTER)

GIRL NO. 3: Sometimes we be going down the hall and if any of the white students was standing in the hall and they see us coming they say here come a black Nigger, you better stand back, or something. They would get back up against the wall. In the morning sometime we'd be standing by our locker and they would get off the bus and come in and try to walk close up by the wall or something pretending that they didn't want to get close to touch us or anything.

BOY NO. 2: And when they did walk up side close to the wall we'd begin laughing and everything. They think they're so much that they can't walk beside us, but when they go down to the cafeteria they're standing and they'd be eating and the Negro cooks could be putting their hand all over the rolls, especially. And they'd be eating out of their hands.

BOY NO. 1: I know you been talking about a black power party if we get a Negro sheriff. I know they having a basketball game out to the school one night and some boys come up here to the store and get some beer, you know, under age. Somebody caught up with them, the sheriff or somebody, and he didn't do anything to the boy, but he took the lady's license and if it had been a Negro boy he probably would have them expelled from school and all.

QUESTION: Did any of you have any doubt whether you are going to pass to the next grade?

BOY NO. 2: I doubt it myself. I didn't study as hard as I should have.

BOY NO. 1: I doubted it myself the first part of it.

GIRL NO. 1: I failed.

BOY NO. 2: Well, none of the boys are promoted.

BOY NO. 1: I mean if we have a test and we get a 70 the teachers would bring it down to a 60 or 68½ on my card.

BOY NO. 1: At least in history, you see, we have about a week to study one subject but the teacher sit up there and talk about integration so much the four days. Then on Friday she come up and give one big whole week's lesson and have us get that and have a test on it that Monday. It's different for the white kids because they get the kids that had her last year and get the notes and you see they already know what happened and she would help them anyway.

BOY NO. 2: And they already know the majority of the questions on the test because they would go down to her house at night and she would tell them.

GIRL NO. 2: Walking down the hall some children out of their class would say what are you going to have on the test, is it going to be hard. She'd say, well you know those notes I gave you the other day, just study those real good, I heard her.

BOY NO. 2: Yeah, I've seen actually some students would have special notes and they'd be typed out by her. She'd say something about getting us some notes, the ones that failed, but she never said anything about giving me no notes and I was failing. I never asked her for no notes but I went and asked her some questions and she acted like she didn't want to answer them. She said what's the matter with you, what's you doing in class for the reason why you couldn't get it and all that.

GIRL NO. 2: I had a lot of trouble in history. That's the only class that I really doubted, you know, I flunked the first semester but I passed the last semester. I have to take my first semester over next year. I was kind of surprised he passed my last semester because I was kind of sure that he had flunked me.

BOY NO. 2: We could go to summer school and pay $15 a month to make it up.

BOY NO. 1: I mean I have to go next year and make that grade up and, you know, go and take it over.

GIRL NO. 1: If I was absent when I got back to school the next day the teacher would probably have my notes typed or written up for me and I didn't have to ask her for them.

QUESTION: Can anyone think of anything else that would happen if Negroes got elected?

GIRL NO. 1: I think things might be a little better in the school situation. It could do something about the Negro school especially; it could get equipment and at least they need to build another school if they are not going to let the colored children go to the white school. They need to build another school because that school is entirely overcrowded, I think. They can't do anything out there and they don't have the equipment either; they don't have anything out there.

BOY No. 2: Well, I'll feel more free to talk to the sheriff and tell him how I feel about certain things, you know. You may be afraid to tell a white person what you want to tell him, actually, you can hardly talk to a white person like you talk to a Negro person, you know someone from your own race. If we get all Negroes they probably wouldn't have too much to say neither. If we have control for many years then maybe the children come up being afraid of law like most Negro children being afraid of law.

GIRL No. 3: Probably everything would be better, you know, better schools and the board of education. Probably we can get some of the things that we want, you know, better schools and things that the whites have.

A Guide to

PROGRAMS FOR BETTER HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

by Susan Bresler
Urban Planning Project

Southern Regional Council
1967

For an extra copy of the booklet, send $1.00 to:

BETTER HOUSING
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

INTRODUCTION

You've heard about the problems of slum housing, urban blight, and decay in our cities. You've heard of the Senate and Congressional hearings, the national legislation, the newspaper headlines, and the racial ghetto outbreaks. You've heard about the problems of urban renewal and public housing, side by side with growing deteriorated and overcrowded neighborhoods. And you've heard that new housing programs are being proposed. Yet, you may not be familiar with the government and private housing programs that already exist. That's what this booklet is about: the present programs you can use to help eliminate poor housing and slum neighborhoods now.

Take a look at the housing programs in your community. Are they piecemeal projects, too small to be effective, and lacking in overall planning? The comprehensive planning and community renewal programs in Part One tell you how to plan for housing programs in your community.

Are there families in your community who need help in adjusting to their new housing? Relocation assistance for these families is described in Parts One and Two.

Are your community's housing programs isolated from other public programs? See the sections on relocation assistance and on coordination with anti-poverty programs in Part Two.

Do the needs of your community's ill-housed citizens for employment and education also go unmet? The section on coordination with anti-poverty programs will help here, too.

Do your housing programs fail to involve community leaders or private agencies? The sections on the city human relations

commission and on urban renewal neighborhood organization in Part Two can help you.

Are your housing programs planned without involving the residents who will be affected by them? The sections on neighborhood organization in Parts Two and Three show you ways to involve people in the plans for their own neighborhoods.

Do the residents of neighborhoods in your community know how to participate in housing programs? Part Four explains how residents can take part in government and private housing programs.

Have private groups done little to help improve homes and neighborhoods in your community? Part Three explains the many ways private groups can work for better housing in your community.

The Housing Act of 1949 set as a goal: "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." Today, we're still a long way from reaching our goal of good housing and good neighborhoods. We know that Federal, state, and local governments, and private community groups all must help. You, too, can help. For you have more programs today than ever before for better homes and neighborhoods.

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PART ONE: FEDERAL PROGRAMS

for better homes and neighborhoods

PART ONE: FEDERAL PROGRAMS

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HUD-(or DHUD) Department of Housing and Urban Development, created September 9, 1965; formerly the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), which was created in 1947.

The five agencies of HUD:

FHA-Federal Housing Administration, created in 1934.

URA-Urban Renewal Administration, created by the HHFA Administrator in 1954.

CFA-Community Facilities Administration, created by the HHFA Administrator in 1954.

HAA-Housing Assistance Administration, formerly Public Housing Administration (PHA) which was created in 1947.

FNMA-Federal National Mortgage Association, a government corporation, originally chartered in 1938.

H.U.D. PROGRAMS YOU CAN USE WITHOUT HAVING URBAN RENEWAL

Don't let the 21 programs for better homes and neighborhoods in Table 1 scare you. Just take them one at a time, from left to right. Take the sixth program, rental housing for the elderly. The first column at the left of Table I says, "Section number of national housing law." The section number for this program is 231.

The second column from the left of Table I says, "agency that administers." The agency in HUD that administers the 231 program is FHA. When you want information about a particular Federal housing program, you'll save time if you know the section number of the national housing law for that program and the agency in HUD that administers the program. Then, you can write to FHA about 231 mortgage insurance and FHA knows you mean that program of rental housing for the elderly.

The third column in Table I says, "type of aid." The type of aid for this 231 program is mortgage insurance. Other Federal housing aids, besides insurance, include loans, advances (See Table II), grants, and subsidies.

The fourth column in Table I says, "Program." Many times, Federal officials use the section number right along with the name of the program. They'll say, "231 rental housing for the elderly."

The fifth column in Table I says, "who receives the aid." The profit or nonprofit sponsor who builds rental housing for the elderly receives the Federal (231) mortgage insurance on his loan from the bank. FHA allows easy terms on the loan to encourage sponsors to build rental housing for the elderly.

The sixth column in Table I says, "special provisions." In the low-rent public housing program, for example, there are special provisions for the elderly and the handicapped.

TABLE I. HUD Programs you can use for better housing and better neighborhoods, without having urban renewal.

Section number of national housing law	agency that administers	type of aid	PROGRAM	who receives the aid	special provisions	requirements
1) Title I	FHA*	insurance of	PROPERTY IMPROVEMENT LOANS to	property owners		
2) Sec. 203(k)	FHA	mortgage insurance of	HOME IMPROVEMENT LOANS to	home mortgagors		
3) Sec. 207	(HUD)	grants for	LOW INCOME HOUSING DEMONSTRATION by	public and private nonprofit agencies		
4) Sec. 233	FHA	mortgage insurance of	EXPERIMENTAL HOUSING		priority for technical studies of materials and construction	
5) Sec. 202	CFA	direct loans for	SENIOR CITIZENS HOUSING	private nonprofit corporations, consumer cooperatives, public agencies		
6) Sec. 231	FHA	mortgage insurance of	RENTAL HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY	profit and nonprofit sponsors	FNMA can purchase these mortgages	
7) Sec. 203(b)	FHA	mortgage insurance of	HOMES (regular program)	home mortgagors		
8) Sec. 207	FHA	mortgage insurance of	MULTIFAMILY RENTAL HOUSING (regular program)	investors, builders, developers, others; public mortgagors		
9) Sec. 213	FHA	mortgage insurance of	COOPERATIVE HOUSING	nonprofit cooperative corporations		
10) Sec. 234	FHA	mortgage insurance of	CONDOMINIUMS**	individuals, families condominium sponsors		

TABLE I. HUD programs you can use for better housing and better neighborhoods, without having urban renewal (Cont'd.)

Section number of national housing law	agency that administers	type of aid	PROGRAM	who receives the aid	special provisions	requirements
11) Sec. 701	URA	grants of 2/3 cost of	URBAN PLANNING ASSISTANCE	small communities, counties, states, metropolitan areas		
12) (HUD Act of 1965)	URA	grants of 2/3 to 3/4 cost of	NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES	local public bodies	priority for projects serving low income families	area must have comprehensive planning
13) (Housing Act of 1961 and HUD Act of 1965)	URA	50% matching grants for	OPEN SPACE LAND AND URBAN BEAUTIFICATION	State and local public bodies		area must have comprehensive planning
14) (HUD Act of 1965)	FHA	mortgage insurance of	LAND DEVELOPMENT	any mortgagors approved by FHA		area must have comprehensive planning
15) Sec. 221	FHA	mortgage insurance of	HOMES FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES	low and moderate income families and displaced families	FNMA buys these mortgages from the lenders, under the FNMA Special Assistance Program	city must have Workable Program
16) 221(d)(3)	FHA	mortgage insurance of	RENTAL HOUSING FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES: <u>market interest rate program</u>	public agencies, cooperatives, non-profit sponsors	purchase of mortgages by FNMA	city must have a Workable Program
17) 221(d)(3)	FHA	mortgage insurance of	RENTAL HOUSING FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES: <u>below market interest rate program</u>	public agencies, cooperatives, non-profit sponsors	purchase of mortgages by FNMA	city must have a Workable Program

TABLE I. HUD programs you can use for better housing and better neighborhoods, without having urban renewal (Cont'd.)

Section number of national housing law	agency that administers	type of aid	PROGRAM	who receives the aid	special provisions	requirements
18) 221(d)(3)	FHA	payments of	RENT SUPPLEMENTS for disadvantaged persons	to nonprofit, limited distribution, or cooperative mortgagor	limited HUD funds for rent supplements in below-market housing and for 231 and 202 housing for the elderly	city must have a Workable Program: mortgagor must be insured under FHA 221 (d)(3) market interest rate program
19) (HUD Act of 1965)	URA	grants of 2/3 to 3/4 cost of	CODE ENFORCEMENT and public improvements	cities, counties		city must have a Workable Program
20) (HUD Act of 1965)	URA	grants of 2/3 cost of	DEMOLITION OF unsafe buildings	cities, counties		city must have a Workable Program
21) (Housing Act of 1937) and subsequent acts	HAA	90% matching funds (annual contributions)	LOW RENT PUBLIC HOUSING	local housing authority	extra benefits for the elderly, handicapped, displaced families	city must have a Workable Program

* See front of this Part on Federal Programs for list of initials and what they stand for, page 1.

** You can use FHA mortgage insurance on your loan to <u>buy</u> an individual unit in a multifamily building (condominium.)

The last column on the right of Table I says, "requirements." This is very important, because there are some Federal programs you can't use unless your city meets certain requirements. You can't use the rent supplements program, for example, unless your city has a Workable Program. (See the sections in this booklet on the Workable Program and on the comprehensive planning requirements your city has to have for certain Federal programs.)

How do you use the Federal housing programs in Table I?
Insurance programs. Look at the programs in Table I according to the type of aid (third column) they give. Start with insurance. FHA insures loans for property improvements (Title I) and insures mortgage loans for home improvements (203(k)), experimental housing (233), rental housing for the elderly (231), homes (regular program) (203(b)), multifamily rental housing (regular program) (207), cooperative housing (213), and condominiums (234). You can use these FHA insurance programs yourself, without your city taking part. How? You go to the bank (or savings and loan association or finance company) and apply for FHA insurance on the loan you want to get from the bank.

Now, the bank or other lender, you go to for an FHA-insured loan has to be a bank approved by FHA. If you are getting a loan for property or home improvements, you can let your building contractor take your application to the bank for you. If you're going to sponsor experimental housing, rental housing for the elderly, multifamily rental housing, cooperative housing, or condominiums, you visit an FHA insuring office before you go to the bank. If you don't know where the nearest FHA insuring office is, write to an FHA regional office and ask. (See the list of agencies at the end of this Part on Federal Programs.)

Other FHA insurance programs require your city to take part. If you want FHA mortgage insurance for land development, your city (or other local government in your area) has to have a comprehensive plan. And the land development you want to do has to fit in with the comprehensive plan for your area. So, check with your City Planning Commission before you apply for your mortgage

loan for land development. Insurance now covers not only mortgages for new subdivisions, but also insurance on mortgage loans for developers of entire new towns and new communities. The maximum amount of a single mortgage is $25 million for seven years (or longer, if permitted by the Secretary of HUD). The developer's application to FHA for mortgage insurance first has to be approved by the local governing bodies of adjoining localities and by the state Governor.

Besides the rent supplements program, three other FHA mortgage insurance programs in Table I require your city to have a Workable Program: 1) homes for low and moderate income families (221); 2) rental housing for low and moderate income families, market interest rate program (221(d)(3)); and 3) rental housing for low and moderate income families, below market interest rate program (221(d)(3)). If you want to use any of these three FHA mortgage insurance programs, check with your city's local public agency (LPA) before you apply for your mortgage loan. (See the section in this booklet on the Workable Program. For more information on 221(d)(3) programs, see Part III. Community Group Programs, Nonprofit housing.)

A new FHA home mortgage insurance program (not listed in Table I; write HUD for information) waives requirements for economic soundness of loans in areas where violence or civil disorders have occured or are threatened. The property can be an acceptable risk giving "due consideration to the need for providing adequate housing for families of low and moderate income" in the area.

Remember, FHA doesn't lend money. You get your loan from a bank (or savings and loan association or finance company). You pay a premium for FHA insurance. Then FHA insures your loan from the bank. FHA insurance protects the bank or other approved lender in case something happens that you can't pay back your loan.

- Direct loan programs. There is a Federal housing program in Table I that does give direct Federal government loans. That is

the senior citizens housing loan program (202). As a nonprofit sponsor, you can apply to your regional office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development for a loan to build or rehabilitate rental housing for moderate income elderly and handicapped people. Nonprofit sponsors of senior citizen housing can be church groups, labor unions, and fraternal and civic clubs. Nonprofit sponsors have to be able to finance the housing project themselves or through their national organizations.

- Grant programs. As a public or private nonprofit agency, you can apply to your regional office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development for a grant to do a low income housing demonstration (207) project. You can demonstrate how to build low income housing or how to design it or how to finance it. For example, the idea of the rent supplements program was tested in a demonstration project. Your city doesn't have to take part in the low income housing demonstration program.

- Grants for urban planning assistance (701) go to your city, a group of cities, your county, your state, or your metropolitan planning agency. You use these grants to prepare comprehensive community plans. (See the section in this booklet on comprehensive planning.) A city over 50,000 population or a group of cities over 50,000 that want urban planning assistance grants have to have a metropolitan planning agency. And a metropolitan planning agency has to be set up by your State law. Your state planning agency and your metropolitan planning agency apply to the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) regional office for urban planning assistance grants.

  If your city is under 50,000 population, your city applies for urban planning assistance grants to your State planning agency or to your metropolitan planning agency, if you have one serving your city. Your county, no matter what size, also applies either to your State planning agency or to your metropolitan planning agency, if there is one serving your county.

  A group of cities that add up to less than 50,000 population can apply to the HUD regional office for urban planning assistance

grants. But the group of cities has to form an organization of the public officials from each city. A group like this might call itself a council of local governments or an area-wide planning agency.*

- A local public body can apply to your regional office of HUD for grants for neighborhood facilities; these are projects like community centers, youth centers, health stations, and recreation centers. Your city (or other local government in your area) has to have a comprehensive plan. And the neighborhood facility has to fit in with the comprehensive plan. You use the neighborhood facility to serve low and moderate income families and as part of a Community Action Program. (See the section in this booklet on housing programs a Community Action Committee can use.) Neighborhood facilities are good to use with urban renewal projects; they give the renewal neighborhood a lift.

- A local public body or a State agency can apply to your HUD regional office for grants for open space land and urban beautification. You use the grants to buy and put up parks, malls, historic sites, and scenic spots. Your city (or other local government in your area) has to have a comprehensive plan. And the parks and malls you want have to fit in with the comprehensive plan. Open space land and urban beautification programs are a good way to get the parks you need in an urban renewal area.

- Any size city or county can apply to your HUD regional office for grants for code enforcement and for demolition of unsafe buildings. Your city has to have a Workable Program. The nice thing about these programs is you can use the grants to enforce housing codes and to demolish unsafe buildings both within and

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* Groups of public officials like these often band together to use their urban planning grants to study mass transportation. These groups also get together to get grants for basic water and sewer facilities and for open space land.

outside of urban renewal project areas. Both programs include grants for relocation payments to people who have to move. The code enforcement program also includes rehabilitation loans and grants, as well as funds for public improvements like streets and sidewalks.

- Subsidy programs. What's the difference between a subsidy and a grant? You get a grant from the Federal government in one or two lump sums; you get a subsidy in several payments spread out over a period of time.
  - The rent supplements program is a subsidy program as well as an insurance program (221(d)(3)). The Secretary of HUD makes the subsidy payments for low income tenants to the owner of the housing where they live. The tenants have to be people who qualify for public housing.

    The housing has to be financed under the (221(d)(3) market interest rate program.* And the owner of the housing has to be a private nonprofit sponsor, a limited distribution company, or a cooperative in order to get rent supplement payments for low income tenants. The owner of the housing chooses the tenants. (See under PART III. COMMUNITY GROUP PROGRAMS, Nonprofit housing.)
  - Low-rent public housing is the other subsidy program in Table I. Your city's Housing Authority has to charge tenants enough rent to pay for operating the public housing, but without competing with private standard housing rents. To pay the cost of building new public housing, your city pays 10% in cash or in kind, the Federal government pays the other 90% in annual contributions.

    Low income families and elderly individuals apply to your Housing Authority to live in public housing. Families displaced by urban renewal projects and other government programs get priority on

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* See rent supplements, the "Special Provisions" column in Table I.

vacant units in public housing.

Besides building new housing itself, your Housing Authority can also buy new housing from a private builder (Turnkey Method), buy and rehabilitate existing buildings, or lease housing from private owners to rent to low income tenants. Also, some tenants can buy their units in public housing.

- There are a lot of other HUD programs not included here, as well as programs of other Federal departments, that can help you get better housing and neighborhoods. See the list of publications at the end of this Part on Federal Programs.

H.U.D. PROGRAMS YOU CAN USE WITH URBAN RENEWAL ONLY

- You can use the 21 programs in Table I either with or without having urban renewal. But you can use the 12 programs in Table II with urban renewal only.* You saw that the last seven programs in Table I required your city to have a Workable Program. All 12 programs in Table II require the Workable Program. (See the section in this booklet on the Workable Program.)

- How do you use the Federal housing programs in Table II? Insurance programs. As you can see in the third column of Table II, there are three insurance programs you can use with urban renewal: 1) mortgage insurance for housing in urban renewal areas (220); 2) mortgage insurance for home improvement loans in urban renewal areas (220(h)); and 3) mortgage insurance for housing for displaced families (221).

Before you go to the bank to apply for your FHA-insured mortgage loan, check with your local public agency (LPA) to see if your city has a Workable Program. Your LPA might be called an Urban Renewal Agency, an Urban Renewal Department of your city government, or it might be your city's Housing Authority. FHA won't insure your 220, 220(h), or 221 loan from the bank unless your city has a Workable Program. And the Workable Program has to be certified by HUD.

The Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA, often called "Fanny Mae") buys the 220, 220(h), and 221 mortgages from the bank, under the FNMA Special Assistance Program. That way, a bank that makes a mortgage loan for urban renewal can turn around and sell the mortgage to FNMA on the secondary mortgage market. Once the bank sells the mortgage, then the bank has money to make more loans.

- Direct loan programs. Your local public agency (LPA) can get a

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* See the section that explains the columns in Table I, pp. 3 and 7.

TABLE II. HUD programs you can use with urban renewal for better housing and better neighborhoods, along with the programs listed in Table I.

Section of national housing law	agency that administers	type of aid	PROGRAM	who receives the aid	special provisions	requirements
22) Title I	URA*	planning advances, temporary loans, capital grants for	URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS (rehabilitation and/or clearance)	the local public agency (LPA); the LPA may be a public agency separate from the city, a local housing authority, or a city department		WORKABLE PROGRAM: 1) codes and ordinances; 2) comprehensive plan; 3) neighborhood analyses; 4) administrative organization; 5) financing the program; 6) housing for displaced families; 7) citizen participation
23)		planning advance	GENERAL NEIGHBORHOOD RENEWAL PLANS (GNRP)			
24)		grant of 2/3 cost of	COMMUNITY RENEWAL PROGRAM (CRP)			
25)	URA AND SBA	grant for	RELOCATION (moving expenses and relocation adjustment payments)			
26) (HUD Act of 1965)	URA	grant of 2/3 to 3/4 cost of	CODE ENFORCEMENT and needed public improvements	cities, counties		
27) (HUD Act of 1965)	URA	grant of 2/3 cost of	DEMOLITION of substandard buildings	cities, counties		
28) Sec. 314	URA	grant of 2/3 cost of	URBAN RENEWAL DEMONSTRATION by	public bodies		
29) Sec. 115	URA	grant for	REHABILITATION of buildings	low income homeowners		
30) Sec. 312	URA	loans for	REHABILITATION of buildings	property owners		

TABLE II. HUD programs you can use with urban renewal for better housing and better neighborhoods, along with the programs listed in Table I. (Cont'd.)

Section of national housing law	agency that administers	type of aid	PROGRAM	who receives the aid	special provisions	requirements
31) Sec. 220	FHA	mortgage insurance for	Housing in URBAN RENEWAL areas	mortgagors in urban renewal	FNMA buys these mortgages under the FNMA Special Assistance Program	Workable Program: 1) codes and ordinances; 2) comprehensive plan; 3) neighborhood analyses; 4) administrative organization; 5) financing the program 6) housing for displaced families; 7) citizen participation
32) Sec. 220(h)	FHA	mortgage insurance for	Home improvement loans in URBAN RENEWAL areas	mortgagors in urban renewal		
33) Sec. 221	FHA	mortgage insurance for	HOUSING FOR DISPLACED FAMILIES	displaced families, elderly and handicapped individuals		

* See front of this Part on Federal Programs for list of initials and what they stand for, Page 1.

temporary loan to start buying and clearing land in an urban renewal project. (See the next section on Urban Renewal Projects, Loan and Grant, Part II.)

- If you live in a building in an urban renewal project, and the building isn't beyond repair, you can get a Federal loan (312) through your LPA to rehabilitate your building. Your LPA tells you whether or not your building is beyond repair.

- Advances. Your City's LPA uses planning advances for urban renewal to pay for survey and planning work before the urban renewal project begins. The planning advances are part of (Title I) urban renewal project funds from HUD.

- Grant programs. Besides grants for urban renewal projects, your city can get grants from HUD to make general neighborhood renewal plans (GNRP). The advantage of the GNRP is this: within one neighborhood in your city there could be one or two areas where you can use urban renewal, according to your State laws. But the whole neighborhood may need help: it may need a new school or better streets or housing code enforcement or new zoning. The general neighborhood renewal plan is a way for your city to study and help a whole neighborhood, even though only parts of it can have urban renewal projects.

- Another grant program your city can use is the Community Renewal Program (CRP). These grants let your city study all the renewal projects and neighborhood plans your city needs for years to come. And your city can then decide which urban renewal projects it should do first and how your city can pay for the better housing and neighborhoods it has in mind.

- If you have to move because of an urban renewal project, your LPA will pay your moving expenses. Your LPA gets the money from a 100% relocation grant from the Federal government. So, your city doesn't pay for relocation out of its own funds. Relocation is the only grant program in Table II where your city doesn't share the cost with the Federal government.

In addition to moving expenses, low income families and elderly individuals can get a relocation adjustment payment (RAP) from your LPA. This payment helps people who can't get a unit in public housing to find other standard housing.

Your LPA also helps businesses that have to move to get Small Business Loans, rental payments, or Small Business Displacement Payments.

Your LPA also makes relocation payments to people who have to move not only because of urban renewal, but also because of Federal highway construction or other construction programs.

- State and local public bodies can apply to HUD for urban renewal demonstration grants (314). Kentucky used one of these grants to help communities with their Workable Programs. (See the section on State assistance for community improvement.)

- If you are a low income property owner in an urban renewal area, and your building is not beyond repair, you can get a grant to rehabilitate your building. See your LPA about getting a rehabilitation grant (115).

See page 10 about code enforcement and demolition grants.

URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS

What is urban renewal?
Who does urban renewal?
What is the procedure for urban renewal?
How long does urban renewal take?
Why might urban renewal fail?

- What is urban renewal?

Urban renewal is your city's trade-in of slum housing (or businesses or industries) for decent housing (or businesses or industries.)

There are two main ways you make the trade-in: 1) clearance: your city buys all or part of the slum property, clears and improves the property, and sells the property to private builders; and 2) rehabilitation: your city makes loans or grants to slum property owners and tenants to repair their buildings.

Whether your city uses clearance or rehabilitation or both, your city also uses conservation to keep the neighborhood from becoming a slum again. Conservation means your city puts in community facilities like streets, sewers and utilities, parks and playgrounds, branch libraries, and fire stations.

- Who does urban renewal?

Your community has to have a local public agency (LPA) to do urban renewal. Your LPA can be a public agency separate from your city government, can be your local housing authority, or can be a department of the city government itself, depending on your State law. Your LPA uses Federal advances, loans, and grants (Title I) to plan urban renewal projects; to buy, clear, improve, and resell urban renewal property; to give slum property owners and tenants loans or grants to rehabilitate their buildings; and to make relocation payments to people who have to move. The city supplies part of the funds as well, either in cash or in improvements (community facilities).

Both cities and counties can use Federal grants for code enforcement and for demolition of unsafe buildings in (or outside of) urban renewal areas. Your city can also use grants for neighborhood facilities, open space land, urban beautification, and preservation of historic structures in urban renewal projects.

Property owners and tenants in urban renewal areas get rehabilitation loans (312)* and grants (115) from the city's LPA to repair their buildings and use FHA mortgage insurance for housing (220) and home improvements (220(h)). Families displaced from urban renewal areas also use mortgage insurance (221) to finance decent housing.

Private builders buy the improved urban renewal land and build housing (or businesses or industries) according to your city's plan. Nonprofit groups can also sponsor new or rehabilitated housing in urban renewal areas.

- What is the procedure for urban renewal?

There are five main steps to an urban renewal project: 1) choosing the urban renewal project area; 2) Survey and Planning; 3) Loan and Grant, Part I; 4) Loan and Grant, Part II; and 5) the project itself.

1) Choosing the urban renewal project area. Before you can have urban renewal, your city has to have a Workable Program for Community Improvement (see the next section on the Workable Program) approved by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

   Next, your city chooses an area for urban renewal. Your State statutes tell what can be an urban renewal area; for example, a statute might say that at least 51% of the buildings in an area have to be substandard before you can have an urban renewal project.

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* Section number of the national housing law for that program; See Table II, page 14, and explanation following.

2) Survey and Planning. After your city chooses a project area, then your city government passes a resolution. The resolution is to make a Survey and Planning Application to HUD for Federal funds for advance planning. Your city may choose to pay for advance planning of the urban renewal project without Federal funds and then use Federal funds only for the rest of the urban renewal project.

Your city's Survey and Planning Application tells what the urban renewal project area is like, what your city plans to do in the project area, and how much the urban renewal project might cost. After HUD approves your city's Survey and Planning Application, then HUD advances planning funds to your city.

Your city uses Survey and Planning funds (whether Federal or not) to survey and to plan the urban renewal project area. One survey tells you what condition the buildings are in, how many people and businesses will have to move, and what housing there already is in the city for the displaced people to move to.

Another survey tells you who owns each parcel of property in the urban renewal project area and how much each parcel of property is worth. Your city pays appraisers to decide how much the property is worth.

The plan for the urban renewal project area tells how you can use the property in the project area after urban renewal: for example, how much of the property to use for businesses, how much for homes, how much for schools, and/or how much for industries. Congress now says the residential reuse of any urban renewal area must provide a "substantial" supply of standard low and moderate income housing. And the residential redevelopment must show "marked progress in serving the poor and disadvantaged people living in slums and blighted areas." Also, urban renewal plans must give "consideration" to development of effective systems for the control of storm

and sanitary wastes. HUD requires that the new uses for the urban renewal property pay your city more property taxes than the old uses.

3) Loan and Grant, Part I. After your city surveys and plans the urban renewal project, then your city government passes a resolution. The resolution asks HUD to approve the city's Part I of an Application for Loan and Grant of Funds.

This Loan and Grant Application has to tell HUD your city's whole plan for the urban renewal project: how your city will buy the property, how you can use the property after urban renewal, what community facilities your city will put in, how your City will relocate the people who have to move, and how your city plans to resell the property.

HUD reviews the Loan and Grant Application, Part I, and returns it to your city. HUD may then ask your city to add more information or to change the plan.

4) Loan and Grant, Part II. After your city gets Part II of the Loan and Grant Application ready (which is actually Part I revised), then your city government passes--whoops, not yet. Your city government holds a public hearing. After the public hearing, then your city government passes a resolution. The resolution approves the urban renewal project.

Now the only thing left to do before the urban renewal project itself is to get the money. If your city is over 50,000 population, you pay 1/3 of the cost of the urban renewal project (total cost minus sales of urban renewal land to private builders). However, if your city paid for the Survey and Planning out of its own funds, then your city's share for the rest of the urban renewal project is 1/4.

If your city is under 50,000 population, you pay 1/4 of the cost. Your city doesn't have to pay in cash. Instead, your city can put in community facilities, or, public improvements to serve the project area. These improvements are called

noncash Grants-in-Aid. Noncash Grants-in-Aid can also be up to 25% (but not over $3.5 million) of the cost of:

1) public facilities for cultural, exhibition or civic purposes,
2) city halls or public safety buildings or
3) medical treatment or research facilities.

After approving Part II of your Loan and Grant Application, HUD sends your city a contract for the Federal 2/3 or 3/4 share of the urban renewal project cost. After your city approves that contract, you're ready to start the project. Your city uses a Federal loan at the beginning and gets a Federal grant at the end.

5) The project itself. The city uses the appraisals made in the Survey and Planning stage to set a purchase price for each parcel of property in the urban renewal area. Next, your city hires a negotiator to make each property owner an offer for his property. If the owner accepts that offer, then a title company closes the sale. If the title to the property is not clear or if the owner won't accept the city's offer, then the city has to go to court and condemn the property in order to buy it.

If your city buys urban renewal property that you live on, you have at least 90 days to move, and the city has to help you find standard housing. The city pays your moving expenses and also gives you a relocation adjustment payment, if you need it. (See the grant programs following Table II, page 16.) If you decide to move to a substandard house, your city can't give you any relocation payments.

After buying a parcel of property, the city has a demolition company demolish the building. Next, the city has an engineer put in street and sewer improvements. Next, the city goes to the planning commission to have the property rezoned according to the urban renewal plan.

If you own a building that has to be rehabilitated, the city tells you what you have to do to bring the building up to standard, according to the city codes. The city also helps you get the loan or grant you need to do the work, if you can't afford all the repairs yourself.

When the land the city bought is ready, the city sells it to private developers, except the land for public uses like schools, parks, utilities, and fire stations. The private developers have to build according to the urban renewal plan. The price for the land has been set by the appraisers.

When your city sells all the urban renewal land, the Urban Renewal Administration of HUD makes an audit. The audit is to see exactly what the project did cost after your city sold the urban renewal land. If your city spent more than it expected to, then your city has to come up with more funds to pay its share. If your city spent less than it expected to, your city gets a refund from URA. Finally, the Urban Renewal Administration makes your city a capital grant for the Federal share of the project cost.

- How long does urban renewal take?

How long your city takes to do an urban renewal project depends on several things:

1) whether your city's Workable Program is acceptable to HUD;
2) whether your city has done urban renewal before and knows the procedure;
3) whether HUD has a backlog of applications piled up from other cities when your city applies;
4) whether the people living in the project area stay there between the time of the Survey and Planning until the project begins; you see, it will take the city longer to find people relocation housing if they aren't the same people who lived in the project area when the City made the relocation survey;

5) whether the property owners are willing to sell at the price the city offers;
6) whether much of the urban renewal property has clear title; it takes a long time for the city to go through court and condemn the property for title; and
7) whether the city can find ready buyers for the urban renewal land.

Choosing the project area takes at least long enough for the city to inspect possible renewal areas and to talk over a possible project with city government departments, other local government agencies, and private agencies. How long this takes, it's hard to say.

Then, to prepare the Survey and Planning Application takes anywhere from a few hours to several weeks, depending on how much information your city has collected on the project area.

If your city's Workable Program is certified, HUD approves the Survey and Planning Application in about three to four months.

The Survey and Planning stage of urban renewal takes two years.

HUD takes about three to four months to review and return Part I of the Loan and Grant Application. After the city revises the Application (about four months) and turns in Part II, HUD approves the urban renewal project in about two to three months.

Cities take about five years to execute an urban renewal project, that is, to buy all the property they planned to buy in the urban renewal project, improve the land, and sell the land after all the improvements are in.

All in all, an urban renewal project in your city takes about eight years from start to finish. Of course, you can have more than one project going on at a time, so that it might take only 11 years to finish two projects.

- Why might urban renewal fail?

- One reason an urban renewal project might fail in your community is that the public doesn't understand it. People in your community may have the wrong idea about Federal aid for urban renewal. They may think the Federal government comes in and tells your city what to do. Not so. Your city chooses to have the urban renewal project, your city plans the project, and your city carries it out.

  Another common misunderstanding about urban renewal is that people in the project will be cleared out and have no place to go. Not so. Your city has to help the people from the project area to find standard housing at a price they can afford to pay. What about people moving to another slum, you say? Your city can't stop anyone from moving to a slum. And your city can't help anyone move before the Federal contract for urban renewal is approved. But if people living in an urban renewal area remain there until the project begins, the city has to find them decent housing.

  Many people think an urban renewal project has to be all clearance. No project has to be all clearance. Your city may decide on clearance to get enough land for a city-wide facility, such as a stadium or a civic center. But where your city doesn't need a large land area, you can draw any project area boundaries to include some housing that the owners can rehabilitate.

- A second reason that urban renewal might fail in your community is because the people living in the project area aren't involved in planning the project. You know, the plans for an urban renewal project have to include plans for relocation. So, even if none of the people move back into the project **after** renewal, the people still have a stake in the project plans.

  There are many ways people who live in project areas can be involved in the planning. One way is through the Citizens Advisory Committee. Your city is required to have this committee under the Workable Program. Often the difference between a successful urban renewal project and a failure is the difference

between a Citizens Advisory Committee that is active and one that is idle. People in project areas can work through the Citizens Advisory Committee to get the kind of project that meets their needs for better housing and neighborhoods.

Often the Citizens Advisory Committee isn't enough. People in project areas may want to do their own housing surveys. They may want to show the city that new housing alone won't meet the needs of the people, but that they also need jobs, job training, and adult education programs as well. (See the section on Your Own Programs under Part IV.)

People in project areas may want to form a neighborhood organization and hold meetings to explain and discuss the urban renewal program and other programs in the community. They may publish a newsletter to keep all the people in the project area informed. Efforts like these--the housing surveys, the neighborhood meetings, and the newsletters--can mean the difference between the success and the failure of urban renewal in your community. (See Part II, City Programs.)

- A third reason urban renewal might fail is because your city does a piecemeal or one-shot job, as if an urban renewal project alone could solve all the city's slum housing problems. Few cities are that lucky. Your city has to work for good housing in every part of the community. That means enforcing the housing code, putting in public improvements, encouraging private builders and nonprofit sponsors to put up more housing, and possibly using other Federal programs for more and better housing. One isolated project won't do the job.

WORKABLE PROGRAM*

You wouldn't build a house where you couldn't get a road to it, where there was no school, no grocery store, and somebody could put up a factory next door. You wouldn't put a house in a neighborhood like that.

On the other hand, you wouldn't tear down a bad house until you found a good house to move into. Nor would you move people out of one slum neighborhood only to have them move into another slum neighborhood.

Who sees to it that people who move out of bad houses then move into good houses in good neighborhoods? And who sees to it that good housing gets the roads, schools, stores, and zoning it needs? Your city sees to it. How can you tell if your city is doing its job? By your city's Workable Program.

The Workable Program is a set of requirements. The requirements show that your city is doing its job. That's all the Workable Program does. You don't get any money out of it. But your city has to have a Workable Program to get in on the following Federal programs: all the HUD programs you use with urban renewal only (Table II); grants for code enforcement and demolition of unsafe buildings; housing for low and moderate income families (221) and(221(d)(3)); and low-rent public housing.

What are the Workable Program requirements?

- The first requirement is codes and ordinances. The housing code is especially important, since your city uses it to get property owners to repair and rehabilitate their buildings and clean up their yards. The housing code also tells how many people can live in a building, how many bathrooms the building should have, how many windows, and what is an adequate heating system. Your city can use code enforcement grants (Table I) to help pay for enforcing the housing code.

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* The full name is Workable Program for Community Improvement.

Aside from buildings that have to be condemned, your city usually enforces the housing code in certain parts of the city at a time. This way, a particular neighborhood can repair all its buildings at the same time. The city doesn't enforce the housing code in areas that will be cleared by urban renewal since the cost of the repairs would make the property more expensive for the city to buy. Besides, it wouldn't make sense for the owner to spend money on a major repair if his building would be torn down in a few years. However, your city can require that the buildings are at least not dangerous to the people living in them. Your city can set minimum standards and require temporary repairs on buildings that will be cleared in urban renewal areas.

Besides the housing code, your city has to have building, plumbing, electrical and fire prevention codes. These four codes set health and safety standards for new buildings and major building repairs. So, while the building code covers new buildings, the housing code covers existing buildings.

Your city enforces building, plumbing, electrical, and fire prevention codes on new buildings. In addition, your city has a codes review committee to keep all the codes up to date and to decide how and where the city should enforce the housing code. This committee makes a report in the Annual Review of Progress your city sends to HUD to get your Workable Program recertified each year.

- The second Workable Program requirement is the comprehensive community plan. See the next section in this booklet on Comprehensive Planning.

- The third requirement is Neighborhood Analyses. This means your city divides the community into neighborhoods--residential, commercial, and industrial--and studies each neighborhood at a time. One neighborhood might need the housing code enforced there. Another neighborhood might need its street layout changed. Still another neighborhood might need many of its buildings cleared away. From neighborhood analyses, you can see where your city needs urban renewal projects first, where you

need to enforce the housing code first, and where you need to put in community facilities, or, public improvements, like streets and schools. Your city can use the Urban Planning Assistance Program (701) in Table I to help pay for its neighborhood analyses.

If neighborhood analyses sounds to you like the Community Renewal Program (Title I) in Table II, you're right. They're the same idea of planning for more than one urban renewal project at a time. The Community Renewal Program (CRP) is usually a bigger study than neighborhood analyses and has more detail. A large city might use a CRP to make one of its studies just on relocation housing. Another study might look at the needs of displaced families for jobs and education.

You remember in the section on urban renewal, we said your city has to have a local public agency (LPA) to do urban renewal. Your city may also have a local planning agency. Your local public agency (LPA) is probably your Urban Renewal Agency. Your local planning agency is probably the Planning Department of your city government. Now, your Planning Department--or a planning consultant, if your city doesn't have its own planner--does your neighborhood analysis, or your Community Renewal Program, if you have one. Your Urban Renewal Agency (LPA) carries out your urban renewal projects. Confused? Wait, there's more.

An agency usually has paid professional people who work full time. Then, with the agency, such as your city's Planning Department, there will also be a planning commission or board. Your Urban Renewal Agency also has an urban renewal commission or board. The people on the commissions or boards serve without pay. Your mayor and city council appoint them.

Why do you want to know about these boards or commissions and agencies? Here's why: Say you want to know where your city plans to do its next urban renewal project. You go to your Planning Department (local planning agency). Say you think this next project should be someplace different. You go to your planning commission or board. You would want to go to the planning

commission, since it makes recommendations on plans for urban renewal to your city council.

Say you want to know how far along a certain urban renewal project is. You go to your Urban Renewal Agency (LPA) and ask. Say you think more of the property in that project could be rehabilitated than the city has planned. Even though your city council has adopted an urban renewal plan for that project, plans, like codes and ordinances, can be amended. So, you go to your urban renewal commission or board, since it makes recommendations on urban renewal projects to your city council.

To meet this third Workable Program requirement, your local planning agency makes a report on Neighborhood Analyses in the Annual Review of Progress your city sends to HUD.

- The fourth Workable Program requirement is administrative organization. By now, you've noticed your city needs more than one Agency or Department to do its Workable Program. Yet, all seven Workable Program requirements go together. So, what your city has to do is have a program coordinator. This coordinator might be called your Urban Renewal Coordinator. Or it might be your mayor. Or it could even be a committee.

The program coordinator would be the best person for you to talk to if you wanted to know how your city's Workable Program was coming along. The coordinator makes sure the city has enough staff people to do the jobs, especially the jobs of code enforcement and of enforcing your city's zoning and subdivision regulations (see the section on Comprehensive Planning). If your city needs to hire new people to work on the Workable Program requirements, your program coordinator tells the mayor and city council.

- The fifth requirement is financing. How will your city pay for the urban renewal or public housing or code enforcement or public improvements it plans to do in your community?

Under your city's comprehensive plan, you have a public improve-

ments program, that is, a list of the streets, sewers, schools, parks, utilities, fire stations, and public buildings your city will need for many years to come.

Also, under your comprehensive plan is a capital improvements budget. This is a six year budget of the public improvements your city needs (according to your public improvements program) along with how much each improvement costs and how much money the city expects to have each year to pay for the improvements.

Finally, looking at the public improvements program and at the capital improvements budget, your city adopts an annual operating budget. What HUD checks in this Workable Program requirement is to see that your city really is looking ahead at the improvements it will need in the future and how your city plans to pay for them.

The sixth Workable Program requirement is housing for displaced families. That means your city has to help displaced families find decent housing at a price they can afford. Displaced families are people who have to move not only because of urban renewal and highway or other government construction, but also because they lived in an unsafe or overcrowded building (according to the housing code) or because their income got too high for them to stay in public housing.

Your city has to help relocate all these displaced people. You may have a special relocation office, or, housing referral service. Whatever agency handles relocation, your city has relocation assistants to work with each family that has to move. Relocation assistants help families fill out forms to get their relocation payments of up to $200 for moving expenses, to get their relocation adjustment payment (RAP) of up to $500 if they need it, and to find a decent place to live.

To meet this sixth Workable Program requirement, your city has to have records of how many people will be displaced in the next few years and of what housing there is for them to move to.

- The seventh Workable Program requirement is citizen participation. Your mayor appoints people to an official Citizens Advisory Committee (CAC). The people are supposed to represent all community interests: business, labor, civic, church; education, health and welfare agencies; minority groups and neighborhood groups. And your mayor also appoints people to an official Subcommittee on Minority Group Housing. The people on this committee are supposed to represent minority groups also, and builders, lenders, realtors, and housing officials.

A Citizens Advisory Committee (CAC) and its Subcommittee on Minority Group Housing, and any other subcommittees your CAC sets up will have anywhere from a dozen to ninety members or more. The size of the CAC depends on the size of your city.

The Citizens Advisory Committee is a way for private citizens to help your city government work for better housing and neighborhoods. There are two ways the CAC works. First, the CAC works as a group. The CAC might recommend new public housing to the mayor to help relocate displaced families. Or the CAC might hold meetings open to the public to explain urban renewal.

Second, members of the Citizens Advisory Committee work as individuals. A CAC member might talk with a City Councilman about a housing code enforcement program, asking the councilman his views and giving him information about how a nearby city enforced its housing code. Another CAC member might talk with a lender about making mortgage loans to people who want to rehabilitate their homes.

The Subcommittee on Minority Group Housing also works as a group to hold meetings and to make recommendations to the Citizens Advisory Committee. And members of the Subcommittee work as individuals to help minority families find housing, land, and home loans.

The Citizens Advisory Committee has a secretary to keep minutes of its meetings. CAC's generally meet once a month. Subcommittees also keep minutes. Subcommittees generally meet more

often than the CAC. The Citizens Advisory Committee chooses a chairman and may also have an Executive Committee to coordinate the subcommittees. And the CAC chooses the chairman for each subcommittee. Besides the Subcommittee on Minority Group Housing, you might have subcommittees on public information, on home financing, on downtown development, and on urban renewal.

The mayor sees that the Citizens Advisory Committee and the subcommittees have staff assistance. The staff may be city employees or volunteers or both. The staff people help the Citizens Advisory Committee and the subcommittees get the information they need. For information on comprehensive planning, zoning and subdivision regulations, and the public improvements program, your city can use Urban Planning Assistance (701) grants to prepare materials for city public meetings. The CAC can use the materials for its own meetings as well.

COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING

What is comprehensive planning? What's a comprehensive community plan? A master plan? A general plan? A future development plan?

Planning has been different things at different times. At one time, a plan was a map of streets, utilities, and public buildings that the city planned to build in the next five years. Later the plan included private land use as well as public: residential, commercial, and industrial land.

Then, to find out how much land the city would need for homes, businesses, and industries, the plan included a study of what the future population might be and how many people would be working in the businesses and factories.

The time came when the city had to protect the land people used for homes and the land for businesses and industries. So, along with the plan was a zoning ordinance.

The city had traffic problems. So, it had to plan the streets as well as the land uses. And the city had to plan for the schools and parks and fire stations the people would need, too. So, the plan included these community facilities.

To m ake sure the new homes people bought had streets and utilities and large enough lot sizes, the plan included subdivision regulations.

And because the city couldn't afford all the new schools and fire stations it needed at once, the plan included a public improvements program to tell which community facilities the city would build first. The city was growing so fast, the plan had to cover not just the next five years, but the next twenty.

Now, the comprehensive community plan, as required under the Workable Program, has these six parts:

1) Land use plan
2) Major street plan
3) Community facilities plan
4) Zoning ordinance
5) Subdivision regulations
6) Public Improvements Program

The land use, street, and community facilities plans are based on studies of the population and the economy of your community. Some comprehensive plans also include a housing study or neighborhood analyses. Some plans also include an annexation study. Your city, county, state, or metropolitan planning agency can use urban planning assistance (701) grants (Table I) to help pay for preparing your comprehensive community plan.

Your city government has to adopt the zoning ordinance and the subdivision regulations as law. The zoning ordinance tells which land, by zone or district, you can use for a single family home, a duplex, an apartment, a retail store, a warehouse, a cleaners, a factory, a school, a park, or a farm. The zoning ordinance also tells you how much of your property you can build on, how far back from the street, side and back of the lot, and how high your building can be. And the zoning ordinance tells you how many parking spaces, on and off the street, you must have. The zoning ordinance doesn't tell whether you can build with brick or wood; that's in the building code.

The subdivision regulations tell you what size lot, layout of lot, streets, sidewalks, sewers, curbs and gutters, and utilities you have to have.

Your city council uses its police power to enforce the zoning ordinance and the subdivision regulations. First, your planning commission reviews subdivisions. Then they are approved by your city council. And your planning commission or zoning commission, if you have one, reviews petitions to amend the zoning ordinance. For example, a person may want to build a carwash in a residential zone. Then, the decision whether to amend the zoning ordinance for this person is up to the city council.

Under the Workable Program, your city may or may not adopt the other four parts of the plan, since the land use plan, major street plan, community facilities plan, and public improvements program don't have to become law. Your city may adopt an official map that shows where future streets will go. Your city uses the public improvements program to make a six-year capital improvements budget and, from that budget, your city adopts its annual operating budget.

FEDERAL COVERAGE OF EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

There are two ways the Federal Government prohibits discrimination in Federally-aided housing: 1) President's Executive Order No. 11063, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING and 2) Title VI of The Civil Rights Act of 1964.

TABLE III. FEDERAL COVERAGE OF EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

Executive Order	Title VI	not covered
HOUSING OWNED OR OPERATED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, e.g., FHA- and VA-acquired properties (repossessed).	Also covers housing owned or operated by the Federal Government.	FHA and VA housing that is one- or two-family owner-occupied before foreclosure (repossession) or after foreclosure by lender but before Federal government has acquired title to the property. Lenders benefitting from the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation: (conventional housing loans by) savings and loan associations, commercial banks, and mutual savings banks. Even if Federal coverage were extended to FOIC and FSLIC lenders, the following lenders would still not be covered: (Conventional housing loans by) insurance companies pensions funds, non-financial corporations, and individuals.
HOUSING PROVIDED FEDERALLY INSURED OR GUARANTEED LOANS, e.g., FHA-insured and VA guaranteed housing except one- or two-family owner-occupied, after Nov. 20, 1962. This covers builders and developers who sell to FHA and VA buyers, and home financing institutions making FHA and VA loans (mostly mortgage bankers).	Does <u>not</u> cover FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed housing.	
HOUSING PROVIDED ON FEDERALLY-ASSISTED URBAN RENEWAL PROPERTY after Nov. 20, 1962: This covers local urban renewal agencies (LPA's). This does not cover conventionally financed private builders.	Covers urban renewal property after Jan. 3, 1965, including conventionally financed private builders in urban renewal areas.	
HOUSING AIDED BY FEDERAL LOANS, GRANTS, ADVANCES, OR CONTRIBUTIONS (SUBSIDIES), e.g., public housing, college housing, senior citizens housing, after Nov. 20, 1962. Agencies of HUD are supposed to end discrimination in <u>existing</u> Federally-aided housing by using their good offices and other action permitted by law.	Covers existing public housing, as well as new public housing, college housing, senior citizens housing.	

Many people think the Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination in the sale, rental, or use of FHA-insured or VA guaranteed housing. It does not. Title VI excludes Federal programs involving a contract of insurance or guaranty. But the Executive Order does cover FHA-insured and VA-guaranteed housing (except one- or two-family owner occupied).

Besides housing, Title VI also covers Federal programs that affect your neighborhood, including loan and grant programs of the Community Facilities Administration and non-housing facilities in urban renewal projects. However, Title VI does not prohibit discrimination in the Urban Planning Assistance Program (701) or in the selection of public housing or urban renewal project sites. You have some protection on project sites, though, since the Housing Assistance Administration and the Urban Renewal Administration review project sites for their possible impact on minority groups.

Anyone who suffers discrimination in a Federally-aided housing or neighborhood program--whether covered by Title VI or by the Executive Order--complains to the agency within HUD that administers the program. Suppose your local housing authority denies you admission to public housing because of your race. You send a written complaint to the Housing Assistance Administration (HAA). HAA lets you know they have received your complaint. Then HAA checks with your housing authority and tries to persuade them to admit you, if you are qualified to live in public housing, of course. If your housing authority still refuses to admit you, even though they have a vacancy, your housing authority gets a hearing. If they have violated Title VI, then HAA notifies the appropriate congressional committees. After thirty days, HAA cuts off Federal funds to your housing authority.

Another thing the Housing Assistance Administration could do in the example above is refer the violation of Title VI to the Department of Justice for legal action. If you suffer discrimination under an FHA-insured or VA-guaranteed program, the violation is covered by the Executive Order only. But your complain procedure is the same as under Title VI, and the sanctions of the

Federal agencies are the same. The only difference is that FHA or VA would not have to contact congressional committees before cutting off a builder or a lender from FHA or VA benefits. Under the Executive Order, FHA or VA could also refer violations to the Justice Department.

Federal coverage of equal housing opportunity, including existing and new public housing, FHA and VA-aided housing (after Nov. 20, 1962), FHA and VA-acquired properties, senior citizens housing, and other Federally-aided housing, amounts to less than 3 percent of our total housing supply in the United States. Also, "the rate at which we are now increasing nondiscrimination coverage of the total housing supply is only 1/2 of 1 percent annually."*

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*Statement of Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, before Subcommittee No. 5, House Judiciary Committee in support of the proposed "Civil Rights Act of 1966" (H.R.14765).

PROGRAMS THAT A COMMUNITY ACTION COMMITTEE CAN USE

Is there a Community Action Program (War on Poverty) in your county? If so, your Community Action Committee can use funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity for better homes and neighborhoods. Here are a few of the ways you can use your Community Action Program for better housing:

I. To help people improve their homes
   A. Home management services to help low income families with budgeting, food preparation, sewing, decorating, and care of the home.
   B. Assistance to families from rural areas in meeting problems of urban living.
   C. Money for materials for home repair.
   D. Training unemployed people in rehabilitation skills.

II. To help people improve their neighborhoods
   A. Junior inspectors to help your city enforce the housing code.
   B. Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees to work on beautification projects.
   C. VISTA's (Volunteers in Service to America) to do housing surveys and help out generally with housing problems.
   D. Work-Study students to serve as community service aides.

III. To help people move to better housing
   A. Relocation assistance to low income families living in substandard housing outside of urban renewal areas and families who couldn't find public housing to meet their needs.
   B. Development of cooperative organizations to plan housing rehabilitation and construction for low income families.
   C. Consumer counseling for low income families.
   D. Legal services in low income areas.

Community Action Programs for better housing are limited only by your imagination. In addition, your Community Action Agency can

work with your housing authority to help make low-rent public housing a stepping-stone for low income families. And your Community Action Program can tie in with urban renewal activities, as well. (See the sections in Part II on Relocation Assistance and on Coordination with anti-poverty programs.)

DEMONSTRATION CITIES

While the 1966 Demonstration Cities bill was still before Congress, a radio announcer remarked that the bill was not for cities that had had demonstrations. Rather, the bill was a proposal for cities to "demonstrate" ways to rebuild large slum and blighted areas and to provide the public facilities and services necessary to improve the general welfare of the people who live and work in these areas.

A city's demonstration program uses all available Federal aids (not only from HUD, but also from Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Labor, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bureau of Public Roads, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, and others) as well as local private and public resources to improve a whole neighborhood.

If your city is chosen by HUD for a demonstration program, your city can get grants for 80% of your city's share of the cost of its Federal programs. For example, your city may be paying one-third of the cost of an urban renewal project. The amount of demonstration cities money your city can get would be 80% of your city's one-third share of the project cost.

HUD tells you which Federal programs your city can include in your demonstration program. Then, you add up your city's share of the cost of all those Federal programs. Your demonstration cities grant, then, is 80% of your city's share of your Federal aid programs.

But once you figure out how much the demonstration grant is, your city doesn't have to spend the grant on those Federal programs. Not at all. In fact, the first thing your city does is figure out what new or existing <u>non</u>federally assisted programs it wants. You can use all the money for these nonfederal programs if you want to, so long as HUD approves the programs as part of your demonstration cities plan. Here's what some of those programs might be:

grants for rehabilitation of multifamily structures
revolving fund for purchase and rehabilitation of housing
increased level of garbage collection

police-community relations program
training unemployed in rehabilitation skills
additional "Head Start" activities beyond what is available from Community Action Program
improving and equipping neighborhood playgrounds

There's a second kind of grant your city uses under the demonstration cities program. That is a grant of up to 80 percent to administer the demonstration program. But you can't use these grants to administer the Federal programs you already have.

And there's a third kind of grant. This is a grant of up to 80 percent of the cost of making your city's plan for your demonstration program. All three grants go to your city's demonstration agency, chosen by your city government.

What if your city doesn't have a demonstration program? How, then, can the program benefit you? In two ways: first, you can keep an eye on the city nearest you that has a demonstration program. You can see whether your neighbor city is able to help the people in the slum area get not only decent low-cost housing, but also the health, education, employment, transportation, and recreation facilities and services they need. You can see whether there is widespread citizen participation in the program and whether residents of the slum area are employed in the demonstration cities program. You can benefit from the successes and failures of your neighbor city.

Second, if you live in a metropolitan area, you may have a "metropolitan expediter." This person can assist your community with information on Federal programs and on demonstration programs in other cities. This person might especially help with the need for low-cost housing not only in your own city, but among the several cities in your metropolitan area.

The demonstration cities program and the metropolitan expediter

are two of many provisions of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, signed into law by the President on November 3, 1966.*

*"President Johnson Signs Demonstration Cities Bill," Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, (Vol. XXIV, No. 45, Nov. 11, 1966) pp. 2817-2824.

AGENCIES TO WRITE FOR INFORMATION

If you want general information on Federal housing and neighborhood programs, write:

Department of Housing and Urban Development
Washington, D. C. 20410

If you want information on a particular program of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) or an agency within HUD, such as Community Facilities Administration (CFA), Housing Assistance Administration (HAA), or Urban Renewal Administration (URA) write to the agency at the HUD regional office.

If you live in Virginia, write:

(the agency within HUD, or, just HUD)
Region II
Widener Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

If you live in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, or Tennessee, write:

(the agency)
Region III
Peachtree-Seventh Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

If you live in Arkansas, Louisiana, or Texas write:

(the agency)
Region V
300 W. Vickery Boulevard
Fort Worth, Texas 76104

For the address of the FHA insuring office serving you, write your FHA regional office. FHA also has field offices. A field office is a kind of branch insuring office, except the field office can't approve lenders or loans or handle discrimination complaints. The field office does accept FHA applications, though, and does inspect property.

You may want information on some Federal programs not covered in this booklet:

In the Community Facilities Administration:

Advance Acquisition of Land
Advances for Public Works Planning
College Housing Program
Grants for Basic Water and Sewer Facilities
Public Facility Loans

In the Federal Housing Administration:
Mortgage Insurance for Nursing Homes
Home Mortgage Insurance in areas of violence or civil disorders (new program)
221(d)(3) assistance in buying low-cost rehabilitated homes (new program)
Mortgage Insurance for new communities (new program)
Mortgage Insurance for group practice facilities (new program for doctors, dentists, and optometrists)

In the Urban Renewal Administration:
Urban Renewal Service (technical assistance to cities and publications for the general public)

In Housing and Urban Development:
Community Development Training Program (Title VIII, Housing Act of 1964) for public officials
Preservation of Historic Structures (new program)
Urban Information and Technical Assistance (new program)
Metropolitan Expediters (new program)
"Incentive" Planning Grants (new program)

And in the Farmers Home Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250:
Financial Assistance to Small Towns and Rural Groups
Housing for Senior Citizens
Loans for Farm Labor Housing
Loans for Recreational Purposes
Rural Housing Loans
Rural Renewal Loans to Public Agencies
Direct Housing Loans for purchase of newly constructed homes (new program)

And Director, Division of Adult Education Programs, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 20202:
Community Service and Continuing Education Programs (Title I, Higher Education Act of 1965) for citizen groups and universities

- For general information on War on Poverty Programs, write:

Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

You may also write the Office of Economic Opportunity serving your region.

If you live in North Carolina or Virginia, write:

Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Region II
1156 - 15th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

If you live in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, or Tennessee, write:

Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Region III
101 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

If you live in Arkansas, Louisiana, or Texas, write:

Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Region V
314 West 11th Street
Austin, Texas 78701

For information on programs of the Small Business Administration, write:

Small Business Administration
Washington, D. C. 20416

The Small Business Administration also has offices in the following cities:

Birmingham, Alabama; Little Rock, Arkansas; Jacksonville and Miami, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; New Orleans, Louisiana; Jackson, Mississippi; Charlotte, North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina; Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee; Dallas, Houston, Lubbock, Marshall, and San Antonio, Texas; and Richmond, Virginia.

PUBLICATIONS

Equal opportunity in housing.

BASIC REFERENCES ON HOUSING MINORITIES AND EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY, Intergroup Relations Service, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C. 20410, December, 1965.

CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER FEDERAL PROGRAMS: An Analysis of Title VI, The Civil Rights Act of 1964, CCR Special Publication-Number 1, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C. 20425, January, 1965.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING: A Selected Bibliography of Materials for Study and Use, The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Executive Offices, The White House, Washington, D. C.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING: A Series of Case Studies, Office of Program Policy and Intergroup Relations Service, Housing and Home Finance Agency (now the Department of Housing and Urban Development), for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 20402-Price 35 cents, June, 1964.

HOW TO BRING UP YOUR CHILD WITHOUT PREJUDICE, Margaret B. Young, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 373, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 381 Park Ave. South, New York, New York 10016, 25¢, May, 1965.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS: President's Executive Order No. 11063, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING, Housing and Home Finance Agency, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.-Price 5 cents, April, 1963.

TITLE VI of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT of 1964 . . . as applied to HHFA Programs, Questions and Answers, Housing and Home Finance Agency, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washinton, D.C., 20402-Price 5 cents, May, 1965.

Federal-general.

CATALOG OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT, Office of Economic Opportunity, Information Center, 1200 Nineteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C., 20506, December, 1965.

CATALOG OF FEDERAL AIDS TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, and supplements, Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, available from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.,20402.

The Facts on Urban Renewal, City Planning Associates, 524 E. McKinley Highway, Mishawaka, Indiana,46544.

HOUSING A NATION, Congressional Quarterly Service, 1735 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.,20006, $2.50, 1966.

A selected bibliography of catalogs and other information sources on federal and state aid programs, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D. C., 20575.

Federal-HUD.

A Guide for CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEES FOR THE WORKABLE PROGRAM FOR COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C., 20410, December, 1965.

HIGHLIGHTS OF LOW-RENT HOUSING PROGRAM OF HOUSING ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C., 20410.

Low-Income Housing Demonstration Program, a Program Guide, 0-674653, Low-Income Housing Demonstration Branch, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C., 20410.

Programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 20402-Price 20 cents, November, 1965.

PUBLICATIONS of the Federal Housing Administration, FHA No. 235, Office of Public Information, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C., 20411, February, 1966.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS TO EXPLAIN THE DEMONSTRATION CITIES ACT OF 1966, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410, January, 1966.

SUMMARY OF THE Urban Renewal Program, Incorporating changes resulting from the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1966, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410, November, 1965.

The Urban Planning Assistance Program, Fact Sheet, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Urban Renewal Administration, Washington, D.C., 20410, December, 1964.

Urban Renewal Notes, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410.

What the Department of Housing and Urban Development is and How it is Organized, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C., 20410.

The Workable Program for Community Improvement, Fact Sheet, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410, August, 1964.

Planning.

ABC's of Community Planning, The Community Planning Division of Sears, Roebuck, and Co., 1962.

Poverty.

The War on Poverty, Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C., 20506.

Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 1965.

PART TWO: STATE AND CITY PROGRAMS

for better homes and neighborhoods

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STATE ASSISTANCE FOR COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT

Most states help their cities and counties with programs for better homes and neighborhoods. There are many ways states can provide this help: 1) enabling legislation for planning, public housing, urban renewal, and codes and ordinances; 2) help in applying for Federal aids; 3) money to supplement Federal aid programs; 4) help in preparing comprehensive plans, budgets, codes, and other elements of the Workable Program; 5) training for local public officials; and 6) community education for citizens.

States can use Federal aids to help pay for assistance to communities: the Urban Planning Assistance Program (701), Urban Renewal Demonstration Program (314), and other programs.

For small communities that can't provide basic city services, here's how your state can help:*

1) develop accounting and budget system; 2) suggest how to augment existing revenue program through such revenues as an occupational tax, a fee charge for refuse collection, a parking fee and a property tax re-evaluation; 3) joint city-county agreements for such activities as sanitation, road improvements, and code enforcement; 4) consolidation with a neighboring city for public housing; 5) establish- an area planning agency to plan for a group of communities; and 6) utilize Federal and state loans and grants in such areas as the accelerated public works program, community facility loans and advances, and area redevelopment assistance.

For communities that can provide city services but don't want to use codes and ordinances, here's what your state can do:

1) assist the citizens advisory committee to become the motivating force in the community; 2) provide information to citizen groups; 3) arrange for meetings to discuss the issues of code enforcement openly, in the hopes of changing community attitudes.

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* This section is based on Commonwealth and Community, The Kentucky Program of State Assistance for Community Improvement, Division of Planning and Zoning, Department of Commerce, Commonwealth of Kentucky.

And for communities that can provide city services and want to use codes and ordinances but need assistance, your state can do these things:

> 1) provide resource personnel to the advisory committees; 2) train the local codes inspectors; 3) start an urban renewal project; 4) help carry out the comprehensive plan; 5) prepare a capital budget; and 6) develop housing facilities to meet specific needs of minority families and senior citizens.

In addition, your state can hold state-wide meetings to get communities interested in housing and neighborhood improvement, regional meetings to explain an element of the Workable Program, sub-regional workshops to help communities with a common problem, such as code enforcement, and training institutes for housing, code enforcement, and renewal officials.

Finally, your state can be a resource center of information not only on state and Federal programs, but also on how to get qualified officials and consultants for your community and on how to organize associations of planning and redevelopment officials.

CITY HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

This section of the booklet lists programs and activities that a city human relations commission, biracial committee, or whatever it's called in your city, can undertake for open housing and neighborhood improvement. But more important than the programs and activities is the approach, or philosophy, of the human relations commission.

The philosophy of the city human relations commission should be this: 1) the programs of the commission will pass, as soon as possible, from the commission to a permanent department of city government; and 2) community leaders will be involved at all times in planning, carrying out, and evaluating these programs.

The commission can measure part of its success, then, by the programs it passes on to city government departments, such as enforcement of a city open occupancy ordinance by a commission. But behind the government departments, programs, and ordinances,

must be the commitment of community leaders, a favorable climate of public opinion, and cooperation of the people directly involved in open housing, that is, the lenders, developers, builders, and real estate agents.

There should be no need to remind a human relations commission of the futility of only waiting until problems become drastic before taking action. Beyond that limited approach, the commission must seek to have its activities become part of permanent local government and must involve community leaders in its programs. Community leaders come not only from local government, business, religious groups, and social welfare agencies, but also from civil rights and equal opportunity organizations, such as the Urban League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, American Civil Liberties Union, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the American Friends Service Committee.

Here, now, are some activities and programs a city human relations commission with a budget, continuing membership, and professional staff can undertake for housing and neighborhood improvement:

1. Neighborhood Councils. Also called Community Councils, these groups help people in neighborhoods communicate their needs to city government. These councils can be especially helpful when a neighborhood is changing in racial composition. The rest of the time the councils work for better schools, recreation, and cultural programs to make their neighborhoods more attractive and livable.

   The city human relations commission can organize these neighborhood councils and get schools, churches, social agencies, and civic leaders involved in neighborhood improvement programs.

2. Direct efforts:

   --meeting with real estate agents to discuss the need to give Negroes free choice in buying or renting property any place in the city.

--recommend that "block-busting" for the purpose of promoting panic selling be included among the unethical practices for which real estate licenses may be revoked by the state real estate board.

--recommend that mayor and city council pass an ordinance that would provide for open occupancy in private housing.

--efforts to make assignment of tenants to public housing on the basis of availability and applicant choice.

--curtailment of panic selling on a block in the city after a Negro family moves in.

--end of listing or publicizing of any racial restrictions on property for sale or rent.

3. Efforts to promote and encourage:

--organization and development of block clubs for neighborhood improvement.

--door-to-door surveys to gain information and enlist citizen support of block clubs and neighborhood projects.

--a thorough program of code enforcement to be carried out by inspectors from city departments.

--"housing clinics," to which tenants, landlords, and developers can turn for advice on improving homes.

--recruitment of a corps of retired persons to serve as consultants on construction and finance problems.

--a continuous project of neighborhood beautification.

--communication and cooperation in the solution of neighborhood problems of all kinds.

--raising the educational and cultural level of the poor through closer cooperation between the schools and the social, recreational, and health agencies.

4. Other recommendations:

--support of state level fair housing legislation as well as local.

--seek commitment of real estate agents and organizations to implement freedom of choice in housing.

--Recommend improvements in the appearance of public housing; scattered sites for new projects; use of leased-housing without regard to the racial composition of the neighborhood; programs for participation by tenants in community life.

--ask cooperation of welfare department in helping recipients find good housing in any neighborhood, regardless of race, and in reporting discriminatory practices of real estate brokers.

--ask same cooperation from relocation agency under the city's urban renewal program.

--recommend that lenders provide equal service and lend mortgage money to all qualified families, without regard to race, for the purchase of housing in any neighborhood they desire.

--ask expressed commitment by leaders of organized religious communities to the principle of open housing.

--ask support by businessmen, bankers, planning commissions, and labor unions for fair housing, including education of members of their organizations on the importance to them of fair housing.

--provide for a board of leaders from government, business, industry, religion, real estate, labor, the civil rights movement, and the news media to hold conferences on fair housing problems, prepare fair housing legislation, and evaluate other public and private fair housing programs.

5. Other programs to recommend to the city government:

--social development program for rural immigrants.

--model school in the slums.

--property tax revision study.

--public policy against discrimination.

URBAN RENEWAL NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION

Even before people start to take part in the city's plans for improving their homes and neighborhoods, the city officials can adopt certain attitudes so that their plans will really be for those people most directly affected by them.

The director of an urban renewal agency, for example, can take attitudes like these:

--My agency will emphasize involving the residents of the urban renewal area continuously in all phases of renewal activity.

--The plan for my urban renewal project will be based on the suggestions of the city's planning department and the suggestions coming from many conferences and discussions I will have with representatives from the urban renewal area.

--Of major importance to the urban renewal project will be the participation of an organized, representative citizens' group, or, neighborhood organization from the urban renewal area.

--My agency will provide for continuous review of the urban renewal plan, as it is carried out, by working with interested groups and community organizations to respond to changing conditions in the urban renewal area.

Along with these attitudes, the urban renewal director can take measures to carry out the citizen participation and involvement he's talking about. Here's what he can do:

--Hire a community organization specialist* to work closely with the various organizations that serve the urban renewal area and win their support for the project.

--Canvass the urban renewal area to try to get both homeowners and tenants to form a neighborhood organization, an organization that can learn about the urban renewal project, comment on and criticize the plan, set goals for the urban renewal project, and help shape the kind of neighborhood the people want to live in.

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* Such persons as social workers or teachers can fill this position

--Prepare a slide talk for larger business and civic clubs in the city to show why the project area needs renewal, what the city can do about it, how much the renewal will cost, and how the area could look after it is renewed.

--Assist a subcommittee of the neighborhood organization, or, citizens' group in evaluating which homes in the project area can be repaired or rehabilitated and describe in detail the standards for sound housing.

--Meet with city departments and Federal officials whose programs might be used by the residents of the urban renewal area.

--Encourage the various organizations serving the renewal area to get together to support the urban renewal project and to say they support it at public hearings held by the city council.

What are the benefits of the urban renewal neighborhood organization? The benefits to the city are time and expense saved in acquiring property, in getting owners to comply with city codes, in winning approval from the general public for a neighborhood so interested in self-improvement, and in speedily eliminating slums and blight from the city and increasing the tax base.

The benefits to the residents of the urban renewal area are a sense of dignity and individual worth from participating in their government and setting goals for their project -- a feeling that makes for pride of home and upkeep of neighborhood. These are examples of goals that might come from citizen participation: a residential neighborhood for families of varying income; retaining all residential buildings that can be brought up to standard; changing the appearance of unsightly public utilities; and the recommendation that all redevelopment in the area be carried out under the sponsorship of organizations serving the renewal area.

RELOCATION ASSISTANCE

Even before a public agency undertakes a program for better housing, that agency can solicit the cooperation of other agencies whose programs have a bearing on the success of any effort for housing improvement.

The relocation officials for a city's urban renewal program, for example, can help displaced families not only by finding them decent housing, but also by helping the families with the other needs they have to meet in order to keep up their new housing. A family or individual may not know about social security or a pension fund he's entitled to. A mother may not know about welfare benefits or health or family planning assistance. A high school dropout may need a job to be able to buy a pair of shoes, so that he won't be ashamed to go to school. A father may need job training so that he can support his family. A couple may need a marriage license to be eligible to live in public housing. An aspiring homeowner may need help in getting a mortgage loan.

Relocation officials can begin their program by visiting the local social security, welfare, health, and employment offices, informing them of their plans, and asking their cooperation in helping displaced families.

The relocation assistant, working from a site office in the urban renewal area, begins "in the street." He walks around the neighborhood, says hello, gets to know the people in the area and win their trust. He explains how the people will be able to find a decent house. He may make a survey of the educational level of the residents and, seeing the need, may start an adult education class right in the site office. He'll tell mothers about a Head Start preschool program for their children. Or he may ask the city for a daycare center to free mothers for work.

Beyond cooperating with other public agencies to help displaced families, relocation officials can also seek help from private groups. The Salvation Army may provide clothing for needy families. Boy Scouts may pass out circulars announcing a neighborhood meeting. Church groups may supply toys for needy children at Christmas. This, then, is how relocation assistance can work.

COORDINATION WITH ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS

Even before a local government starts to consider the needs of its citizens for better housing, that government can also consider the needs of those citizens for jobs, job training, and education as well.

Day care, adult education, Manpower Development and Training, On-the-Job Training, Neighborhood Youth Corps, vocational training, Head Start, Upward Bound--these are the kinds of programs that can attack some of the worst causes of slums and blight, the poverty of the residents.

Anti-poverty and other Federal aid programs can go together in a community to make urban renewal and housing programs a success. Neighborhood organization can get residents involved; relocation assistance can help residents take advantage of existing community resources; but a program that sets out from the start to meet all the needs of its citizens promises the most lasting results and the best return on the city's investment in its people.

A successful program for housing and neighborhood improvement requires:

A coordinator for all of the Federal and local programs the city is using.

An intensive program of public education: citywide meetings, neighborhood meetings, newsletter, newspaper publicity, and community education in the schools, if possible.

Involving the elected city officials, public and private agencies, community leaders, and minority groups in the plans and programs.

Such a program, using as many as possible Federal, local, and private resources with a central coordinator and broad citizen involvement is the model for the Demonstration Cities Program authorized by Congress.

AGENCIES TO WRITE FOR INFORMATION

ACTION-Housing, Inc.,
Number One Gateway Center
Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania

Urban Renewal Department
City of Macon
City Hall
Macon, Georgia

Your state planning agency.

PUBLICATIONS

Equal opportunity in housing.

Annual Report, Louisville Commission on Human Relations, Room 101F, Mayor's Suite, City Hall, Louisville, Kentucky.

A Memorandum to Municipalities: GUIDELINES FOR MUNICIPAL HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEES, The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 50¢, March, 1964.

Louisville, Special Report by Benjamin Muse, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Mayor Henry W. Maier's Address on Civil Rights--WITI-TV, November 6, 1965, The Honorable Henry W. Maier, Mayor, City Hall, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

"Race Relations-The Dilemma of American Cities," Speech delivered before the Urban American, Inc. National Conference, Washington, D.C., Sept. 12, 1966, Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director, Chicago Urban League, 4500 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago 53, Illinois.

Mr. Mayor: Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma? Candeub, Flessig, & Associates, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Neighborhoods.

Urban Renewal Plan, Near Northwest Urban Renewal Project, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, Aug. 5, 1966, Urban Renewal Agency, 446 N.W. 7th Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Planning.

Commonwealth and Community, Division of Planning and Zoning, Department of Commerce, Commonwealth of Kentucky, Frankfurt, Kentucky.

"The Community Improver," Redevelopment Commission of the City of Asheville, P. O. Box 7148, North Carolina, 28807.

Corinth, Mississippi: City in Transition, An Urban Renewal Demonstration Report, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C., 20410, July, 1966.

PART THREE: COMMUNITY GROUP PROGRAMS

for better homes and neighborhoods

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Community groups, such as churches, labor unions, fraternal organizations, civil rights groups, and human relations councils, can fill some of the gaps where local government may not be reaching:

citizen participation through Neighborhood Organization

housing code enforcement

Nonprofit Housing

cooperation of real estate agents

Market Area Agreements

support of fair housing legislation

cooperation of lenders

cooperation of landowners

Property Assessment Procedures

city services and facilities

Neighborhood Stabilization

community education

NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION

What is a neighborhood organization?

Who organizes it?

What is a neighborhood organization concerned with?

How does it act?

What is a neighborhood organization?

A neighborhood organization is a group of citizens involved in their government. The organization covers a small geographical area where as few as 100 or as many as several thousand people live. The members of the organization represent the different kinds of people living in the neighborhood--such as the businessmen, the teachers, and the civic leaders. The organization serves any or all of the physical and social needs of the people in the neighborhood.

A neighborhood organization differs from a private social welfare agency in that the members are helping themselves rather than receiving help. Unlike a community council that only communicates between local government agencies and people in the neighborhood, the neighborhood organization goes on to give its support to needed local government programs or to take direct action to demand the local programs or services it needs.

A neighborhood organization is very much like a citizens housing association, or citizens renewal council. The main difference is geographical, since the citizens housing association covers not just a neighborhood, but the whole city. A second difference is that the citizens housing association may be interested in housing and in overall planning but not in a specific school program, for example. The neighborhood organization could be interested in a specific school program as well as housing programs, neighborhood planning, and many other community needs.

A neighborhood organization differs from a fair housing committee in that the committee is mainly interested in equally available housing, equal city services, and racially inclusive neighborhoods, but not necessarily in neighborhood planning or new kinds of social services. However, many fair housing committees grow into neighborhood organizations and, after doing so, find they can do more for equal housing opportunity than they could before.

Who organizes it?

Who is responsible for organizing a neighborhood, anyway? Whose job is it to see that citizens are involved and truly represented in their government? Is it the responsibility of housing, planning, and renewal officials? We know they are capable. But these officials have to answer to the elected officials who pass the laws and pay for the programs. So, aren't the elected officials really responsible? But the elected officials get support for their programs from the people. So, must not the people demand neighborhood organization by the local government? Yet, to demand neighborhood organization by local government, the people need to be organized in the first place, if they are to be heard.

How about the church? Isn't there a moral obligation for the church to help people improve themselves and their neighborhood? What about labor unions? They're experienced in organization and direct action. And what about the civic clubs that have traditionally helped to improve the quality of local government?

Any of these people or institutions can be responsible for organizing a neighborhood. Who ought to be responsible? You ought to. Any citizen who's concerned about his government and his neighborhood ought to feel responsible for organizing his neighborhood. Community groups like churches, labor unions, civil rights groups or human relations councils, are especially good at it.

Others who can organize a neighborhood include local government, through urban renewal (as in Part II), anti-poverty programs, a city human relations commission, or a voter registration project;

university urban extension; an existing citizen group that serves a larger area or different purpose; or a few interested and informed individuals.

- What is a neighborhood organization concerned with?

Generally, the neighborhood organization is concerned with the quality of the neighborhood, both the physical environment and the social services.

The particular issue of a neighborhood organization depends on what the neighborhood needs. It might be the need for better garbage pickup or removing junk cars, paving the street or putting in sewers, or changing the zoning to keep a gas station out. It might be neighborhood planning that is needed, more adequate housing, a recreation center, or better school programs. Or the neighborhood organization might be concerned with a program of city government, such as urban renewal.

One very common issue for a neighborhood organization is housing code enforcement. In fact, the way the housing code is enforced is such an important issue that a community group may have its own program to deal with code enforcement before beginning a program of neighborhood organization. (See Part Four)

- How does it act?

How does the neighborhood organization go after the physical and social services and programs it needs? There are at least four popular methods: First is the community agency approach. The neighborhood organization gets both public and private agencies to offer experimental programs in homemaking, education, housing, and relocation. This method stresses individual <u>self-improvement</u>.

A second way for a neighborhood organization to get the programs and services it needs is to try working in close <u>cooperation</u> with local government agencies through community councils. Urban extension, a third method, helps the neighborhood organization cooperate with local government and also provides

professional assistance to the residents to help them plan the programs they want. A fourth method--you might just call it a militant approach--for a neighborhood organization includes using professional help and direct action, such as a march to city hall, to get the programs the people need.

The four methods overlap, as you can see, and each has its merits. People who want to improve their neighborhoods need to show self-improvement, but they also need professional help to get community improvements. Neighborhood organizations need to work cooperatively with local government and support its programs. But where cooperation doesn't bring results, direct action can be essential.

Whatever method a neighborhood organization uses, it needs three things: strength, money, and facts. An organization needs to be strong, strong enough to hold regular meetings with planned programs, adopt bylaws, elect officers, and deal with the issues that people are most concerned with. The organization needs money, money for speakers, consultants, publications, and, if at all possible, professional staff. Most important, the neighborhood organization needs facts, facts to avoid mistakes and to win support for the programs it wants.

NONPROFIT HOUSING

Churches, labor unions, and other community groups with substantial financial backing are, more and more today, sponsoring new and rehabilitated rental and cooperative housing for low and moderate income families.

Besides getting housing built, community groups often accomplish other things while they are sponsoring nonprofit housing projects, for example, new community center facilities; job training and employment of neighborhood people in the construction; better public schools in the neighborhood; beautification and new recreation areas; and a change in the community's segregated housing patterns.

The Federal Housing Administration insures 100% mortgage loans for low-and moderate-income housing under section 221(d)(3) at market interest rates and below market interest rates. Section 221(d)(3) also provides for rent supplements for certain low income families and a new experimental program to assist low-income families in buying rehabilitated homes. Tenants can buy membership in cooperative projects. Rent supplement tenants can buy membership in cooperatives, too, or get a lease with an option to purchase an individual unit in the 221(d)(3) project.

What does substantial backing mean for a nonprofit sponsor? For a one million dollar housing project, for example, a nonprofit sponsor would have to be able to raise $40,000 to $50,000. This is seed money. It goes for FHA application fees, legal fees, organizational expenses, engineering and architectural drawings, and other development expenses. After the FHA mortgage loan comes through, the nonprofit sponsor can recover his seed money.

If you belong to a nonprofit organization that wants to sponsor a housing project, your organization has to be approved by FHA. You fill out the forms at your FHA insuring office. You'll need a housing consultant to help you choose the land to build

on, your builder, architect, and attorney, and the size your project should be. The city you build in has to have a Workable Program. Your plans for the housing project, the costs, the construction and labor, the rent you charge, and the management you provide all have to be approved by FHA.

Housing projects built with FHA-insured mortgage loans have to be rented on an open occupancy basis. Besides providing this open occupancy housing themselves, community groups can also make a program of getting real estate agents to cooperate in renting and selling housing on an open occupancy basis.

MARKET AREA AGREEMENTS

Builders and developers often claim that if they sell or rent to Negroes, they will lose sales or rentals to whites. The Commission on Race and Housing report, Property Values and Race, and the Housing and Home Finance Agency (now the Department of Housing and Urban Development) case studies on Equal Opportunity in Housing show this is not so.

The fears of builders and developers, nevertheless, are real. Where Negroes are ready to buy or rent in an all-white neighborhood or in similar developments across the city, there is something builders and developers can do to protect themselves against the loss of sales they fear. Through the market area agreement, builders and developers agree to sell or rent without regard to race. That way, no builder will be at a competitive disadvantage for selling to Negroes. No other builder of a similar development can steal his customers by advertising racial restrictions. No single builder will be flooded with Negro applicants.

Where Negroes are able and interested in buying or renting in white developments and where a community group is interested in working with and educating builders and developers, the market area agreement can be useful in providing for open housing.

Community groups will want to interest builders and developers, as well as real estate agents, in supporting fair housing legislation. For many builders won't consider market area agreements until they also have the protection of the law.

At the same time, community groups can seek the cooperation of lending institutions in making housing and home repair loans available on equal terms to all qualified applicants. One way to interest lenders, real estate agents, and builders in open housing is through housing centers. With their cooperation, the centers can help Negroes find suitable housing and encourage them to make use of new housing opportunities.

Still another effort of community groups for open housing can

be finding landowners who are willing to sell or subdivide land and lots that will be available on an open occupancy basis.

PROPERTY ASSESSMENT PROCEDURES*

People have named many causes for the poor housing and slum neighborhoods in our cities; the unemployment, lack of education, and poverty of the residents; the blockbusting tactics of real estate agents; the "writing off" of neighborhoods by home mortgage lenders; the failure of the housing industry to build enough low-cost housing; the limited role of community groups in providing needed housing; the failure of the city government to provide needed services and facilities or to enforce the housing code; and local tax policies that make slums profitable to their landlords.

Property tax assessment, along with strict enforcement of the housing code, can't hit all the causes of poor housing, but it can take the profit out of slums.

There are three ways a tax assessor decides on the value of property for tax purposes: 1) comparative sales: the assessor sees what price similar property in the area has been sold for; 2) replacement cost less depreciation; the assessor figures the cost of building a new structure and then subtracts from that price a certain amount (depreciation) according to how old the building is that he's assessing; and 3) capitalization of income, or income return: the assessor decides the value of the property by how much income the owner makes on his investment. Assessors generally use a combination of the first and second methods on residential property and a combination of the second and third methods on commercial and industrial property.

Slum property is profitable because the owner makes practically 100% return on his investment. The landlord collects modest rents but spends little or nothing on the building. So, the rents he collects are nearly all profit. The tax assessor figures the value of the property using the replacement cost method, since he doesn't have comparative sales to go by in

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* Courtesy of Prof. Malcolm Little, Georgia Tech.

slum areas. Since the cost of replacing the slum building, minus depreciation for its age, is very low, the assessed valuation, and hence, the property tax, is very low.

What happens if the city enforces the housing code on this property? The owner may just decide to let the building stand empty. But if he does repair it to standard, then the value of the property goes up, and so does the tax. The landlord is penalized for improving his building!

There is another way to assess the value of slum property: the capitalization of income method. This is the method used when the city buys slum property in urban renewal areas. Slum landlords like this method under urban renewal, because that way they get the most for their property.

If the tax assessor used the capitalization of income method (combined with the replacement cost method) on all slum property, here's what would happen. The property value would be high, based on the income return of the landlord. A front foot value would be set for a whole slum area. Then, a bad building would be taxed almost as much as a good building. There would be a very slight tax increase for building improvements, but not enough to discourage landlords. It would be easier to get landlords to comply with the housing code, since an improved building would bring in higher rentals with little change in taxes.

At this point, you might be wondering what would happen to the tenants of buildings where the rent went up. Remember two things: 1) the landlord can only charge rents that the market will bear, that is, that people are able and willing to pay; and 2) many slum residents would not mind paying a higher rental, if only their landlord would fix up the building.

Community groups interested in getting the property assessment procedures changed may have to be prepared to go to

court and present their arguments to the judge and may have to work for an amendment to change the State constitution. But as a beginning, community groups can make the public aware of this opportunity to take the profit out of slums.

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION

Community groups, voluntary citizen movements, and fair housing committees can work for stable and good, biracial neighborhoods. Two publications of the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project describe in detail the steps you can take in your community: 1) Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program, by Mrs. Jerry Dell Gimarc, and 2) NEIGHBORHOODS Where Human Rights Begin, by Mrs. Margaret Price.

The main points of a successful neighborhood stabilization program include these: 1) inform neighborhood residents, person to person, of how they stand to lose by panic selling and organize them to stand fast against real estate speculators; 2) put every volunteer to work; 3) work to attract white buyers to the neighborhood; 4) seek favorable publicity for the neighborhood; and 5) pressure lenders to make home loans available in the neighborhood.

In addition, community groups will want to try to get the best possible city services and facilities. Good school programs are especially important to the neighborhood. Community groups will also want to educate their membership on the moral necessity of an open community, to urge members to sell or rent housing without racial restriction, and to work for peaceful acceptance and welcome of Negro families when they move to the neighborhood.

AGENCIES TO WRITE FOR INFORMATION

American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

American Friends Service Committee Metropolitan Washington Housing Program, 245 2nd Street, N.E., Washington, D.C.

American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th St., New York, N. Y., 10019.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, 10022.

Commission on Human Relations, Philadelphia, City Hall Annex, Room 625, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Commission on Human Relations, Pittsburgh, 518 City County Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York, 10016.

National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York, New York, 10019.

National Urban League, Inc., 14 E. 48th St., New York, New York, 10017.

PUBLICATIONS

Equal opportunity in housing.

Market Area Agreements, An Old Device Put to New Use, Edward Rutledge and William R. Valentine, R 199, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York, 10016, 25¢, October, 1965.

Fair Housing Handbook, Margaret Fisher, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York, 10016, 50¢.

FAIR PLAY IN HOUSING--Who's My Neighbor? (No. 396), Algernon D. Black, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 381 Park Avenue South, New York, New York, 10016, 25¢.

Homes and Community, American Friends Service Committee, NATIONAL HOUSING PROGRAM, 160 North 15th St., Philadelphia 2, Pa., 10¢.

TRENDS IN HOUSING, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York, 10016, $2 a year.

Action Guide for Racial Justice Now-Housing, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ, 289 Park Avenue South, New York, New York, 10010, 25¢.

Neighborhoods.

Citizen Action for Housing and Renewal, Housing Pamphlet 3, United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania, April, 1964.

NEIGHBORHOODS Where Human Rights Begin, Mrs. Margaret Price, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program, Mrs. Jerry Dell Gimarc, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Nonprofit housing.

THE CHURCH AND NOT-FOR-PROFIT HOUSING, JOINT URBAN PROGRAM, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York, New York, 10017.

RENT SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM, Public Information Guide and Instruction Handbook, FHA No. 2504, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C., 20411, May, 1966.

PART FOUR: YOUR RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

for better homes and neighborhoods

Part Four: YOUR RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES Page

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Your RIGHTS IN FEDERAL PROGRAMS

FHA mortgage insurance

public housing

urban renewal

urban planning assistance

- What are your rights under FHA mortgage insurance programs?

- Let's say a builder puts up a subdivision of homes. He uses conventional financing to pay for building the houses. He builds the houses to meet FHA minimum property standards. Then the builder sells the houses to people who will pay for their homes with FHA-insured loans. Can the builder discriminate against you in the sale of his houses, since he didn't use FHA financing to build the houses?

No.

- Can an FHA-approved lender refuse to make you an FHA-insured housing loan on account of your race, color, creed, or national origin?

No.

Note: You have to have good credit and enough steady income to afford the house you're buying. Wife's income can count toward total family income if the wife has a permanent job.

- Say you have a new house you bought with an FHA-insured mortgage loan. You live in the house six months, and you find out the roof leaks. Will FHA help you get the building contractor to repair this flaw?

Yes.

Note: Before you buy a house, check with your FHA insuring office to find out what flaws in the building FHA can help you with. If you damage the house yourself, FHA

can't help you.

- How do you make a complaint if you suffer discrimination under an FHA program?

1. Write your FHA insuring office for an FHA Form 797. That's the complaint form. You don't have to use this form, but you'll save time if you do, since the form tells what information you need to give FHA.

   The FHA Form 797 asks you for the date: your name and address and phone number; the name, address, and phone number of the alleged violator (the person you believe discriminated against you), any employees or salesmen involved, and any witnesses; FHA Case number, if there is one; the name of the subdivision and location of the house or apartment involved; the place where the discrimination took place; and the date of the discrimination; a complete statement of your complaint; and your signature.

2. The Director of your Insuring Office has to take care of your complaint. If you wrote to the wrong Insuring Office, the Director must still tell you he received your complaint. Then he sends your complaint to the right Insuring Office for you.

3. Two days after he gets your complaint, your Insuring Office Director writes you. He says he received your complaint and may ask you for more information. The Director sends copies of your letter and his letter answering you to a Zone Director and to the FHA Intergroup Relations Service, the Assistant to the Commissioner.

   The Director can't show your complaint letter to anyone outside of FHA.

4. If it looks, from your complaint, as if the Executive Order has been violated, the Director gets information about your complaint right away. If, then, it still looks as if there has been a violation, the Director

writes the alleged violator a letter and tells him what the complaint is. The violator has 10 days to meet with the Director and talk about the discrimination. When they meet, the Director tries to get the violator to stop discriminating by a certain time. The length of time is up to the Director.

5. If the violator didn't meet with the Director in 10 days or if he denied the discrimination, the Director can hold a hearing. After the hearing, or if the violator keeps discriminating past his time limit, then the Director can take action. The Director can cancel any contract and refuse to give the violator any more FHA benefits. This means FHA will reject any application by the violator or any firm in which the violator has an interest of ten per cent or more. Also, FHA can cut off benefits to anyone who violated the Executive Order under another HUD agency program.

6. When the Director decides to take action against the violator, he sends the violator a letter. The violator has 10 days to stop discriminating. During those ten days, the violator can request a review of his case by the FHA Commissioner in Washington. The Director also sends you a letter, telling what he decided. If you question the Director's action, you can ask the FHA Commissioner to review the case. You must write the Commissioner within ten days after you hear the decision from the Director of your Insuring Office.

7. Fifteen days after you ask the Commissioner to review your case, your Director will let you see his file on the case. You can see the file during a ten day period; then the file goes to the Commissioner. The Commissioner then takes over the case. He has the power to reverse the findings of the Director.

8. The Director of your FHA Insuring Office has to take care of your complaint within 30 days. If he can't take care of the complaint within that time, he has to let you

know why. An individual or an organization can make a complaint to FHA.

- Did you know you can get a list of all the property FHA owns in your area? You write your Insuring Office for the list. Address your letter to the Director, Federal Housing Administration, ATTN: PROPERTY MANAGEMENT.

The list tells you all about the property, including the amount of the downpayment and the management broker you buy it from. If there is no broker for the property you want to buy, or if the broker refuses to serve you, you buy the property at your FHA Insuring Office.

A broker is never supposed to show FHA-acquired property before it is put on the list. If he does, you report him to FHA. FHA will not make the sale and will not make any sales with that broker or his firm for 90 days.

The list also gives the names of lenders who want to finance mortgage loans on the FHA-acquired properties. The broker goes to the lender to get your mortgage loan for you. And the broker takes care of the property sale with FHA. If you want to ask FHA a question about the property, be sure to give the case number for the property. The case number is on the list.

If FHA approves a sale to you, the broker can rent you the property while he is closing the sale. If you buy directly from FHA, FHA can rent you the property. No one else can rent you the property.

- What are your rights and opportunities under public housing programs?

Complaint procedure for public housing is similar to that for FHA. You write, however, to the Housing Assistance Administration, regional office (see addresses at the end of Part One).

The Housing Assistance Administration (HAA, formerly PHA, Public Housing Administration) checks to see that your local housing

authority is complying with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. HAA does this by sending a form that asks your housing authority its policy on discrimination and what its admission practices are. HAA doesn't require your housing authority to seek integrated projects or to place tenants in projects so that they will be integrated. Projects can become integrated, however, as vacancies in public housing units occur. A policy of integration (as opposed to just nondiscrimination) in public housing depends on your local housing authority and, in turn, on your city government.

If your housing authority refuses to comply with the law, HAA can refuse any new public housing projects in your city or, if the annual contributions contract so provides, HAA can take possession of the public housing. In no case does HAA stop paying the annual contributions for existing public housing.

If you are interested in encouraging integrated public housing projects, there are two things you'll want to do: 1) check with the tenants now living in public housing to see if they fully know and understand their rights in public housing and see if they would like to change the racial pattern of occupancy: and 2) send for Open Occupancy in Public Housing, by PHA, 1953.* The booklet gives full details on how to get integrated public housing in your city.

In addition to changing the racial composition of public housing, you may also be interested in improving the services and the management of the projects. Services your local housing authority can use, with Federal assistance, include youth counseling, credit counseling, education for homemaking (through adult education), and homemaker services.** Management of public housing projects can be turned over to a social work agency, with counselors who can help tenants with their special problems. This type of management can help make public housing a stepping-stone to a better life, rather than just a shelter.

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* See Summary List of Publications.

** Send for Services for Families Living in Public Housing, Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 20402- Price 30 cents.

What are your rights and opportunities in urban renewal programs?

From reading the section on urban renewal projects, you know that your city chooses the urban renewal project and decides whether it will be rehabilitation or clearance or both. And you know your city uses studies and surveys to decide which projects will be best. Any citizen or group of citizens can suggest an urban renewal project to your city government.

You noticed that your city government holds public hearing at several stages during an urban renewal project. Any citizen can attend the public hearings and make his recommendations.

If you live in a neighborhood that has an urban renewal project or that needs to have a project in the future, you and the other residents of your neighborhood can call meetings and ask the city's urban renewal officials to come explain the project and answer questions. You can visit the urban renewal office, look at the urban renewal plan, make suggestions, and volunteer to help with surveys. Some neighborhood groups like to form their own committees to inspect houses that can be rehabilitated.

In addition to public hearings, your city government also holds conferences with different city departments and with private groups. You can participate in such conferences during all the stages of urban renewal.

Your city government must pass a resolution that it will comply with Title VI in its urban renewal projects. Any deed of urban renewal land from your city's LPA (or, urban renewal agency) to a private redeveloper has to have a covenant against discrimination by the redeveloper. Any public facility used as a noncash grant-in-aid for an urban renewal project has to be operated on a non-discriminatory basis. Complaints are made by writing the Urban Renewal Administration, regional office.

What are your rights and opportunities under the urban planning assistance program?

The urban planning assistance program (701) isn't covered by Title VI or by the Executive Order. Comprehensive plans prepared with

the aid of Federal funds may contain proposed sites for schools and locations for streets that will enforce patterns of segregated living. However, urban planning assistance grants can also be used to study "minority group considerations of the community as they relate to the preparation of a comprehensive development plan."*

The authority to survey, analyze, and program action to aid in achieving equal opportunity in housing "is already there. . .the problem is that few planners have sought to, or have been encouraged to, work in this field."

Planning for equal opportunity in housing could be included in comprehensive planning, and a housing study could "include the aspects of discrimination practices which affect the free mobility of population."

It is now possible to use 701 funds to prepare fair housing ordinances.

Fortunately, loans and grants from the Community Facilities Administration, that your city may use for public works, are covered by Title VI.

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* Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Equalop, Vol. I, No. 4.

Opportunities in YOUR OWN PROGRAMS

- How can you influence or take part in state programs for better homes and neighborhoods? One way is through your elected representatives to state government. Another way is through statewide organizations interested in improving your community, such as associations of housing and redevelopment officials, League of Municipalities, Association of County Commissioners, organization of Probate Judges, and League of Women Voters. These are organizations you shouldn't overlook, particularly when your community needs special housing programs, property tax changes, or new enabling legislation.

  Other ways you can come in contact with state level programs is through state (government) planning and development agencies and through university programs of continuing education or urban extension. State agencies and universities often hold meetings and workshops you can attend to learn about housing programs.

- In city housing and neighborhood programs, it is especially important to work with and through your elected representatives, your city officials, whenever possible. Your support for their programs can be as important as your criticism. Attend public hearings and meetings of your local city boards, commissions, and council. Encourage your city officials to publicize housing programs, to provide plenty of information to the public, and to do special studies on housing problems. Check to see that the housing code is enforced. If you can, bring in outside experts to help you make suggestions to your city government. Finally, see what resources on housing are available in the public library and in school libraries. In some communities, public schools are including housing and community education in their curricula.

- Just as you need to work through interested organizations for statewide housing neighborhood programs, so you need to know all the resources you can use at the community level. Your community group can begin its housing program by looking at what other groups are doing. Invite other group leaders to speak before your group and exchange ideas on better housing. By setting up

contacts with other community groups, your group can ask them to help you win support for the housing programs you would like.

Your group can also invite city officials to speak. This gives the city another way to explain its housing programs and gives the public another chance to learn about them.

- If housing problems don't get much attention in your neighborhood, do something dramatic. Make your own survey. You don't have to limit it to housing. You can cover problems of discrimination, lack of education, unemployment, disease, and lack of city services and facilities as well. The West Jacksonville Association used the following survey to get a full picture of the needs of the people in one of its neighborhoods:*

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* Mr. Robert L. C. Williams, President, West Jacksonville Association.

"Community Betterment Survey in Depth"

1. Name.....Address.....Phone.....
2. Head of household....Yes....No....Have you ever been married?....
3. Are you now married living with your spouse? Yes.....No.....
4. Highest grade completed.....If college, what course did you take?.....
5. What skills have you or any of family been trained? M....F.....
6. Would you attend an adult educational improvement class if started in your neighborhood? Yes.....No.....
7. Your present employment and position.....
8. Your rate of pay per hour.....Number of hours worked per day....
9. Is your salary over three thousand dollars per year? Yes...No....
10. Do you receive social security, retirement.....Welfare..... assistance? Check one.
11. Number of other persons working in your household.....
12. Number of children....School age....If not in school, why?..... .....
13. Age of your children living with you.....Males....Females.....
14. Number of other dependents and relationship to you.....
15. Are you interested in, and willing to help in community beautification, and betterment projects in your neighborhood? Yes.....No.....
16. Are you buying? Renting? If renting, who do you pay rent?..... .....Week.....Month.....Amount.....
17. Do you belong to any church? Yes....No....Are you a member of any social or civic club? Yes.....No.....
18. Are there any youth social or recreational groups organized in your neighborhood? Yes.....No.....If so, what kind and name... .....
19. If no youth group organized, would you like to help get one started?.....Yes.....No.....
20. Would you like to become a part of and help organize a community credit union? Yes.....No.....
21. If not belonging to a civic club would you like to join one?.....
22. Are you a registered voter? Yes.....No.....Do you know any persons in your community not registered? Yes.....No.....
23. Do you read books of value? Yes.....No.....Do you read the daily newspaper in keeping up with current events? Yes...No.....
24. How would you term the juvenile delinquency rate in your neighborhood? Light.....Heavy.....extreme.....
25. Have you ever had a typhoid fever shot? Yes.....No.....When was your last X-ray?
26. Would you like to help a deserving child in your community who definitely needs and would appreciate help? Yes.....No.....

"Community Betterment Survey In Depth" continued

27. Are you satisfied with street and drainage conditions in your neighborhood, along with lights, speed/stop signs and overall law enforcement? Yes.....No.....Comments.....
.....

28. Are you interested in getting weeds in vacant lots and curb side in your neighborhood cut more? Yes.....No.....

29. If not already, would you sign a petition to help get sidewalks and better streets in your neighborhood? Yes.....No.....

30. When was your house last painted?

31. We urge you to keep putting your trash out on pick up days and the trucks (city trash trucks) will pick it up.

32. .....Survey worker.....Observe house and check below:

.....Need Painting .....Need Repairs .....Dirt Street

.....Broken Windows .....Broken Screens .....Doors .....Steps

Delapidated unoccupied house next door....Open field next door...

Grass cut in open field.....Grass not cut.....

Open ditch in front of house.....Yes.....No.....

Follow the survey with a clean-up, fix-up campaign. This is one of the best ways to get your city interested in providing better services to your neighborhood. Finally, organize citizens in your neighborhood to work continuously for better housing. Citizen groups often find they can work cooperatively with city government, can raise their own finances for an office and staff, and can develop leadership right from within the neighborhood.

Whatever you may be doing to work for better homes and neighborhoods in your community--whether you're working for open occupancy in public housing, for better city services through a neighborhood organization, or for nonprofit housing through a community group--three things are important: 1) Unity: You and those working with you must be able to stand together at public hearings and neighborhood meetings to get the programs you want. If there are factions in your group, discuss your differences and bring the issues out in the open. Then, when you appear before your city government, support one another. Any group leader who discredits one of his members at a public hearing discredits the entire group in the eyes of city government. This has been a hard-learned lesson for many groups working for better housing.

2) Involving community leaders: If you want to change an urban renewal plan, don't organize your group in secret and take the urban renewal director by surprise. He'll be against you. He'll wonder why you didn't ask him about the change before. As one Georgian remarked about today's city politicians, "The era of operating in the dark is gone. You have to involve people so you can win their support." That statement works two ways. Not only do city officials have to make their plans known to the public, but the people also have to let city officials take part in their plans.

3) Supporting programs: City officials aren't free to launch any housing programs or policies they feel are needed; they need public support, or else the programs will fail. Your support can count. You can talk about a new housing program with your friends and neighbors and at community group meetings. When you have to criticize your city government for what it fails to do, it's easy to forget that city government also needs your help. Support its programs.

SUMMARY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Equal opportunity in housing.

BASIC REFERENCES ON HOUSING MINORITIES AND EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY, Intergroup Relations Service, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410, December, 1965.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING: A Selected Bibliography of Materials for Study and Use, The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Executive Offices, The White House, Washington, D.C.

Fair Housing Handbook, Margaret Fisher, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York, 10016, 50¢.

FAIR PLAY IN HOUSING--Who's My Neighbor? (No. 396), Algernon D. Black, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 381 Park Avenue South, New York, New York, 10016, 25¢.

OPEN OCCUPANCY in Public Housing, Public Housing Administration, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410, 1953.

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"It is a fascinating fact that civil rights issues have inevitably raised a variety of positive issues. You can't look at school integration without also questioning the quality of education in general. You can't look at job integration without looking at the whole problem of manpower utilization. Similarly, you can't look at integration of neighborhoods without questioning the meaning of community. The elimination of fear opens new horizons in human experience."

---Matthew Bullock, Jr.

"In your mind's eye take an objective look at any of the average size American cities you have passed through by automobile. Ponder why so much beauty and ugliness are found side by side."

---Julian Prince

"Surely few would ever have disagreed that the two greatest causes of inadequate housing have been that some people have not been able to afford good housing and that some have, because of race, been denied an opportunity to bid freely for such housing as exists."

---James Q. Wilson

"In our urban areas the central problem today is to protect and restore man's satisfaction in belonging to a community where he can find security and significance."

---Lyndon Johnson

PUBLICATIONS

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An analysis of Atlanta's housing patterns	In process		

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE PRESENT DILEMMA OF THE NEGRO

by

KENNETH B. CLARK, Ph.D.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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The nuclear irony of American history and the American social, political, and economic system is that the destiny of the enslaved and disadvantaged Negro determines the destiny of the nation. The fundamental fact around which all questions of national survival pivot is the fact of inherent racial interrelatedness -- or integration, if you please -- in spite of the persistent demands and attempts to impose racial separatism. The problems of the American Negro are the problems of America. The conflicts, aspirations, confusions, and doubts of Negro Americans are not merely similar but identical to those of white Americans. In the face of rapid and, at times, frightening historical, economic, political, technological, social, and intellectual changes, the Negro remains the constant and, at times, irritating reality that is America. Negroes have totally accepted the moral and ethical aspirations of America; therefore, the Negro remains the essential psychological reality with which America must continuously seek to come to terms. The Negro need not yearn to be assimilated into American culture; he is, and determines, American culture.

The moral schizophrenia of America is reflected most clearly in the status of Negroes, starting with slavery and continuing to the contemporary ghettos which blight the powerful and affluent cities of our nation. One cannot, therefore, discuss the dilemmas of the contemporary American Negro without at the same time becoming involved in an analysis of the historical and psychological fabric of American life. This is a thesis reflecting the bias of a social psychologist -- a bias which might be rejected by more sophisticated historians, political and economic theorists, or tougher-minded social critics. I base my thesis on the psychological premise that the values, attitudes, and behavior of individual human beings and groups of human beings are determined by the complex socialization process -- that normal human beings are modifiable and are determined by their environment and culture, and not by any inherent, genetic, or racial determinants.

Let us now be specific. A basic dilemma of America is whether the Negro should be accepted and taken seriously as a human being and permitted the rights and privileges accorded other human beings in our political system. America has endured slave rebellions, developed an underground railroad, fought one of the most bloody wars in human history, and is now undergoing a series of urban

ghetto implosions in the attempt to resolve this persistent bedeviling question.

The Negro's part of this basic dilemma is whether to persist in his insistence upon his unqualified rights as a human being without regard to the risks or consequences -- or whether to accommodate to the resistances by subtle or flagrant forms of withdrawal from the fray. American Negroes historically have sought many ways to deal with this dilemma -- their general acceptance of slavery; the many psychological adjustments to subjugation and deflection of aggressive reactions; the varieties of back-to-Africa movements; the cults and fads, and the recent series of riots in our ghettos.

The gnawing doubts of white Americans as to their status and worth as human beings -- the deep feelings of inferiority growing out of actual inferior status in the land of their origin in Europe -- impelled American whites to develop and enforce social and institutional arrangements designed to inflict upon Negroes an inferior status. The demanding status needs of whites were powerful enough to counteract the logic, the morality, and the powerful political ethic of the egalitarian and democratic rhetoric which is also an important American reality. I differ with the early Myrdal only in my belief that the American democratic creed and ideals are not psychologically contra-

dictory to American racism. In terms of the dynamics and the motivation of the insecure, they are compatible.

This critical American dilemma is reflected in Negroes not only in terms of literal acceptance of the creeds and their promises, but also in terms of deep doubts concerning the worth of self. General indoctrination in unworthiness has transcended even the barriers of racially segregated schools; it is reinforced by the development of the mass media in this century. The reality of the inferior status to which the Negro has been subjugated behind the walls of segregation is not only humiliating -- but a stimulus to self-doubt, to subtle and flagrant forms of self-hatred, personal and group frustrations, internalized hostility, aggressions, self-denial, or bombast. Under these conditions the walls of segregation become pathetically protective. Within them the subjugated individuals need not meet the tests of free and open competition, need not expose vulnerable egos to single standards of competence.

The anguish and resistance of anxious, self-doubting white segregationists and the cautious timidity of striving middle class whites with the psyches of affluent peasants are matched only by the anxieties, doubts, and vacillation of vast numbers of Negroes -- working and middle class -- as they stand at the threshold of non-segregated society,

confronting the tremendous psychological challenges for which American history did not prepare them. The demand for racial justice on the part of American Negroes is balanced by an almost equal psychological reality of the fear of the removal of racial barriers, seemingly so insurmountable.

Within this context -- disturbing and painful, but I believe psychologically valid -- one can now attempt an analysis of the contemporary manifestations of the dilemma of America and the dilemma of Negro Americans. The value of such an analysis will be determined by whether it provides a basis for constructive, realistic, democratic, and human resolutions of some of the racial and social problems which afflict America and threaten its survival.

In many disturbing ways, the problems of race relations in America today are similar to those of the post-Reconstruction period of the late Nineteenth Century which continued and intensified through World War I. This period, which Rayford Logan and John Hope Franklin have described as the "nadir" of the Negro in American life, came as a seemingly abrupt and certainly cruel repudiation of the promises of Reconstruction for inclusion of the Negro into the political and economic life of the nation. This was a period:

-- when the white crusaders for racial justice

and democracy became weary as the newly freed Negroes could no longer be considered a purely southern problem;

-- when the aspirations for and movement of Negroes toward justice and equality were curtailed and reversed by organized violence and barbarity perpetrated against them;

-- when as a result of abandonment and powerlessness, the frustrations, bitterness, and despair of Negroes increased and displaced optimism and hope.

This period culminated in the institutionalization of rigid forms of racism -- the enactment and enforcement of laws requiring or permitting racial discrimination and segregation in all aspects of American life. This retrogression in racial democracy in America was imposed by white segregationists with the apathy, indifference, or quiet acceptance of white liberals and moderates who served as necessary accessories.

The parallel with the state of race relations in America today is stark and frightening.

The promises and optimism of the Second Reconstruction, initiated by the pattern of litigation which resulted in the Brown decision of 1954 -- precipitating the high-morale mark of the

successful boycotts and sit-ins and reaching its climax in the emotional catharsis of the 1963 March on Washington -- were also cruelly aborted by stepped-up violence against Negro and white civil rights workers in the resistant southern states and the related weariness, racial anxieties, and latent racism of northern whites which emerged under the guise of "white backlash."

The hopes and beliefs of the Negro that racial equality and democracy could be obtained through litigation, legislation, executive action and negotiation, and through strong alliances with various white liberal groups, were supplanted by disillusionment, bitterness, and anger erupting under the anguished cry of "Black Power," a pathetic attempt to disguise understandable desperation and impotence with bombast and rhetoric.

A critical danger, and probably a difference without a pragmatic distinction between the determinants of retrogression in the first post-Reconstruction period and the present is that, whereas the promises of racial progress were reversed in the Nineteenth Century by the fanaticism, irrationality, and cruel strength of white segregationists, the impending racial retrogression of today might use its impetus largely to self-hatred culminating in the fanaticism, dogmatism, rigidity, and self-destructive cruelty of black separatists. If this

comes about, it will not be enough to excuse this monstrous perpetuation of the lie of racism and postponement of the goals of democracy and humanity by asserting that the frustrations and bitterness of the victimized Negro account for his present irrationality and rigidity. A similar and equally valid psychological explanation could be offered to explain the racial cruelties of desperate and miserable poor whites of the past and present. Understanding is not acceptance.

White segregationists were able to inflict and perpetuate racial injustices upon Negroes because rational, sophisticated, and moderate whites were silent in the face of barbarities. They permitted themselves to be intimidated and bullied by white extremists until they were morally and almost functionally indistinguishable from their worst and most ignorant elements. A similar threat and dilemma face the rational, thoughtful Negro today. If he permits himself to be cowed into silence by unrealistic Negro racists, he will be an active partner in fastening the yoke of impossible racial separatism more tightly around the neck of America. He -- you, through your silence -- will permit the difficult goals of a racially non-segregated society to be lost by default. You would have given to black racists what you, your fathers, and grandfathers fought and died to prevent giving to white racists. The victories

which white segregationists, in spite of all their material and political power, could not have won for themselves, black separatists would have won for them -- and we through our silence would make this possible.

To prevent the repetition of the tragedy of racial retrogression and a return to the "nadir" of race relations in America, we must be realistic in our appraisal of the present state of race relations in America. We must analyze as tough-mindedly as possible the dynamics and symptoms of our times if we are to develop effective and realistic remedies.

During the past few years, it became excruciatingly clear for the Negro that the more things changed, the more they remained the same -- or worsened. The promises and hope for progress became a relentless quagmire of words.

The drama of direct action nonviolent confrontation of the more obvious signs of southern racial injustice became trite, and proved less relevant or effective in dealing with the persistent, pervasive, and subtle problems of racism which afflicted the northern Negro. More appropriate and effective methods for dealing with northern racism have not yet been found.

The guilt and indignation of some northern whites against southern forms of racism turned into white backlash or mutism when the northern Negro began to take seriously

the claims of civil rights progress and sought some observable signs of them in northern cities.

The anguish and desperation of the northern Negro have been expressed in the latest series of ghetto eruptions which started in the Harlem riot of the summer of 1964, reached a crescendo in the Watts riot of 1965, and continued through the series of riots in Newark and Detroit in the summer of 1967. Another significant expression of the northern Negroes' "no-win" fatalism is found in the rise of the "Black Power" slogan and momentum which skyrocketed at the time of the Meredith shooting in Mississippi in June of 1966, and continues as an obbligato to the sounds of ghetto violence and futility.

It is important to keep in mind the date (June, 1966) when the "Black Power" slogan became nationally advertised -- in order not to be confused about the cause and effect relationship between "Black Power" and "white backlash."

Whatever may be its tactical, strategic, and rational shortcomings and its ambiguity, "Black Power" did not cause "white backlash." The existence of "white backlash," the unwillingness of whites to be serious in meeting the demands of Negroes for the same rights and responsibilities granted as a matter of course to all other Americans -- including the newest refugee from European, Latin American,

or Asiatic oppression -- caused the outbursts of hysterical bitterness and random hostility inherent in the cry of "Black Power."

"Black Power" emerged as a response to the following facts:

-- a recognition of the fact that the center of gravity of the civil rights movement had moved to the northern urban racial ghettos where it was now immobilized by ambiguity, and by intensified white resistance to any meaningful change in the predicament of Negroes;

-- the recognition of the fact that successful litigation, strong legislation, free access to public accommodations, state open housing laws, strong pronouncements on the part of the President, governors or mayors, and even the right to vote or to hold office were not relevant to the overriding fact that the masses of Negroes were still confined to poverty and to the dehumanizing conditions of the ghetto;

-- and that in spite of the promises of a Great Society and the activity of the War on Poverty, his children were still

doomed to criminally inferior schools, and his youth and males the victims of unemployment, under-employment, and stagnation.

"Black Power" is the cry of defiance of what its advocates have come to see as the hoax of racial progress -- of the cynicism of the appeals to the Negro to be patient and to be lawful as his needs are continually subordinated to other national and international issues and to the needs, desires, and conveniences of more privileged groups.

Whites, by virtue of their numerical, military, and economic superiority, reinforced by historical American racism which grants higher status to whites by virtue of skin color alone, do have the power to decide whether the future of Negroes -- the Negro masses, the Negro middle classes, or the Negro elected official -- will be positive, negative, or stagnant.

This core reality of the dynamics of power is not likely to be influenced by sentimental and idealistic appeals for justice, by smiles or promises, or by emotional sloganeering.

"Black Power," in spite of its ambiguity, its "no-win" premise, its programmatic emptiness, and its pragmatic futility, does have tremendous psychological

appeal for the masses of Negroes who have "nothing to lose" and some middle class Negroes who are revolted by the empty promises and the moral dry-rot of affluent America.

"Black Power" is a bitter retreat from the possibility of the attainment of the goals of any serious racial integration in America.

It is an attempt to make a verbal virtue of involuntary racial segregation.

It is the sour grapes phenomenon on the American racial scene.

"Black Power" is the contemporary form of the Booker T. Washington accommodation to white America's resistance to making democracy real for Negro Americans. While Booker T. made his adjustment to and acceptance of white racism under the guise of conservatism, many if not all of the "Black Power" advocates are seeking to sell the same shoddy moral product disguised in the gaudy package of racial militance.

Nonetheless, today "Black Power" is a reality in the Negro ghettos of America -- increasing in emotional intensity, if not in rational clarity. And we, if we are to be realistic, cannot afford to pretend that it does not exist. Even in its most irrational and illusory formulations -- and particularly when it is presented as

a vague and incoherent basis upon which the deprived Negro can project his own pathetic wishes for a pride and an assertiveness which white America continues mockingly or piously to deny him -- "Black Power" is a powerful political reality which cannot be ignored by realistic Negro or white political officials.

It is all too clear that among the casualties of the present phase of American race relations are reason, clarity, consistency, and realism. Some "Black Power" spokesmen, like their white segregationist counterparts, demand the subjugation of rational and realistic thought and planning to dogmatism and fanaticism. By their threats and name-calling, they seek to intimidate others into silence or a mindless mouthing of their slogans.

To be effective and to increase their chances of survival in the face of name-calling verbal racial militants, Negroes, and concerned whites, must demonstrate that they are fully concerned and can bring about some positive changes in the following intolerable areas of ghetto life:

1. criminally inefficient and racially segregated public schools;
2. dehumanizingly poor housing;
3. pervasive job discrimination and joblessness;

4. shoddy quality of goods and high prices in local stores;
5. the dirt, filth, and stultifying drabness of ghetto streets and neighborhoods;
6. the adversary relationship between police and the residents of the ghettos.

This requires the mobilization and use of human intelligence to define the problems, to study and analyze them and to develop practical and implementable solutions to them. This cannot be done on the basis of race. Whites and Negroes must join together in an experiment to determine whether systematic and empathic use of human intelligence and training can be a form of power which can be used constructively in the quest for solutions of long standing urban and racial problems. This is the rationale of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center. We are under no illusions that this will be easy. We know that power confrontation brings risks not found in the cloistered halls of academia. We know that we cannot expect the protections and safety of the detached isolated scholars. But we believe that human intelligence is a social trust and that the stakes are worth the risks.

Another dilemma, not related to the dilemmas and inconsistencies of "Black Power," is the fact that in the present doldrums of the civil rights movement the cleavage

between the masses of Negroes and middle class Negroes has become more clear and exacerbating. The masses of Negroes are now starkly aware of the fact that recent civil rights victories benefited primarily a very small percentage of middle class Negroes while their predicament remained the same or worsened. Added to Ralph Bunche and our traditional civil rights leaders who are invited to Washington, we now have Thurgood Marshall, Robert Weaver, Walter Washington as the appointed Mayor of Washington, D. C., a few vice presidents in private industry, a few more Negroes in New England prep schools and Ivy League colleges, and more posts for one or two "qualified Negroes" on the faculties of colleges and universities. These and other tokens of "racial progress" are not only rejected by the masses of Negroes but seem to have resulted in their increased and more openly expressed hostility toward middle class Negroes. They see the advances of the middle class Negroes as being at their expense, at worst, or obscuring their plight or, at best, not relevant to their indefinite condemnation to a dehumanizing predicament. There are some clues which suggest that the recent ghetto implosions were not only anti-white, but also involved vague stirrings of anti-Negro middle class sentiment among the rioters.

The present dilemma of the Negro is focused for the

trained Negro intellectual. He must now choose sides. He must now clarify the nature of the enemy. He must dare to say that the enemy was never to be understood in terms of color, but in the more difficult and abstract terms of human irrationality, ignorance, superstition, rigidity, and arbitrary cruelty.

These are the common enemies which underlie all forms of tyranny -- racism, authoritarianism, McCarthyism.

They are no less enemies when being sold or offered as truth or salvation by blacks, yellows, or whites.

If Negroes and whites who understand this can make it clear, we can help to save America. We will use the power of disciplined intelligence combined with respect for moral vales and humanity to save Negroes from the destructive possibilities of white and black dilemmas and thereby contribute to the survival of America. For America cannot survive if Negroes do not. And Negroes and no other group of human beings are likely to survive if America does not.

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Dr. Clark, Negro educator and expert on Negro-American affairs, is president of Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., in New York, New York, and professor of psychology at the City College of the City University of New York. His writings include, "Desegregation: An Appraisal of the Evidence," in the Negro History Bulletin, 1954, and the books, Prejudice and Your Child, 1955; Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, 1965. He was editor of The Negro Protest, 1964, and co-editor with Talcott Parsons of The Negro American, 1966. He was research psychologist with the Gunnar Myrdal study, An American Dilemma, 1944. Dr. Clark founded and served as staff director and chairman of the board of directors of Harlem-Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. (HARYOU) in its planning stage, 1962-64, and directed its study which resulted in the report, "Youth in the Ghetto."

black youth in a southern metropolis

Socioeconomic characteristics, attitudes, and values of Negro high school students in Atlanta. By Dr. James E. Conyers and Mr. William J. Farmar, with the assistance of Dr. Martin Levin. Southern Regional Council.

Originally, the Southern Regional Council conceived and planned this study as a survey of the attitudes and values which contribute to delinquency among urban Negro youth. It soon became apparent that this phenomenon cannot be isolated from the other serious problems which face Negro youth today. Thus the scope of the study was broadened to encompass other areas of critical concern in the culture of youth.

Hopefully, the results of this study will give impetus to more comprehensive research efforts in this area and will provide the Southern Regional Council's Project on Crime and Corrections with a base upon which we may build other research programs as we support relevant projects in the area of delinquency prevention.

We are indebted to Dr. James Conyers, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, and to William Farmar of the Southern Regional Council for the production of this document.

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John O. Boone, Director
Project on Crime and Corrections
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

BLACK YOUTH IN A SOUTHERN METROPOLIS

INTRODUCTION: Purpose of the Study

In the Twentieth Century, there has been a growing, if gradual, recognition that attitudes of youth are crucial to problems involving social change and social control. This is especially true in countries where industrialization and the complexity of society's requirements are lengthening the period of childhood dependency, and where youth are taught to make choices and to evaluate alternatives, yet are robbed of a meaningful institutional base for participation in society.

In trying to come to terms with problems of status, young people seize on varying adaptive mechanisms to bridge the "generation gap." While some youth retreat into a "drop-out" world, others develop individual forms of pathology. Not enough is known at present about the process by which different youth adapt to the problems posed by age gradients and the social system. One thing is certain, however: the values of youth are increasingly central to the complex of changes of which the adult world and its agencies of social control have to take cognizance. If youth behave in ways which conflict with cultural mores, agents of control respond with programs intended to motivate and/or reorient. If young people indulge in individual or group violence, programs of detention and/or reform are often forthcoming. Thus it is that as social requirements grow more complex and valuable skills take longer to acquire, the social structure responds with ever increasing force to any kind of youthful behavior which threatens to undermine the roles (i.e., "student" or "apprentice") which young people are expected to assume.

This paper was originally conceived as a study of Negro delinquency with implications and suggestions for correction and reform. Although this idea has not been completely abandoned, it was felt to be far too narrow in its conception to have practical or theoretical significance for understanding black youth in a southern metropolis. Stating the problem of black youth in terms of the many factors impinging upon their existence and known to affect their behavior would seem to have more relevance to delinquency than merely requesting information about delinquent acts, *per se*.

The most crucial aspects of reform partake of more than mere delinquent acts. The objective conditions in which the Negro youth of America exist are the materials out of which meaningful reform and correction must grow.

It is an unfortunate fact that action programs for social change, delinquency prevention projects, the ongoing programs of social service agencies, and other efforts to meet the challenges presented by youth are all too often designed, implemented, and administered by individuals who lack any kind of practical or theoretical understanding of the attitudes, aspirations, and perceived needs of the people whom the projects are designed to assist. More often than not, the problems to which youth programs must respond are stated in quasi-structural terms, but the treatment is directed toward individual pathology. The "Alice in Wonderland" quality of such programs is essentially the reason why the application of social welfare agency services on an individual basis has not thus far produced significant change.

In Atlanta, as elsewhere, there is need for a reasonably objective statement of the opinions and attitudes of youth toward themselves, their communities, their leaders and their city, as Negroes, and not merely as victims of deprivation, as potential delinquents, incipient rioters, or members of the various categories of "otherness" under which they are usually subsumed.

In view of the above considerations, the staff broadened the research objectives to include: (1) social and background factors of Negro youth in Atlanta; (2) neighborhood evaluation and problems; (3) attitudes toward the city of Atlanta; (4) self-concept, level of aspiration, and significant reference group symbols and patterns of identification; (5) attitudes about Negro-white relations, civil rights approaches and organizations, and (6) religious attitudes and participation.[1]

Approaches to Negro Youth

There has been no comprehensive study of Negro youth in America which has produced generalizations related to a body of theory and which is amenable to empirical testing. Even the assumption that Negro youth constitute a sub-culture different from white youth awaits further documentation and refinement. This is not to say that Negro youth have not been studied. More often than not, however, the approach has been focused either on the gang behavior of Negro youth, their assumed "cultural deprivation," their motivation and school performance, their differential treatment, or on subjective "truths" and insights.

In the 1940's the American Council on Education conducted a series of studies in different sections of the United States to explore the types of distinctive problems Negro youth face in their development as individual personalities. The principal works which came from this endeavor were:

> *In a Minor Key: Negro Youth in Story and Fact,* by Ira De A. Reid.

[1]The many questions that these topical headings represent may be seen by referring to the questionnaire found in the Appendix.

Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South, by Allison Davis and John Dillard.

Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States, by E. Franklin Frazier.

Growing Up in the Black Belt: Negro Youth in the Rural South, by Charles S. Johnson.

Color and Human Nature: Negro Personality in a Northern City, by W. Lloyd Warner, Burford H. Juner, and Walter A. Adams.

Since most of these studies were of a pioneering sort, their present value is primarily historical. This is true partly because the changes brought about by the civil rights movement in recent years have altered the emphasis on, if not the substance of, the problem, and partly because modern scientific developments demand more than these qualitatively oriented studies were able to give. Current studies in the behaviorial sciences are asking more refined questions on specific aspects of Negro life. What is needed at present is a national undertaking: "The Negro Youth of America Revisited," incorporating modern developments in the social sciences and ideas found in the more recent works on youth, particularly those suggested by: James S. Coleman in *The Adolescent Society;* Edgar Epps, in his studies on Negro motivation and school performance; S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation;* Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto;* Kenneth Kenniston, *The Uncommitted;* Albert and Bernice Lott, *Negro and White Youth;* William Brink and Louis Harris, *Black and White;* Walter Wallace, *Student Culture,* and James F. Short and Fred L. Strodtbeck, *Gang Delinquency and Group Process.* Although no attempt is made here to review all of the contributions of these men and their works, we were mindful of their content in designing the present study.

In a more popular vein, yet quite prophetic and timely in the insight it affords, was the August, 1967, special issue of *Ebony* magazine entitled "Negro Youth in America." It is an important contemporary perspective on the varied aspects of Negro youth and its practical value is surpassed only by the value of its refusal to treat Negro youth as an undifferentiated, alienated, and amorphous mass.

I

THE SAMPLE

Methodology and Data Collection

The reader of this report should be cautioned that this is not a study of all Negro youth. As a matter of convenience in data collection, only high school students were chosen. This means that youth below the high school level, in college, or in military service are not included. Some attempt was made to interview youth not in school, i.e., drop-outs, failures in school, and youth who finished high school and are now working or looking for work. Numerous interviews of this nature were conducted by Mr. Ron Sturrup in neighborhoods of high Negro concentration in different sections of Atlanta. These interviews were done for interpretive and methodological purposes. They are not reported here in a formal sense.

The present study used as respondents 688 Negro high school students selected from five predominantly Negro high schools in Atlanta, Georgia. The high schools (and the number of students they contributed to our sample) were: Harper (121 students); Howard (146 students); Booker T. Washington (150 students); Archer (159 students); and Price (112 students). These schools are composed of practically all-Negro student bodies comprising the overwhelming majority of Negro high school students in Atlanta.

The questionnaires were distributed by teachers and counselors at the high schools. Every attempt was made to obtain as representative a cross-sectional sample as resources would permit. The questionnaires were self-administered. Their relative completeness was an indication to the research staff that students had little difficulty in interpreting the questions.

Confidence in the representative nature of the sample is supported by the fact that about 25 per cent of the sample came from each of the schools' grades, 9th through the 12th. The sex composition in the sample favored females, who comprised about 60 per cent of the total. About 94 per cent of the students in the sample were between 14 and 18 years of age.

Social Characteristics

This section treats some of the social characteristics of the 688 high school students comprising the study group, particularly in terms of place of birth, length of residence in Atlanta, and family characteristics.

The respondents are indigenous to the South. (Only 12 of the students in our sample were born outside of the region.) Most of the respondents were born in Atlanta (about 80 per cent), while an additional 10 per cent were born in Georgia, but not in Atlanta.

In a separate question relating to length of residence in Atlanta, only 24 respondents (3 per cent) indicated that they had lived in Atlanta less than three years, while about 19 per cent reported living in the city for more than three years, and about 78 per cent stated that they had resided in Atlanta all their lives. It is clear from these statistics that our respondents are not "out-

siders," but are largely Atlanta-born youth looking at themselves, their neighborhoods, and the city which contains them.

When asked "With whom do you live?" 58 per cent of the respondents reported residence with both parents, while the remaining 42 per cent reported living under the following arrangements: 32 per cent with the mother only; 2 per cent with the father only; and 8 per cent with neither parent. In the latter category, residence was divided among the following, in descending order of magnitude: older sister, grandmother, older brother, aunt, grandfather, and uncle. In studies of this nature, it is not unusual to find a fairly high percentage of Negro youth living with the mother only, or with relatives in the female line.

An extensive literature already exists on the matriarchal family, the breakdown of family structure among urban Negroes, and similar concerns. Mere re-statement of this oft-noted phenomenon is unnecessary. However, our figures suggest that nearly 2 out of 5 Negro adolescents in Atlanta live in a home where there is no permanent male role model or male authority figure. (It should also be noted that a study based exclusively on youth *in* high school, by its very nature, tends to oversample adolescents from stable family backgrounds.) It is obvious that this high percentage of female-centered families has serious implications for the acceptance of normative values and the assumption of socially appropriate roles by a large segment of black youth.

Less obvious, but equally cogent, is the prospect that when 40 per cent of a group live in family situations which are socially perceived as "abnormal," the whole question of what constitutes a normal family, at least for that group, might well require re-evaluation. Furthermore, it would seem to follow from this that attempts to alter society's view of normative family structure might be a more fruitful approach to social integration (i.e., creating an environment in which black people would assume appropriate roles with relative ease) than is the current approach which emphasizes the need for Negro families to conform to white models.

In response to a question about the main source of family income, only 43 per cent of the sample reported father's income as their principal means of support, 23 per cent indicated mother's income, and 18 per cent stated that both parents' incomes were of equal importance. Small percentages of the students stated that social security (8 per cent), welfare (3 per cent), and "other," such as brother's salary, uncle's salary, etc. (5 per cent), were the family unit's primary source of economic support.

In terms of parental employment patterns, it was found that a higher percentage of the responding students' fathers than mothers were employed, 96 per cent vs. 66 per cent. The data further suggest that of employed parents, mothers were more frequently employed in *low status* occupations than fathers, 67 per cent vs. 56 per cent. (*Low status* occupations were defined, in a most general sense, to include operatives, service workers, domestic workers, common laborers, etc.) Employed fathers were more likely to be in *medium status* occupations than were employed mothers, 32 per cent vs. 16 per cent. (*Medium status* occupations were defined to include clerical, sales, craft, and skilled workers, etc.) Occupations of a *high status* (professional, technical, managerial, etc.) favored employed mothers over employed fathers, 17 per cent vs. 12 per cent.

When asked whether the persons with whom they lived owned (or were buying) their home, 49 per cent of respondents answered in the affirmative, while 51 per cent indicated that their place of residence was being rented. This tends to support our earlier observations concerning the relative stability of the sample population since this percentage of owner-occupied dwellings significantly exceeds the percentage for the non-white population of Atlanta as a whole (which is 38%).[2]

II

EVALUATIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND CITY

Community exists wherever human beings live. It is a universal social form. Ideally, the community is a social entity specifically adapted to meeting the common needs of its inhabitants. Some communities are more effective than others in terms of serving their inhabitants. One would suspect that Negro communities in America are not as adequately structured to serve youth as white communities are. We wanted to know, therefore, how Negro youth in Atlanta evaluate their immediate neighborhoods, and further, how they view the wider community environment. Negatively evaluated community services would tend to suggest dissatisfaction and, to the farsighted city planner and administrator, a basis for positive social action.

The Neighborhood

A list of facilities and services of concern to every neighborhood was presented to the respondents. They were asked to evaluate the quality of each item on a four-point scale, indicating each as either *very poor, needing some improvement, pretty good, or don't know.*

[2]Atlanta Human Resources Survey, Georgia Department of Labor, Employment Security Agency, June, 1966.

The responses *very poor* and *needing some improvement* were combined into a single category and considered as a negative evaluation. The facilities and services shown in Table 1 were negatively evaluated by at least one-third of the respondents.

TABLE 1. NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES OR SERVICES EVALUATED AS POOR OR NEEDING IMPROVEMENT BY AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF THE RESPONDENTS.

Facility or Service	Per cent of respondents indicating facility or service is poor or needs improvement
Recreational facilities	62%
Police Protection	52%
Condition of sidewalks	50%
Garbage and trash collection	47%
Cleanliness and appearance	46%
Quality of schools	43%
Condition of streets	43%
Sewers	41%
Crowded conditions	40%
Street lights	35%
Bus service	35%
Parking facilities	34%

The list of services and facilities in Table 1 have been problematic in Atlanta. It would seem that a full-scale appraisal of these services and facilities on a neighborhood basis is needed and, if they are found wanting to the extent indicated by the respondents, immediate corrective action should be taken.

This level of negative reaction to those services, facilities, and conditions which comprise the basic circumstances in which the respondents live would seem to bode ill for the future. Indeed, it is those very conditions which receive least approbation which have appeared to precipitate civil disturbances most frequently in recent years.

Not all neighborhood services and facilities were negatively evaluated. Some were regarded as *pretty good*. The positively evaluated items are shown in Table 2.

From the evaluations of the respondents, it appears that the services and facilities viewed most negatively are of a generally different order and nature from those more positively evaluated. Those services and facilities

TABLE 2. NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES EVALUATED AS PRETTY GOOD BY AT LEAST TWO-THIRDS OF THE RESPONDENTS.

Facility	Per cent of respondents indicating that the facility is pretty good
Churches	83%
Cooking facilities	82%
Location of schools	82%
Hot water facilities	80%
Bathroom facilities	77%
Shopping facilities	70%

which received the lowest ratings would generally seem to be of greater consequence for comprehensive community planning, in that each is under the direct control of the local government; of those positively evaluated, only the "location of schools" falls in that domain.

City of Atlanta

The respondents live in a city as well as in neighborhoods within a city. The image of one's city is, in part, a reflection of the image of the neighborhood; however, the neighborhood does not include all the elements on which images of a city are built. How Negro youth view the entire city is of particular importance to this study for two obvious reasons: (1) Atlanta prides itself on having a very positive image, particularly in the area of race relations; and (2) the Atlanta Negro population is now 45 per cent of the total population of the city and growing steadily. In view of the limited scope of the sample, the responses of the youth in this study may be seen as a moderate forecast of the views of the majority of the future adult population of Atlanta; therefore, their evaluation of the city is both strategic and informative.

A list of 14 aspects of life in the Atlanta community was presented to the respondents. They were asked to rate each on a four-point scale: *poor, fair, good,* or *very good*. Combining the *poor* and *fair* categories, and the *good* and *very good* categories, it was found that the respondents evaluated more items positively than negatively. The per cent of *very good* evaluations was particularly high in regard to the following aspects of the city's life: (1) sports; (2) colleges and universities; (3) moral and religious climate; and (4) public schools.

A more crucial concern to city planning might be the question of what aspects of city life were negatively evaluated by the respondents. Table 3 (on page 7) shows that ten of the fourteen items were evaluated as

TABLE 3. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW WOULD YOU RATE ATLANTA ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS OF CITY LIFE?"

Aspects of Life in Atlanta	Per cent of respondents evaluating each item as:		Total	
	Poor or Fair	Good or Very Good	N	%
Race relations	73%	27%	672	100
Housing	70%	30%	668	"
Recreation	60%	40%	672	"
Police officers	51%	49%	669	"
Place to bring up kids	47%	53%	669	"
Welfare services	46%	54%	664	"
City government	45%	55%	679	"
Negro leaders	44%	56%	671	"
Job opportunities	43%	57%	668	"
Public school teachers	40%	60%	672	"
Public schools	36%	64%	678	"
Moral and religious climate	25%	75%	647	"
Colleges and Universities	23%	77%	676	"
Sports	18%	82%	657	"

poor or *fair* by from 40 per cent to 72 per cent of the respondents, with the most negatively evaluated aspects of city life being the following: (1) race relations; (2) housing; (3) recreation; and (4) police officers. That race relations would be so evaluated by the respondents of this study seems to contradict widely held assumptions about the city's good race relations and the view of Atlanta as "a city too busy to hate." Evidently, these students feel that good race relations are built on more than the *idea* of good race relations.

No overall consistent patterns of negative evaluation by sex or age were found. Some differences on particular items did occur. Female respondents tended to evaluate items as *poor* or *fair* in larger percentages than did males. This was particularly true for the following areas (per cent differences of female negative response over male negative response shown after each item): (1) "Race relations," 8 per cent difference, (2) "housing," 7 per cent difference, (3) "welfare," 6 per cent difference, and (4) "public schools," 5 per cent difference. Only for "public school teachers" did the per cent difference for males exceed that for females in the magnitude found on the above items. Exactly why this is so cannot be specifically determined by this investigation. Perhaps the Negro female is placed in a social status which demands that she be more acutely aware of the quality of race relations, housing, welfare, and public schools.

Responses by age group indicated that older students (16-19 years) tended to evaluate "housing" and "colleges and universities" as *poor* or *fair* more often than did younger students (13-15 years), with differences of 10 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively. On the other hand, the younger students evaluated "job opportunities" and "sports" as *poor* or *fair* in larger numbers than 16 to 19-year-olds, with differences of 8 per cent and 7 per cent, respectively.

III

SELF-IMAGES, ASPIRATIONS, AND PATTERNS OF IDENTIFICATION

How Negro youth view themselves, whether they want to change themselves, their educational aspirations, whom they turn to for advice, and what leadership figures they are familiar with or identify with are im-

portant facets of their sub-culture, all having implications for patterns of action and social planning.

Self-Image

In an attempt to assess the respondents' satisfaction with their self-images, they were asked to check, from among four statements, the one which came closest to their feelings about themselves. The statements were:

1. I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely.
2. There are many things I'd like to change; but not all.
3. There are a few things I'd like to change; but not too many.
4. I'd like to stay very much the same; there is almost nothing I would like to change.

Combining responses to statements 1 and 2 as an index of persons desiring substantial changes in their self-images, and responses to statements 3 and 4 as an indication of respondents desiring few or no changes, it was found that 26 per cent of the respondents desired complete or substantial changes in their self-images, while 74 per cent would make few or no changes. Males felt the need for substantial change in their self-images more often than did females, 30 per cent vs. 24 per cent. Such feelings of self-debasement and sense of personal isolation may have serious implications for the respondents' ability to develop meaningful personal relationships in later life. The number of students expressing such feelings suggests that acting out behavior among youth may be expected to continue at a high level.

Qualities for "Getting Ahead in Life"

What one believes are important qualities for "getting ahead" in life are often clues to his personality and orientation. One would expect this to be especially important for a minority group whose avenues to success are so problematic. The respondents were asked, "How important is each of the following items in helping one to 'get ahead' in life?: pleasant personality; family background; good clothes; good looks; being a white person; ability; high ideals; proper morals; friendliness; athletic ability; high grades in school; luck; personal ambition, and being 'slick.' " They were asked to respond on a four-point scale of *very important, fairly important, not too important,* and *don't know*. The response patterns shown in Table 4 are ranked on the

TABLE 4. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW IMPORTANT IS EACH OF THE FOLLOWING QUALITIES IN HELPING ONE TO GET AHEAD IN LIFE?"

Quality	Per cent of respondents who rated each quality as:				TOTAL	
	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not too Important	Don't Know	N	%
Pleasant personality	89	6	2	3	664	100
Ability	86	10	3	1	664	"
Friendliness	78	15	5	2	656	"
Proper morals	65	22	7	6	655	"
Grades in school	63	26	8	3	662	"
High ideals	62	26	8	4	661	"
Personal ambition	61	21	13	5	649	"
Family background	37	28	32	3	667	"
Good clothes	20	39	39	2	668	"
Athletic ability	17	25	53	5	655	"
Luck	13	23	58	6	652	"
Being a white person	12	9	69	10	655	"
Good looks	10	19	68	3	662	"
Being "slick"	5	7	73	15	650	"

basis of the frequency with which each quality was rated as *very important*.

It can be seen that the first seven items were rated as *very important* by 60 per cent or more of the respondents (pleasant personality, 89 per cent; ability, 86 per cent; friendliness, 78 per cent; proper morals, 65 per cent; high grades, 63 per cent; high ideals, 61 per cent; and personal ambition, 61 per cent). Then there is a sudden drop in qualities rated as *very important* with being "slick," good looks, being a white person, luck, and athletic ability assigned relatively low priority. With the exception of personality and reputational concerns, the magnitude of assessment and ranking of items contrasts vividly with similar items endorsed by students in Coleman's *Adolescent Society,* where athletic ability, good looks, and family were important attributes.

Figure 1 presents the response patterns to the items when qualities rated as *very important* were compared by sex. In general, qualities rated as *very important* by one sex were rated similarly by the other. The data in Figure 1 do indicate, however, that females were more inclined to assign high priority to proper morals, personal ambition, high ideals, friendliness, and pleasant personality than were males. Although males were somewhat more likely to place a high premium on good clothes, good looks, and athletic ability, it is particularly significant that these latter attributes, frequently assumed to be most highly valued in the youth culture of the ghetto, were consistently rated very low even by the male respondents.

Educational Aspiration

Commonly assumed, but frequently questioned, is the notion that Negro youth have low aspirational levels in terms of education and success orientations. The previous question on qualities *very important* in "getting ahead" indicated that Negro youth rated ability, grades in school, and personal ambition as highly significant priorities in achievement. In this vein, respondents were asked, "Do you plan to go to school after you get out of high school?"

Responses to the above questions suggest a high level of personal aspiration among the respondents: 96 per cent indicated intentions of staying in high school until graduation. Eighty-six per cent of these expect to continue their education beyond high school with nearly half planning to attend college, and the rest to attend various kinds of vocational training institutions. These data suggest that there is nothing lacking in the intentions and aspirations of Negro youth. They have, to borrow a phrase, "Great Expectations." The difficulties in actual achievement must be sought among other realities of the social system; e.g., economic organization, reference group support, opportunity structures, etc.

Sources of Advice and Identification

To whom does one turn for advice? With whom does one identify? These are important factors in anyone's patterns of orientation; they provide cues to action, commitment, and personal anchorage for ideological and economic support and comfort.

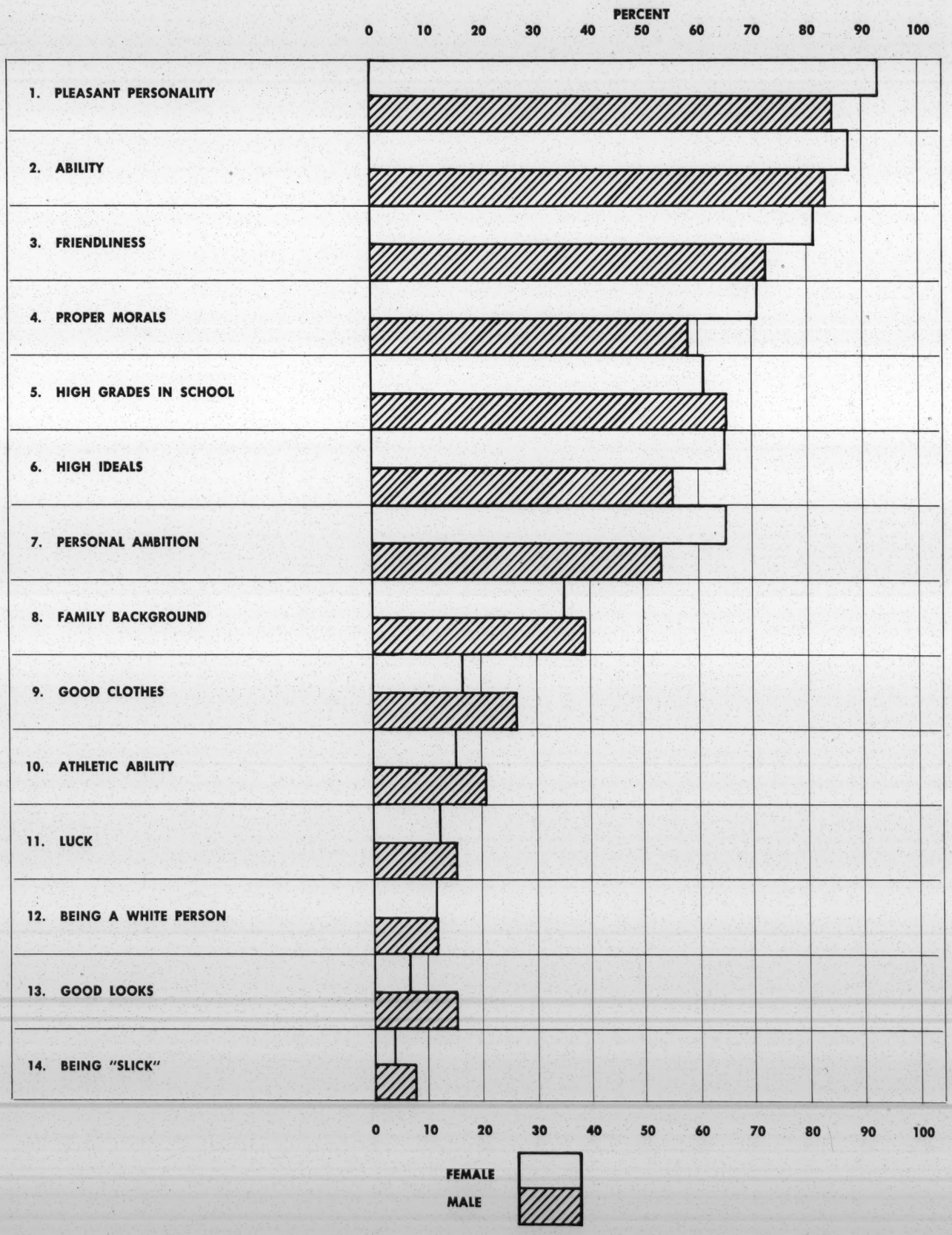
In response to the question, "Whom do you usually turn to for advice?" "mother" and "friend(s) of same age" were most frequently cited. (See Table 5.) These were followed in frequency by both parents, older

TABLE 5. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "TO WHOM DO YOU USUALLY TURN FOR ADVICE," BY SEX.

Source of Advice	Per cent of respondents who reported seeking advice from each source*		
	All respondents (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Mother	57	53	60
Personal Friend(s) of same age	45	33	52
Both parents	31	36	27
Older friend(s)	29	26	31
School personnel	29	33	26
Other relatives	29	26	30
Father	12	17	9
Minister	12	14	11

*Percentages do not total 100% because respondents were asked to report as many sources of advice as were appropriate.

FIGURE 1. DIFFERENCE BY SEX IN PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS WHO SELECTED QUALITIES AS "VERY IMPORTANT FOR GETTING AHEAD IN LIFE."



friend(s), school personnel, other relative(s), father, and minister. The dominance of the mother figure as a source of advice should not lead one to assume that this is simply due to the matricentric nature of the Negro family, though nearly a third of the respondents live with mother only. Given the expressive nature of her role, we would expect the mother to be a principal source of advice in many two-parent families. The position of "friend(s) of same age" likewise should not be interpreted along racial lines, but is consistent with the notion that a youth sub-culture exists in which support and comfort from one's peer group are important components.

In addition to the fact that mothers and personal friends were the most frequently cited sources of advice, and fathers and ministers were the least cited sources, some interesting variations by sex of respondents were found. Male respondents more frequently indicated a wider range of sources of advice than did females. Also, a higher per cent of males than females cited "father," "both parents," "school personnel," and "minister" as sources of advice, whereas a higher per cent of females cited "friend(s) of same age," "mother," and "older friend(s)."

When asked to respond to the statement "people are always trying to tell me what to do," female respondents agreed much more with the statement than males, 42 per cent to 27 per cent. The implications of this in terms of Negro females' receptivity to advice and counsel or the tendency to turn to peer group members for support cannot be determined by this study, but suggest a direction for further research.

Leadership Symbols

Respondents were asked: "List, in order of importance *to you,* the five most important leaders of the Negro people in Atlanta." Many of the respondents did not list five leaders; however, most listed at least two or three persons they regarded as the most important leaders in Atlanta. Only four names were frequently mentioned. They were: M. L. King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Leroy Johnson, Georgia State Senator; Julian Bond, Georgia Representative and ex-SNCC Publicity Director; and Stokely Carmichael, former Chairman of SNCC. Another study conducted by the senior author of this report showed these names were also the most frequently cited in Atlanta area newspapers.

Table 6 presents the frequency with which the above-mentioned leaders were cited, and the number of times each was given first place mention.

TABLE 6. NAMES MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION: "WHO, IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT NEGRO LEADERS IN ATLANTA?"

Name of Leader	Number of Times Cited	Number of Times Cited First
Martin L. King, Jr.	473	301
Leroy Johnson	207	28
Julian Bond	181	12
Stokely Carmichael	117	9

It might be contended that all of the above men are not a part of the local power or leadership structure. To a certain extent, this is true. Care, however, should be taken that this contention is not accepted categorically. These men have taken positions to which the local power structure, white and Negro, has had to respond; e.g., the Julian Bond controversy, the Vietnam crisis, "Black Power," the Poverty Program, and racial disturbances in sections of Atlanta in 1966-67. It is true that these men have influence extending far beyond the local community; but to say that they are not, and have not been, of consequence locally is a critical mistake. When the more "local" Negro leaders make this assumption, they indulge in wishful thinking, for they well know that men of such nature often create the type of situation to which the local leadership must respond.

Familiarity with Other Prominent People

Respondents were asked to identify each individual on a list of people currently or historically prominent. Many of the individuals were Atlantans or Georgians; still others were not. The names and the number of times they were correctly identified are shown in Table 7.

The ability to identify people of stature and note in history in no way means that the students identify with them as positive role-models. It was clear from the colorful expressions used by the students that some of the persons identified correctly were negatively evaluated. This was especially true for some southern white politicians on our list. Likewise, it is of note in terms of everyday living and Negro history that far more of the respondents know Ray Charles, Lou Rawls, Muhammad Ali, and Gale Sayers than Booker T. Washington, Ralph Bunche, Thurgood Marshall, Sojourner Truth and W. E. B. DuBois; not to mention some of the more local persons of repute. When local Negro leaders were identified correctly they were much more likely to have been Martin L. King, Jr., Leroy Johnson, Julian Bond, and Stokely

TABLE 7. NUMBER OF TIMES RESPONDENTS CORRECTLY IDENTIFIED PROMINENT PERSONAGES IN RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION: "WHO IS (OR WAS) EACH OF THE FOLLOWING?" (NAMES RANKED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF IDENTIFICATION.)

Name of Personage	Number of Times Correctly Identified
1. Lester Maddox	546
2. Ray Charles	531
3. Robert Kennedy	506
4. Lou Rawls	492
5. Ivan Allen, Jr.	478
6. Leroy Johnson	470
7. Martin L. King, Jr.	457
8. Julian Bond	441
9. Muhammad Ali	437
10. Stokely Carmichael	435
11. Harry S. Truman	424
12. Marian Anderson	359
13. Adam Clayton Powell	344
14. Gale Sayers	338
15. Carl E. Sanders	337
16. John Letson	332
17. Elijah Muhammad	317
18. William H. Borders	314
19. Fidel Castro	313
20. Booker T. Washington	291
21. Bill Russell	217
22. Benjamin E. Mays	210
23. Richard B. Russell	209
24. Adlai E. Stevenson	172
25. Mao Tse Tung	156
26. Ralph Bunche	137
27. Thurgood Marshall	84
28. Sojourner Truth	80
29. Bob Dylan	79
30. Rufus E. Clement	73
31. T. M. Alexander, Sr.	60
32. Samuel W. Williams	54
33. W. E. B. DuBois	48
34. Jesse Hill	33
35. Walter Reuther	28
36. Lillian Smith	26
37. Howard Moore	25
38. Eugene V. Debs	17
39. J. Ernest Wilkins	9

Carmichael, than other local notables of less wide renown.

IV

RACIAL ATTITUDES AND CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND APPROACHES

The attitudes of youth in America might turn out to be the most crucial predictor for the nature and direction of social change. Many of the recent reform and revolutionary movements in the world have heavily involved youth, who have often been among the principal architects and initiators of change. Youth are now receiving a type of exposure and recognition which has no direct counterpart in earlier periods of history. They are being heard in popular art, the "hippie" movement, peace politics, and civil rights. The latter aspect of contemporary change and the attitudes of Negro youth toward it is the principal concern of this report, for it is here that Negro youth have made their presence felt most strongly.

Racial Attitudes

Respondents were asked to express agreement or disagreement with a number of statements assessing their attitudes toward certain problems of race and race-related behavior. Ranked on the basis of frequency of disagreement, the responses to each statement are shown in Table 8. Respondents disagreed with the majority of the statements. The relatively high percentage of respondents who said "don't know" was predictable due to the controversial nature of the statements presented.

A separatist philosophy does not appear to be the dominant theme for the respondents. Most of them are not strong believers in "black power," nor do they think the situation would be improved if Negroes were more separated from whites. The fact that 21 per cent of the respondents felt that "sometimes Negroes ought to carry guns when protesting," and 22 per cent felt that "civil rights demonstrations do not accomplish anything," might suggest that Negro youth opinion is in a transitional phase and that, all else being equal, a similar question in the future might well elicit more militant views. However, the extent to which the respondents reported willingness to participate in a riot is still comparatively small, about 8 per cent. This figure is smaller than that reported by William Brink and Louis Harris, where 15 per cent of the total rank and file of the Negro population "would join a riot."[3]

[3]William Brink and Louis Harris, *Black and White* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 67.

Of particular interest in America is the stance of black Americans toward the Vietnam conflict. In response to the statement, "Black Americans should be proud to be fighting in Vietnam," only 31 per cent agreed, while 49 per cent disagreed with the statement.

Responses to the statement, "White people can usually be trusted," are a partial index of the limited extent to which black youth have faith in whites. Whereas 30 per cent responded "don't know," 45 per cent of the respondents do *not* feel that whites can usually be trusted. Upper class Negroes fare much better in this regard, as indicated by the fact that only 15 per cent of the respondents believed that they "usually cannot be trusted."

Several of the statements in Table 8 ask the respondents to assess "blame" for the "riots" in Atlanta, particularly those that occurred in the Boulevard and Summerhill areas. It is realized that these were not riots in the same sense as were the disturbances which occurred in Newark and Detroit.

An evaluation of attitudes toward responsibility for "riots" in Atlanta revealed the following:

1. Equal proportions of respondents blamed "whites" and "Negro agitators," 25 per cent.
2. Thirty-five per cent blamed "police brutality."
3. "Poor economic and social conditions of Negroes" was stated as a cause by 48 per cent of the respondents.
4. The only suggested "cause" to which a majority of the respondents agreed was the relatively amorphous "bad race relations," 64 per cent.

The possibility of future disturbances of a riotous nature is suggested by 53 per cent of the respondents, who agreed with the statement, "If things don't get better in Atlanta, there will be riots." Similar conclusions are being reached in a number of other American cities.

Some differences in responses to these statements by sex were found. In general, males were more likely to agree with statements shown in Table 8 than were females. For example, males were more likely than females to agree that: (1) "I would participate in a

TABLE 8. RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS CONCERNING SELECTED PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF RACE AND RACE-RELATED BEHAVIOR.

Statements Concerning Race-related Problems and Behavior	Reaction of respondents by per cent expressing:			TOTAL	
	(%) Disagreement	(%) Agreement	(%) No Opinion	N	%
1. The more Negroes are separated from whites the better	76	12	12	664	100
2. I am a strong believer in "Black Power"	73	11	16	667	"
3. I would participate in a riot	69	8	23	672	"
4. Sometimes Negroes ought to carry guns when protesting	63	21	16	674	"
5. Civil Rights demonstrations do not accomplish anything	58	22	20	678	"
6. "Upper class" Negroes are usually not to be trusted	56	15	29	678	"
7. Black Americans should be proud to be fighting in Vietnam	49	31	20	669	"
8. White people can usually be trusted	45	25	30	675	"
9. I blame whites for riots in Atlanta	40	25	35	672	"
10. I blame Negro agitators for riots in Atlanta	39	25	36	667	"
11. I blame police brutality for riots in Atlanta	33	35	32	677	"
12. Non-violence is always the best approach for Negroes to use	30	51	19	675	"
13. I blame poor economic and social conditions of Negroes as cause of riots in Atlanta	25	48	27	669	"
14. I blame bad race relations for riots in Atlanta	19	64	17	665	"
15. If things don't get better in Atlanta, there will be riots	19	53	28	676	"

riot," 9 per cent difference; (2) "I blame whites for the riots in Atlanta," 9 per cent difference; (3) "Sometimes Negroes ought to carry guns when protesting," 8 per cent difference; (4) "Upper class Negroes are usually not to be trusted," 8 per cent difference, and (5) "I blame police brutality as the cause of riots in Atlanta," 8 per cent difference. The only statement to which female respondents agreed in larger percentage than male respondents was, "I blame 'bad' race relations as the cause of riots in Atlanta," 8 per cent difference.

When the statements in Table 8 are compared by age, generally, it was the younger Negro youth who *agreed* most frequently with the statements. Respondents 13 to 15 years old, when contrasted with those 16-19 years old, more frequently believed that: (1) "If things don't get better in Atlanta there will be riots," 9 per cent difference; (2) "The more Negroes are separated from whites the better," 8 per cent difference; (3) "I am a strong believer in Black Power," 5 per cent difference; and (4) "civil rights demonstrations do not accomplish anything," 5 per cent difference.

On the other hand, older respondents, more frequently than younger respondents, agreed with the following statements: (1) "I blame police brutality as the cause of 'riots' in Atlanta," 10 per cent difference; (2) "I blame poor economic and social conditions of Negroes as the cause of 'riots' in Atlanta," 8 per cent difference; and (3) "I blame 'bad' race relations as the cause of 'riots' in Atlanta," 7 per cent difference.

Although in no way altering the basic pattern of responses to the statements in Table 8, it would appear that it is the younger male respondent who is more militant and separatist in his racial stance than older males or females. Since this was not the dominant stance for the total group, and since the significance of the maturation process in this regard is unmeasured, implications for future orientations of Negro youth cannot be determined by this study, however provocative the data may seem.

Civil Rights Organizations and Approaches

The number of civil rights organizations and/or approaches increased almost exponentially during the early 1960's. A partial list of civil rights organizations and approaches was presented to the respondents. They were asked to state their approval or disapproval of each. It is realized that some of the organizations or approaches do not fall under the heading of civil rights in traditional usage. They do, however, relate, in some measure, to what Negroes are doing in order to alleviate the stigma and status discontent attached to being black in America. The groups and approaches are shown in Table 9. They are ranked on the basis of the frequency with which they were approved by the respondents.

It is obvious that the groups cited need not be, and usually are not, mutually exclusive in their approaches. For example, voter registration drives and court cases are not the exclusive property of any one particular group. The NAACP, CORE, and SNCC have participated in voter registration drives. NAACP, ACLU, and others have initiated court cases.

Inspection of Table 9 shows the NAACP, the oldest of civil rights organizations, won the approval of the respondents more than any other group. The order was: (1) NAACP, 75 per cent; (2) the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 72 per cent; (3) the Congress of Racial Equality, 55 per cent; (4) the National Urban League, 49 per cent; (5) the American Friends Service Committee, 44 per cent; (6) the American Civil Liberties Union, 39 per cent; (7) the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, 37 per cent; (8) the Anti-Defamation League, 22 per cent; (6) the Deacons for Defense, 16 per cent; and (10) the Nation of Islam, 11 per cent. The students seemed to tend to disassociate organizations from tactics; e.g., while 37 per cent of all respondents approved of SNCC and 55 per cent approved of CORE, only 15 per cent approved of Black Power.

The dominant approaches to the problems faced by Negroes are still educational, legalistic and nonviolent, with a third or more of the respondents also endorsing more dramatic forms of activity, such as street demonstrations, sit-ins, economic boycotts, and rent strikes. The least favorably endorsed approach or idea was riots (12 per cent).

When civil rights groups and approaches were compared by sex, it was the male respondent who indicated a more militant and activistic stance. A larger percentage of males than females approved the following (per cent differences by sex are shown after each item): (1) street demonstrations and protest marches, 11 per cent difference; (2) Nation of Islam, 9 per cent difference; (3) SNCC, 8 per cent difference; (4) Black Power, 8 per cent difference; (5) riots, 8 per cent difference; (6) Deacons for Defense, 7 per cent difference; and (7) school boycotts, 7 per cent difference. Females, in appreciably larger numbers than males, approved of "educational programs used to change racial prejudice and discrimination," 9 per cent difference.

Older youths were more traditional in their approval of civil rights organizations than were the younger

TABLE 9. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: WHAT DO YOU THINK OF EACH OF THE FOLLOWING CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND APPROACHES?"

Civil Rights Group or Approaches	Per cent of respondents expressing:			TOTAL	
	% Approval	% Disapproval	% No Opinion	N	%
1. NAACP	75	2	23	621	100
2. Voter Registration Drives	73	4	23	621	"
3. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)	72	3	25	638	"
4. Educational programs to change prejudice & discrimination	64	6	30	618	"
5. Non-violence	63	9	28	607	"
6. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)	55	3	42	625	"
7. Court cases to change segregation	55	8	37	620	"
8. National Urban League	49	3	48	609	"
9. Street demonstrations and protest marches	44	25	31	619	"
10. American Friends Service Committee	44	4	52	620	"
11. Sit-Ins	42	18	40	612	"
12. American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)	39	5	56	616	"
13. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)	37	27	36	628	"
14. Economic Boycott	34	14	52	600	"
15. Rent Strikes	32	20	48	619	"
16. Bi-Racial Committees	30	8	62	609	"
17. School Boycotts	29	34	37	628	"
18. Anti-Defamation League	22	6	72	612	"
19. Deacons for Defense	16	9	75	629	"
20. Black Power	15	53	32	630	"
21. Riots	12	64	24	619	"
22. Nation of Islam	11	42	47	643	"

respondents. The 16-19-year-olds more strongly approved of the Urban League, 13 per cent difference; legal court cases, 8 per cent difference; educational programs, 6 per cent difference; and voter registration drives, 6 per cent difference; whereas the 13-15-year-olds more favorably endorsed SNCC, 7 per cent difference, and Black Power, 5 per cent difference. (Not capable of being interpreted along these lines, however, is the largest difference by age. Younger respondents, by a 14 per cent margin, more favorably viewed the American Friends Service Committee than did older youth.)

V

DELINQUENCY

The extent of delinquency among youth invites as much public attention as any other aspect of their existence. This is especially true for non-white youth. Many people contend that this difference of race is at least partially attributable to differential procedures in arrest, indictment, conviction, and confinement processes by race.

In this study, we have not used official delinquency rates for Negroes. Instead, questions about the commission of delinquent acts were asked of those in the sample. This, then, is a self-reported criterion of delinquency. In only 5 of 13 categories of delinquent behavior did as many as 10 per cent of the students admit participation. These were: (1) driving without license, 39 per cent; (2) skipping school, 29 per cent; (3) drinking alcoholic beverages, 27 per cent; (4) participating in gang fights, 12 per cent; and (5) buying alcoholic beverages, 12 per cent. In every case, the large majority of those admitting to delinquent conduct indicated they had done so *seldom* as opposed to *frequently* and *sometimes*.

In every instance, males were more likely to report participating in delinquent behavior than were females, with the largest difference occurring on the following items: (1) driving a car without a license; (2) skipping school; (3) taking part in gang fights; (4) buying or drinking alcoholic beverages; and (5) driving a car too recklessly or too fast.

Similarly, analysis by age differences showed, rather predictably, that older youths were more likely to have participated in delinquent behavior than younger respondents. The following items were fairly pronounced in this regard: (1) skipping school; (2) drinking alcoholic beverages; and (3) driving a car too recklessly or too fast.

Items involving sexual behavior of Negro youth were not among our delinquency items at the suggestion of Board of Education officials.

Although the respondents did not report a high degree of delinquency in the items presented, an orientation toward deviant and opportunistic innovation was suggested by reactions to the statement: "Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want." Forty-one per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement. There were no significant differences in these responses by sex or age. Such sentiments on a statement of this nature are not restricted to youth if contemporary evidence of adult behavior is viewed in light of orientations toward success in American culture.

VI

SOME RELIGIOUS CONCERNS

No questions were asked about the religious affiliation of the respondents. Traditional evidence and the number and type of Negro churches in the Atlanta community would tend to suggest that the respondents are likely to have Baptist or Methodist affiliations. A question was asked, however, about the frequency of church attendance.

TABLE 10. RESPONSES TO A QUESTION CONCERNING FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE, BY SEX.

Frequency of Church Attendance	Per cent of respondents attending church		
	% All Respondents	% Male	% Female
More than once a week	19	15	22
About once a week	38	35	40
2 or 3 times a month	27	25	28
About once a month	4	6	3
A few times a year	8	10	6
Just about never	4	9	1
(N-659) Total	100	100	100

In Table 10, the frequency of church attendance for all respondents was tabulated by sex. It is seen that 57 per cent of the respondents attended church once a week or more, and 84 per cent once a month or more. Differences in church attendance by sex favored females. Whereas 75 per cent of males attended church at least two or three times a month, 90 per cent of the females did likewise. 61 per cent of the females stated that they attended church about once a week or more as opposed to only 51 per cent of the males.

The respondents were also asked to react to statements about the church and religion. Many of the statements were drawn from current controversies in church circles, i.e., "Is the church on the decline?"; "Is God dead?"; "Is the church too old-fashioned?" etc.

Responses to the above statements (as presented in Table 11) suggest that the church is still a powerful personal force in the lives of Negro youth; however, the respondents believe that "the church ought to be more concerned about social problems."

Some ambivalence was noted in responses to a question about the decline of the church as indicated by the fact that an equal number of respondents stated that they *agree, disagree,* and *don't know* that the influence of the church in America is on the wane. Similarly, the majority of respondents did not know whether the white man takes his religion seriously or not; but when asked to react to the statement, "The Negro does not take his religion seriously," a majority of the respondents disagreed (54 per cent).

TABLE 11. RESPONSES TO STATEMENTS CONCERNING SELECTED ASPECTS OF RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

STATEMENT	Per cent respondents who expressed:			TOTAL	
	% Agreement	% Disagreement	% No Opinion	N	%
1. My church is the basic guiding force in my life	56	26	18	651	100
2. The church ought to be more concerned about social problems	43	29	28	649	"
3. The influence of the church is on the decline in America	35	33	32	652	"
4. Religion is the only thing that can solve the race problem in America	29	42	29	651	"
5. I am neither for nor against the church	19	70	11	643	"
6. The Negro does not take his religion seriously	17	54	29	651	"
7. The white man does not take his religion seriously	16	32	52	656	"
8. When I have a problem, my pastor is one of the first persons I turn to	15	76	9	649	"
9. Sometimes I feel that God is dead	8	83	9	625	"
10. The church is too old-fashioned for me	4	91	5	657	"

Evaluated in a negative sense were the statements which read, "The church is too old-fashioned for me" (91 per cent disagreeing); "Sometimes I feel God is dead" (83 per cent disagreeing); "When I have a problem my pastor is one of the first persons I turn to" (76 per cent disagreeing); and "I am neither for nor against the church" (70 per cent disagreeing).

From the above statements, it would appear that the respondents are fairly religious; yet, they do not feel that the pastor is a principal source of advice, an attitude indicated by the earlier findings on personal sources of advice.

The data may suggest the existence of a certain amount of ambivalence in the students' feelings toward the church, especially in light of the fact that statements expressing general positive attitudes about God and religion tended to be accepted more readily than statements relating to the institutional church or to clergymen.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to assess the attitudes, values and opinions of Negro youth in a wide range of areas. While a more narrowly focused study would have permitted a fuller evaluation of any given aspect, the remarkable dearth of information available made a general survey seem imperative. Additionally, the unusually crucial role played by young people in the development and elaboration of normative values in our society and the high correlation which exists among seemingly disparate elements of our culture effectively preclude the possibility of concentrating attention on isolated factors.

This study, then, not only presents data relating to concerns of particularly timely interest, such as perception of the urban environment, evaluation of racial problems, attitudes toward civil rights organizations and approaches, and deviant behavior, but also attempts to assess other crucial dimensions of the subculture of Negro youth; e.g., religious concerns, self-images, aspirations, and sources of advice and identification.

The sample consisted of 688 students from five all-Negro high schools in Atlanta, Georgia. 40% of the students were males, 60% were females. Age range of respondents was 13-19 years. About 25% of the sample came from each of grades 9 through 12.

Our respondents were, on the whole, native Atlantans of low to low-middle socio-economic status, 42 per cent of whom live in family settings other than biparental. The number who live in female-centered domestic situations (38 per cent) was higher than might be anticipated from previous studies conducted elsewhere. Careful consideration of the data failed to uncover a variable which would satisfactorily account for this factor. Our data in this area would seem to have serious implications for immediate efforts in the areas of social planning and social welfare.

The respondents' perceptions of their environment, in terms both of the immediate community and the whole

urban setting, reflect a considerable degree of dissatisfaction. Two-thirds of the listed neighborhood facilities and services were negatively evaluated by at least 34% of the respondents. Among the items which drew the largest number of negative reactions are such crucial services as police protection and garbage collection and such basic facilities and conditions as those relating to schools, recreation, streets, sidewalks, and sewers. The items most positively evaluated were those most closely related to the personal environment; e.g., cooking, bathroom, hot water and shopping facilities.

When asked to rate 14 aspects of city life in Atlanta, 1/3 or more of the respondents gave negative reactions to 11 of the items. Those evaluated most positively ("moral and religious climate," "colleges and universities" and "sports") seem to be the least significant in terms of the material existence of the average respondent.

In a question assessing self-image, 30 per cent of the male respondents and 25 per cent of the female respondents expressed a desire for substantial or total change in themselves. Additionally, nearly 1/3 of the respondents expressed agreement with the statement, "Sometimes I feel all alone in the world."

When respondents were asked to evaluate a list of qualities in terms of their importance for "getting ahead in life," 7 out of 14 qualities were rated as very important by at least 60 per cent of the students. In descending order of perceived importance, these were: pleasing personality, ability, friendliness, proper morals, grades in school, high ideals and personal ambition. At this point, there is a distinct discontinuity in the response pattern; the remaining items—family background, good clothes, athletic ability, luck, being a white person, good looks and being "slick"—were rated as very important by 37 per cent or less of the respondents. While males tended to place somewhat greater emphasis on these latter qualities than did females, the general pattern of responses was the same for both sexes and both age groups.

Somewhat in keeping with this high valuation of qualities commonly associated with middle class status achievement were the responses to another question in which 96 per cent of the students indicated that they intend to remain in high school until graduation and that 86 per cent of these hope to continue their education beyond high school.

In response to a question about customary sources of advice, the majority of the students queried indicated that they usually seek advice from the mother, while the father and the minister were the least frequent choices. A large percentage (one-third of the males and slightly more than one-half of the females) seek support from individuals in their peer group. While the response pattern by sex was significantly different only in the item relating to peer group support, the males in our study do tend to seek advice more frequently from the usual authority figures (father, minister, school personnel, both parents) than do the females.

When asked to list Negro leaders in Atlanta whom they felt were most important, respondents most frequently mentioned Dr. M. L. King, Jr., Senator Leroy Johnson, Representative Julian Bond and Stokely Carmichael, in that order. These men also occur among the ten most frequently identified figures in a list of 39 prominent persons. In this list, Lester Maddox, Governor of Georgia, was most frequently identified (by 80% of all respondents).

A question measuring attitudes toward racial problems revealed interesting data. In general, the attitude of the average respondent was not particularly militant; the respondents did not approve of separatist, Black Power, or defeatist views, nor did a very high per cent indicate willingness to participate in a riot. However, an absolute majority of the respondents felt that "If things don't get better in Atlanta, there will be riots." A large majority of those expressing a definite opinion (45 per cent of all respondents) rejected the statement that "white people can usually be trusted," and only a bare majority (51 per cent) of all the respondents agreed with the statement that "Non-violence is always the best approach for Negroes to use."

The statement "Black Americans should be proud to be fighting in Vietnam," drew a negative response from 49 per cent of all respondents (62 per cent of those expressing a definite opinion).

When the students were asked to express approval or disapproval of various civil rights organizations and approaches, the NAACP (73% approval), SCLC (72% approval), and CORE (55% approval), received the greatest approbation.

Approaches ranging in militancy from educational programs to street demonstrations and economic boycotts were approved by large majorities of those indicating an opinion. Only school boycotts, Black Power, and riots failed to receive majority approval. In general, the least controversial approaches (voter registration, court cases, educational programs) received the greatest approbation. Except for the Nation of Islam, all organizations were approved of by a majority of those expressing an opinion. In all cases, however, a high percentage of respondents expressed *no opinion*.

Students were asked whether and how often they had committed a variety of delinquent acts. Only traffic

violations, alcohol violations, truancy and "gang fighting" were admitted to by more than 10 per cent of the respondents. In every case, the large majority of those admitting to delinquent conduct indicated that they had done so *seldom*. However, this level of admitted deviant behavior contrasts strongly with the fact that 41 per cent of all respondents agreed with the statement "Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want."

In a series of questions concerning religious attitudes, the majority of those responding tended to support basic religious views and values; however, positive statements about the influence and impact of the church drew considerably less agreement. The statement, "The church ought to be more concerned about social problems," was agreed with by 43 per cent of all respondents (and a large majority of those expressing an opinion).

Several factors tend to cloud the overall results. The considerable social tension and sense of crisis which currently pervade American society have undoubtedly had considerable impact on the young people in our sample. The ambivalence and considerable contradiction in the responses suggest that our study is most timely. This survey may well have captured the sense of confusion and transition among black youth which a perusal of the popular press readily reveals as being prevalent in the nation as a whole. It seems unlikely that a study in the future would reflect a similar clinging to traditional values.

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APPENDIX

Negro Youth Survey

You, along with other Negro youth in Atlanta, are taking part in a study of youthful attitudes and behavior. *You do not have to put your name on the questionnaire.* No one at the school will see the answers you give, so you should feel free to respond to each question as truthfully and honestly as possible.

This is *not a test.* We are interested in your attitudes and opinions. There are *no right or wrong answers.*

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

1. What was your age at your last birthday? _____

2. Sex: _____male _____female

3. Where were you born? City or Town _____State _____

4. How long have you lived in Atlanta?

   ____all my life

   ____more than three years, but not all my life

   ____one to three years

   ____less than one year

5. If you have not lived in Atlanta all your life, where else have you lived? (IF YOU ALWAYS LIVED IN ATLANTA SKIP TO QUESTION 6)

Town or City	*State*	*How old were you when you left?*
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

6a. Which of the following people do you live with? (Check as many as apply and indicate their ages)

	Age
1. ____your mother	_____
2. ____your father	_____
3. ____your aunt	_____
4. ____your uncle	_____

5. _____your grandmother _____

6. _____your grandfather _____

7. _____an older brother _____

8. _____an older sister _____

9. _____none of these _____

6b. If you checked any answer above except number 9, write in the kind of work they usually do for a living. (Check the correct box.)

	Kind of Work	*Currently Working*	*Unemployed*	*Retired*
Mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Father	_____	_____	_____	_____
Aunt	_____	_____	_____	_____
Uncle	_____	_____	_____	_____
Grandfather	_____	_____	_____	_____
Grandmother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Older Brother	_____	_____	_____	_____
Older Sister	_____	_____	_____	_____

EVERYONE SHOULD ANSWER THIS QUESTION

7a. Other than those listed above, write in any other people who live in your home and state their age and relation to you. (For example, my sister's husband.) If none, skip to question 7c.

	Relations	*Age*
1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____

b. In the same order you have written them, what kind of work does each of these people usually do for a living? (Check the correct box.)

	Kind of Work	*Currently Working*	*Unemployed*	*Retired*
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____

c. What is your family's main source of income?

1. _____Father's salary

2. _____Mother's salary

3. _____Social Security

4. _____Welfare

5. _____Other (Please specify) _____

8. Do the persons with whom you live (check one)

_____own or are buying their home

_____rent

9. Below is a list of some things every neighborhood is concerned about. How do you feel about these things in your own neighborhood?

	I think it:			
	Is Very poor	*Needs some improvement*	*Is pretty good*	*Don't know*
a. Bus service	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Garbage and trash collection	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Location of schools	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Quality of schools	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Sewers	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. Crowded conditions	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Washing facilities for clothes	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. Police protection	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. Cleanliness and appearance	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. Parking facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. Hot water facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. Condition of homes	_____	_____	_____	_____
m. Proper heating during winter	_____	_____	_____	_____
n. Recreational facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
o. Street lights	_____	_____	_____	_____
p. Condition of roads	_____	_____	_____	_____
q. Condition of sidewalks	_____	_____	_____	_____
r. Shopping facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
s. Bathroom facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
t. Cooking facilities	_____	_____	_____	_____
u. Churches	_____	_____	_____	_____

10. Are any of the following a problem in your neighborhood?

	Yes	*No*	*Don't know*
a. Too much noise	_____	_____	_____
b. Too much drinking	_____	_____	_____

c. Too much fighting	_____	_____	_____
d. Too much trouble with police	_____	_____	_____
e. Poor study conditions	_____	_____	_____
f. Drug use (heroin, "pep" pills, etc.)	_____	_____	_____
g. Speeding cars	_____	_____	_____
h. Gangs	_____	_____	_____
i. Unemployment	_____	_____	_____
j. Stealing	_____	_____	_____

11. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Agree	*Disagree*	*Don't know*
a. No one cares about us where I live.	_____	_____	_____
b. Most people are unfriendly.	_____	_____	_____
c. I wish someone would do something about where I live.	_____	_____	_____
d. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.	_____	_____	_____
e. One can always get help if he tries.	_____	_____	_____
f. Most policemen are pretty good guys.	_____	_____	_____
g. Schoolteachers really want to help you.	_____	_____	_____
h. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.	_____	_____	_____
i. If you worry about the next guy you'll never get ahead.	_____	_____	_____
j. Most older people usually give good advice.	_____	_____	_____
k. It is smartest to believe that all people will be mean if they have a chance.	_____	_____	_____
l. Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want.	_____	_____	_____
m. If someone tries to tell me what to do, I usually do the opposite.	_____	_____	_____
n. People are always trying to tell me what to do.	_____	_____	_____

12. Among the following, who do you usually turn to for advice? (Check as many as appropriate)

_____My mother

_____My father

_____Both parents

_____Other relatives

_____Minister

_____School personnel (teachers, counselors, etc.)

_____Personal friend(s) of my own age

_____Older friend(s)

13. Check the statement which comes closest to your feeling about yourself:

_____I don't like myself the way I am; I'd like to change completely.

_____There are many things I'd like to change, but not completely.

_____There are a few things I'd like to change, but not too many.

_____I'd like to stay very much the same; there is almost nothing I would like to change.

14. Briefly describe what comes to your mind when you think about Atlanta.

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. How would you rate Atlanta in regard to the following:

	Poor	*Fair*	*Good*	*Very Good*
a. City government				
b. Welfare services				
c. Recreation				
d. Public Schools				
e. Colleges and Universities				
f. Public schoolteachers				
g. Negro leaders				
h. Housing conditions				
i. Race relations				
j. A place to bring up kids				
k. Job opportunities				
l. Police officers				
m. Sports				
n. Moral or religious climate				

16. Check the column which indicates how often you have done the following:

	Frequently	*Sometimes*	*Seldom*	*Never*
a. Driven a car without driver's license				
b. Skipped school				
c. "Run away" from home				
d. Driven a car too recklessly or fast				
e. Taken things worth more than $10				
f. Used force to get money from another				
g. Taken part in gang fights				
h. Taken a car without owner's permission				
i. Bought beer, wine, or liquor				

j. Drank beer, wine, or liquor	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. Sold narcotic drugs (heroin, reefers, pep pills, etc.)	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. Used narcotic drugs (heroin, reefers, or pep pills)	_____	_____	_____	_____
m. Sniffed glue	_____	_____	_____	_____

17. Below is a list of statements dealing with Negroes and whites. As you read each statement could you check whether you *strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree* or *don't know* about each statement. (Check only one response for each statement.)

	Strongly Agree	*Agree*	*Don't Know*	*Disagree*	*Strongly Disagree*
ON THE WHOLE					
a. Civil rights demonstrations do not accomplish anything.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. "Upperclass" Negroes are usually not to be trusted.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. White people can usually be trusted.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Nonviolence is always the best approach for Negroes to use.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Sometimes Negroes ought to carry guns when protesting.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. If things don't get better in Atlanta there will be riots.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. I would participate in a riot.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. I am a strong believer in "Black Power."	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. I blame whites for the "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. I blame Negro "agitators" for the "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. I blame "bad" race relations as cause of "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. I blame police brutality as cause of "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
m. I blame poor economic and social conditions of Negroes as cause of "riots" in Atlanta last summer.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
n. The more Negroes are separated from whites the better.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
o. I think black Americans should be proud to be fighting in Vietnam.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

18. How important is each of the following items in helping one to "get ahead" in life?

	Very Important	*Fairly Important*	*Not too Important*	*Don't Know*
a. pleasant personality	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. family background	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. good clothes	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. good looks	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. being a white person	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. ability	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. high ideals	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. proper morals	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. friendliness	_____	_____	_____	_____
j. athletic ability	_____	_____	_____	_____
k. high grades in school	_____	_____	_____	_____
l. luck	_____	_____	_____	_____
m. personal ambition	_____	_____	_____	_____
n. being slick	_____	_____	_____	_____

19. If you could be anything you wanted, what would you like to do for your life's work?

_____

20. What do you think you will actually end up doing for your life's work?

_____

21. Do you plan to stay in high school until graduation?

_____yes

_____no

22. Do you plan to go to school after you get out of high school?

_____yes, a vocational training school

_____yes, a college (Which college? _____)
(Write in name of college)

_____no

23. How often do you attend church?

_____more than once a week

_____about once a week

_____2 or 3 times a month

_____about once a month

_____a few times a year

_____just about never

24. Below are some questions about the church and religion. Could you indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement?

	Agree	*Disagree*	*Don't Know*
a. Religion is the only thing that can solve the race problem in America.	_____	_____	_____
b. My church is the basic guiding force in my life.	_____	_____	_____
c. Sometimes I feel that God is dead.	_____	_____	_____
d. When I have a problem, my pastor is one of the first persons I turn to.	_____	_____	_____
e. The influence of the church is on the decline in America.	_____	_____	_____
f. The church is too old-fashioned for me.	_____	_____	_____
g. The white man does not take his religion seriously.	_____	_____	_____
h. The Negro does not take his religion seriously.	_____	_____	_____
i. I am neither for nor against the church.	_____	_____	_____
j. The church ought to be more concerned about the social problems facing man.	_____	_____	_____

25. List, in order of importance *to you,* the five most important leaders of the Negro people in Atlanta.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

26. Below is a list of civil rights groups and approaches. Please check *what you think* about each of them in the appropriate column to the right of each.

	Strongly Approve	*Approve*	*No Opinion*	*Oppose*	*Strongly Oppose*
a. NAACP	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK")	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. Urban League	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
f. Nation of Islam (Black Muslins)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
g. Deacons for Defense	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
h. American Friends Service Committee	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
i. Black Power	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

26. *(Continued)*

		Strongly Approve	*Approve*	*No Opinion*	*Oppose*	*Strongly Oppose*
j.	School boycotts	____	____	____	____	____
k.	Riots	____	____	____	____	____
l.	Voter registration drives	____	____	____	____	____
m.	Rent strikes	____	____	____	____	____
n.	American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)	____	____	____	____	____
o.	Anti-Defamation League (ADL)	____	____	____	____	____
p.	Sit-ins	____	____	____	____	____
q.	Nonviolence	____	____	____	____	____
r.	Biracial committees	____	____	____	____	____
s.	Economic boycotts	____	____	____	____	____
t.	Street demonstrations, protest marches	____	____	____	____	____
u.	Legal court cases to change racial segregation and discrimination	____	____	____	____	____
v.	Educational programs used to change racial prejudice and discrimination	____	____	____	____	____

27. Below are names of persons who were or are alive. Answer for each person with a brief answer, *who she or he is* (or was). If you are not sure but have any idea . . . Guess.

Who Is (Or Was)

1. Eugene V. Debs _____
2. Walter Reuther _____
3. Rufus E. Clement _____
4. Benjamin E. Mays _____
5. Robert Kennedy _____
6. Carl E. Sanders _____
7. Elijah Muhammad _____
8. Harry S. Truman _____
9. Mao Tse Tung _____
10. Ralph Bunche _____
11. Jesse Hill _____
12. Richard B. Russell _____
13. J. Ernest Wilkins _____

(Continued on next page)

27. *(Continued)*

Who Is (Or Was)

15. Samuel W. Williams _____
16. Leroy Johnson _____
17. Howard Moore _____
18. Bill Russell _____
19. Ray Charles _____
20. Stokely Carmichael _____
21. Muhammad Ali _____
22. John Letson _____
23. Lillian Smith _____
24. Marian Anderson _____
25. Lester Maddox _____
26. Fidel Castro _____
27. Ivan Allen, Jr. _____
28. Adlai E. Stevenson _____
29. Thurgood Marshall _____
30. Adam Clayton Powell _____
31. Lou Rawls _____
32. T. M. Alexander, Sr. _____
33. Martin Luther King, Jr. _____
34. Sojourner Truth _____
35. W. E. B. Dubois _____
36. Gale Sayers _____
37. Bob Dylan _____
38. Booker T. Washington _____
39. William Holmes Borders _____

28. Please list the places you most frequently go for cultural activities (Music, art, reading, drama, etc.)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

29. Please list the places you most frequently go for recreational activities (sports, other exercise, etc.)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

30. Please list the places you most frequently go for entertainment or just general fun.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

May we thank you for the help you have given us. If there is anything else you would like to say please do so in the space below.

IMPORTANT! PLEASE READ.

Would it be possible to talk to you individually? Yes_____

No _____

If yes, would you give us your name, address and telephone number so that we will be able to contact you.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone No. _____

When is the best time to contact you?_____

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1968

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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The figures presented herein were accumulated during the summer and late summer of 1968. While they do not represent the final registration figures for the November elections, the difference is not expected to be large. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources---public and private, official and unofficial.

For four states---Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia---complete or near-complete county-by-county figures showing white and Negro registration were not available. For these four states statewide estimates have been made, based on the best information obtainable.

In three states---Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia---there are large numbers of voters not registered by race. These have been divided between the white and Negro columns on the basis of VEP estimates.

In these three states, VEP figures are cumulative and do not reflect names removed from voters lists because of purging. This is likely to result in inflated totals, particularly in white registration, in some counties. Also, population figures are based on the 1960 census, and thus registration figures might exceed population figures in counties that have experienced considerable growth.

Statistics for this booklet were prepared by Mrs. Michael H. Chanin of the VEP staff.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

NEGRO-WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SPRING-SUMMER, 1968

STATE	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alabama	1,353,058	481,320	1,117,000*	273,000*	82.5	56.7
Arkansas	850,643	192,626	640,000	130,000	75.2	67.5
Florida	2,617,438	470,261	2,195,000	292,000	83.8	62.1
Georgia	1,797,062	612,910	1,524,000	344,000	84.7	56.1
Louisiana	1,289,216	514,589	1,133,000	305,000	87.9	59.3
Mississippi	748,266	422,256	691,000	251,000	92.4	59.4
North Carolina	2,005,955	550,929	1,579,000	305,000	78.7	55.3
South Carolina	895,147	371,873	587,000	189,000	65.6	50.8
Tennessee	1,779,018	313,873	1,448,000	228,000	81.3	72.6
Texas	4,884,765	649,512	3,532,000	540,000	72.3	83.1
Virginia	1,876,167	436,720	1,256,000	255,000	67.0	58.4
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	15,702,000	3,112,000	78.1	62.0

* Reflects estimates more recent than figures in county-by-county table.

NOTE: Voting-age population figures are from the 1960 census.

A L A B A M A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Autauga	6,353	3,651	8,197	2,526	100+	69.1
Baldwin	22,236	4,527	21,831	1,435	98.1	31.6
Barbour	7,338	5,787	10,540	3,830	100+	66.1
Bibb	5,807	1,190	8,345	1,021	100+	85.7
Blount	14,368	378	14,520	179	100+	47.3
Bullock	2,387	4,450	3,583	3,203	100+	71.9
Butler	8,363	4,820	8,359	1,898	99.9	39.3
Calhoun	44,739	9,036	35,196	4,520	78.6	50.0
Chambers	15,369	6,497	12,557	1,610	81.7	24.7
Cherokee	8,537	752	9,966	486	100+	62.1
Chilton	12,861	1,947	16,734	890	100+	45.7
Choctaw	5,192	3,982	6,131	3,073	100+	77.1
Clarke	7,899	5,833	10,936	2,737	100+	46.9
Clay	6,470	926	9,014	429	100+	46.3
Cleburne	5,870	385	7,700	174	100+	45.1
Coffee	14,221	2,985	12,120	1,069	85.2	35.8
Colbert	21,680	4,575	22,452	3,038	100+	66.4
Conecuh	5,907	3,635	5,917	2,122	100+	58.3
Coosa	4,201	1,794	5,942	1,120	100+	62.4
Covington	18,446	2,876	17,435	1,086	94.5	37.7

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Crenshaw	6,310	2,207	6,726	1,332	100+	60.4
Cullman	25,848	285	26,320	126	100+	44.2
Dale	14,861	2,743	12,718	1,516	85.5	55.3
Dallas	14,400	15,115	13,848	10,859	96.2	71.8
DeKalb	23,878	441	27,530	230	100+	52.1
Elmore	12,510	4,808	16,838	3,027	100+	62.9
Escambia	12,779	5,685	17,312	2,322	100+	40.8
Etowah	48,565	7,661	44,718	4,294	92.1	56.1
Fayette	8,277	1,291	9,829	763	100+	59.1
Franklin	12,412	645	14,330	739	100+	100+
Geneva	11,357	1,606	11,263	646	99.2	40.2
Greene	1,649	5,001	2,102	3,988	100+	79.7
Hale	3,594	5,999	4,517	4,109	100+	68.4
Henry	5,165	3,168	6,992	2,054	100+	64.8
Houston	22,095	6,899	16,865	1,951	76.3	28.3
Jackson	19,298	1,175	19,334	680	100+	57.8
Jefferson	256,319	116,160	190,415	64,424	74.3	55.5
Lamar	7,503	1,027	10,238	395	100+	38.5
Lauderdale	31,089	3,726	20,473	1,481	65.8	39.7
Lawrence	10,509	2,471	15,084	1,352	100+	54.7
Lee	17,547	8,913	15,281	3,469	87.1	38.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Limestone	16,173	3,579	15,072	1,339	93.2	37.4
Lowndes	1,900	5,122	2,929	3,189	100+	62.2
Macon	2,818	11,886	5,146	5,704	100+	48.0
Madison	54,516	10,666	48,786	8,984	89.5	84.2
Marengo	6,104	7,791	7,637	5,855	100+	75.2
Marion	12,656	403	16,812	270	100+	66.9
Marshall	26,997	637	18,632	208	69.0	32.6
Mobile	121,589	50,793	114,299	32,506	94.0	64.0
Monroe	6,631	4,894	8,577	2,577	100+	52.6
Montgomery	62,911	33,056	46,716	19,768	75.4	59.8
Morgan	30,955	4,159	29,469	1,423	95.1	34.2
Perry	3,441	5,202	5,648	3,907	100+	75.1
Pickens	7,336	4,373	7,698	1,769	100+	40.5
Pike	9,126	5,259	12,268	3,467	100+	65.9
Randolph	9,196	2,366	10,666	1,245	100+	52.6
Russell	13,761	10,531	13,476	4,292	97.9	40.8
St. Clair	12,244	2,035	11,938	1,002	97.5	49.2
Shelby	14,771	2,889	13,686	1,462	92.5	50.6
Sumter	3,061	6,814	3,921	3,451	100+	50.6
Talladega	25,635	9,333	22,937	4,360	89.4	46.7
Tallapoosa	15,310	4,999	18,624	2,272	100+	45.4
Tuscaloosa	47,076	15,332	31,889	6,123	67.7	39.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walker	28,148	2,890	27,913	1,465	99.2	50.6
Washington	5,293	2,297	8,155	1,527	100+	66.5
Wilcox	2,624	6,085	3,854	3,800	100+	62.4
Winston	8,559	47	11,557	40	100+	85.1
TOTALS	1,353,058	481,320	1,268,513	268,208	93.7	55.7

F L O R I D A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alachua	30,555	9,898	25,534	5,081	83.6	51.3
Baker	3,203	807	3,458	595	100+	73.7
Bay	31,940	4,964	22,747	3,033	71.2	61.1
Bradford	5,580	1,345	4,608	896	82.6	66.6
Brevard	58,433	6,494	81,098	4,647	100+	71.6
Broward	189,517	27,009	199,923	20,524	100+	76.0
Calhoun	3,434	582	3,674	366	100+	62.9
Charlotte	8,659	427	12,483	349	100+	81.7
Citrus	5,174	829	7,663	618	100+	74.5
Clay	9,508	1,276	9,200	1,002	96.8	78.5
Collier	8,163	1,364	9,719	713	100+	52.3
Columbia	8,092	3,122	9,240	2,516	100+	80.6
Dade	537,448	75,573	367,730	55,393	68.4	73.3
De Soto	6,339	1,343	4,020	847	63.4	63.1
Dixie	2,138	363	2,981	396	100+	100+
Duval	203,804	58,430	143,664	39,581	70.5	67.7
Escambia	76,688	18,041	59,511	12,593	77.6	69.8
Flagler	1,789	846	1,853	372	100+	44.0
Franklin	3,186	779	3,477	531	100+	68.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Gadsden	11,711	12,261	6,655	4,610	56.8	37.6
Gilchrist	1,513	154	1,855	86	100+	55.8
Glades	1,061	741	1,193	234	100+	31.6
Gulf	4,196	1,138	3,861	693	92.0	60.9
Hamilton	2,486	1,621	2,899	1,033	100+	63.7
Hardee	6,734	552	5,125	308	76.1	55.8
Hendry	3,430	1,180	3,533	820	100+	69.5
Hernando	5,689	1,151	5,832	769	100+	66.8
Highlands	10,997	2,251	10,998	1,497	100+	66.5
Hillsborough	213,950	31,114	171,916	21,734	80.4	69.8
Holmes	6,131	249	6,465	179	100+	71.9
Indian River	13,182	2,637	11,852	1,466	89.9	55.6
Jackson	14,087	5,390	11,349	3,207	80.6	59.5
Jefferson	2,383	2,600	2,410	1,494	100+	57.5
Lafayette	1,536	152	1,791	138	100+	90.8
Lake	30,535	6,438	24,439	2,258	80.0	35.1
Lee	30,636	4,677	35,427	2,685	100+	57.4
Leon	28,241	12,322	26,599	6,902	94.2	56.0
Levy	4,483	1,568	4,294	595	95.8	37.9
Liberty	1,525	240	1,940	211	100+	87.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Madison	4,380	3,067	4,516	2,072	100+	67.6
Manatee	42,291	5,278	35,132	2,604	83.1	49.3
Marion	21,001	9,283	20,194	5,237	96.2	56.4
Martin	9,291	1,753	9,775	1,340	100+	77.2
Monroe	25,512	2,919	15,906	1,723	62.3	59.0
Nassau	7,054	2,076	6,056	1,498	85.8	72.2
Okaloosa	30,816	2,097	23,569	1,073	76.5	51.2
Okeechobee	2,870	533	3,203	429	100+	80.5
Orange	137,780	21,771	97,588	8,893	70.8	40.8
Osceola	11,697	1,122	10,780	665	92.2	59.3
Palm Beach	119,342	29,541	113,683	18,605	95.3	63.0
Pasco	22,329	2,391	27,462	855	100+	35.8
Pinellas	255,369	18,121	222,350	10,694	87.1	59.0
Polk	97,314	19,224	74,234	8,896	76.3	46.3
Putnam	13,095	5,089	9,852	1,949	75.2	38.3
St. Johns	13,771	4,331	10,400	1,957	75.5	45.2
St. Lucie	17,238	6,527	15,962	4,020	92.6	61.6
Santa Rosa	14,710	1,082	13,186	726	89.6	67.1
Sarasota	49,533	4,125	46,266	1,782	93.4	43.2
Seminole	24,372	7,050	20,188	3,160	82.8	44.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Sumter	5,396	1,523	5,177	1,039	95.9	68.2
Suwannee	6,409	2,149	5,972	1,009	93.2	47.0
Taylor	5,454	1,724	5,961	1,090	100+	63.2
Union	2,880	1,082	1,930	263	67.0	24.3
Volusia	74,209	11,615	66,526	7,167	89.6	61.7
Wakulla	2,120	753	2,650	694	100+	92.2
Walton	7,958	1,086	7,839	751	98.5	69.2
Washington	5,364	1,021	5,799	883	100+	86.5
TOTALS	2,617,438	470,261	2,195,172	292,046	83.8	62.1

G E O R G I A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Appling	5,862	1,401	7,649	1,361	100+	97.1
Atkinson	2,486	812	3,202	806	100+	99.3
Bacon	4,203	536	4,694	305	100+	56.9
Baker	1,139	1,285	1,626	955	100+	74.3
Baldwin	16,109	9,234	7,169	2,304	44.5	24.9
Banks	3,850	213	3,827	81	99.4	38.0
Barrow	7,865	1,332	6,831	504	86.8	37.8
Bartow	14,942	2,393	14,434	1,573	96.6	65.7
Ben Hill	5,931	2,436	3,827	1,158	64.5	47.5
Berrien	6,179	964	5,977	854	96.7	88.5
Bibb	60,429	26,812	46,329	17,722	76.7	66.1
Bleckley	4,528	1,380	4,793	309	100+	22.4
Brantley	2,854	384	4,047	378	100+	98.4
Brooks	5,059	3,711	3,668	959	72.5	25.8
Bryan	2,289	1,111	2,335	1,165	100+	100+
Bulloch	10,101	4,337	9,039	2,305	89.4	53.1
Burke	4,358	6,600	4,460	2,847	100+	43.1
Butts	3,195	2,099	4,314	1,011	100+	48.1
Calhoun	1,654	2,393	1,939	674	100+	28.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Camden	3,447	2,059	3,928	1,924	100+	93.4
Candler	2,714	1,200	2,516	839	92.7	69.9
Carroll	19,234	3,595	14,885	2,444	77.3	67.9
Catoosa	12,370	172	12,763	100	100+	58.1
Charlton	2,077	810	2,319	453	100+	55.9
Chatham	78,118	37.563	58,345	22,526	74.6	59.9
Chattahoochee	8,061	1,830	510	131	6.3	7.2
Chattooga	11,460	1,025	9,683	1,034	84.5	100+
Cherokee	13,964	517	14,114	1,127	100+	100+
Clarke	23,895	6,740	15,430	5,032	64.5	74.6
Clay	1,130	1,441	1,241	608	100+	42.1
Clayton	23,996	2,456	22,275	958	92.8	39.0
Clinch	2,373	1,256	2,519	387	100+	30.8
Cobb	63,291	4,568	63,203	2,500	99.9	54.7
Coffee	9,682	2,977	12,027	1,749	100+	58.7
Colquitt	15,982	4,081	13,204	2,350	82.6	57.6
Columbia	5,096	2,364	5,556	1,036	100+	43.8
Cook	5,213	1,755	5,500	1,033	100+	58.8
Coweta	11,891	5,579	11,348	3,524	95.4	63.1
Crawford	1,596	1,611	1,629	784	100+	48.7
Crisp	6,451	3,858	6,674	1,984	100+	51.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Dade	4,803	70	4,242	60	88.3	85.7
Dawson	2,148	1	2,373	0	100+	0
Decatur	9,070	5,515	10,605	1,235	100+	22.3
DeKalb	148,167	12,407	139,812	9,412	94.3	75.8
Dodge	7,392	2,328	7,013	1,871	94.9	80.4
Dooly	3,581	2,866	3,890	1,656	100+	57.7
Dougherty	29,897	14,163	15,848	7,351	53.0	51.9
Douglas	8,595	1,268	9,610	1,286	100+	100+
Early	4,013	3,277	4,205	984	100+	30.0
Echols	832	246	877	24	100+	9.7
Effingham	4,008	1,756	4,205	645	100+	36.7
Elbert	7,752	3,127	7,325	1,338	94.4	42.7
Emanuel	7,627	3,005	7,245	2,053	94.9	68.3
Evans	2,738	1,308	2,896	765	100+	58.4
Fannin	8,111	31	8,494	18	100+	58.1
Fayette	3,585	1,190	3,097	100	86.4	84.0
Floyd	38,230	5,949	28,111	2,810	73.5	47.2
Forsyth	7,328	4	6,539	0	89.2	0
Franklin	7,611	776	7,822	747	100+	96.2
Fulton	247,892	117,049	176,382	73,554	71.2	62.8
Gilmer	5,431	7	5,300	3	97.6	42.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Glascock	1,281	351	1,395	22	100+	6.2
Glynn	18,750	6,762	8,857	3,019	47.7	44.6
Gordon	11,441	669	11,107	720	97.1	100+
Grady	7,205	3,364	6,234	1,448	86.5	43.0
Greene	3,565	2,998	3,585	2,779	100+	92.6
Gwinnett	24,299	1,841	24,711	1,652	100+	89.7
Habersham	10,676	518	7,827	522	73.3	100+
Hall	27,726	2,789	18,175	1,274	65.5	45.6
Hancock	1,727	3,576	1,852	2,781	100+	77.8
Haralson	8,571	642	7,679	376	90.0	58.5
Harris	3,310	3,102	4,139	1,375	100+	44.3
Hart	7,382	1,832	6,155	446	83.4	24.3
Heard	2,661	590	3,155	383	100+	64.9
Henry	6,429	3,539	8,937	3,251	100+	91.8
Houston	17,742	4,228	14,708	2,335	82.8	55.2
Irwin	3,759	1,602	4,476	1,555	100+	97.0
Jackson	10,228	1,309	8,635	795	84.4	60.7
Jasper	1,925	1,705	2,371	900	100+	52.7
Jeff Davis	4,116	909	5,779	601	100+	66.1
Jefferson	4,937	4,780	4,524	2,623	91.6	54.9
Jenkins	2,985	2,210	2,663	940	89.2	42.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Johnson	3,455	1,261	3,528	745	100+	59.0
Jones	2,655	2,185	2,850	1,283	100+	58.7
Lamar	4,078	2,118	4,087	1,153	100+	54.4
Lanier	2,158	756	1,915	423	88.7	56.0
Laurens	13,178	6,248	14,510	4,848	100+	77.6
Lee	1,427	1,795	1,918	997	100+	55.5
Liberty	5,310	3,176	2,950	2,594	55.6	81.7
Lincoln	1,974	1,336	2,346	650	100+	48.6
Long	1,527	635	2,347	1,130	100+	100+
Lowndes	20,746	8,459	13,096	2,835	63.1	33.5
Lumpkin	4,500	74	4,582	111	100+	100+
McDuffie	4,625	2,740	4,708	1,245	100+	45.4
McIntosh	1,643	1,823	1,680	2,017	100+	100+
Macon	3,171	4,077	3,734	1,831	100+	44.9
Madison	5,962	989	4,957	269	83.1	27.1
Marion	1,353	1,609	1,649	296	100+	18.4
Meriwether	6,547	4,990	5,971	2,075	91.2	41.5
Miller	3,095	946	1,705	193	55.0	20.4
Mitchell	6,055	4,971	6,012	1,535	99.2	30.8
Monroe	3,607	2,652	3,724	1,498	100+	56.5
Montgomery	2,520	1,288	2,999	1,043	100+	81.0

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Morgan	3,415	2,469	1,763	1,176	51.6	47.6
Murray	6,209	51	6,210	25	100+	49.0
Muscogee	74,662	22,549	43,149	10,988	57.8	48.7
Newton	9,045	3,767	7,374	2,086	81.5	55.3
Oconee	3,228	681	3,008	155	93.2	22.8
Oglethorpe	2,964	1,709	3,114	476	100+	27.9
Paulding	7,353	603	8,052	578	100+	95.8
Peach	3,650	4,562	3,206	1,887	87.8	41.3
Pickens	5,264	251	6,290	206	100+	82.0
Pierce	4,432	1,135	4,839	697	100+	61.4
Pike	2,584	1,643	2,698	741	100+	45.1
Polk	15,065	2,443	13,033	1,809	86.5	74.0
Pulaski	3,018	1,843	3,436	632	100+	34.2
Putnam	2,297	2,204	2,519	1,012	100+	45.9
Quitman	581	707	718	213	100+	30.1
Rabun	4,392	43	4,701	47	100+	100+
Randolph	2,878	3,663	2,665	1,266	92.6	34.6
Richmond	61,315	24,785	40,443	14,392	66.0	58.1
Rockdale	4,708	1,512	5,174	916	100+	60.5
Schley	961	903	1,180	341	100+	37.8
Screven	4,557	3,729	4,395	2,882	96.4	77.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Seminole	2,648	1,255	3,833	446	100+	35.5
Spalding	16,657	5,252	13,081	3,418	78.5	65.0
Stephens	9,975	1,355	8,136	826	81.5	60.9
Stewart	1,465	2,681	1,741	796	100+	29.8
Sumter	7,730	6,710	8,784	3,218	100+	47.9
Talbot	1,437	2,507	1,529	686	100+	24.4
Taliaferro	917	1,073	1,072	1,192	100+	100+
Tattnall	7,377	3,135	6,746	3,039	91.4	96.9
Taylor	2,767	2,004	2,901	679	100+	33.9
Telfair	4,938	2,087	4,624	1,308	93.6	62.7
Terrell	3,038	4,057	3,465	2,252	100+	55.5
Thomas	13,179	7,644	9,507	3,113	72.1	40.7
Tift	10,211	3,513	8,284	1,742	81.1	49.5
Toombs	7,515	2,444	7,366	1,055	98.0	43.2
Towns	2,942	1	2,600	0	88.3	0
Treutlen	2,473	968	2,172	627	87.8	64.8
Troup	20,579	8,577	13,838	2,974	67.2	34.6
Turner	3,422	1,535	3,068	627	89.6	40.8
Twiggs	1,969	2,255	1,965	1,041	99.8	46.2
Union	3,957	1	3,500	0	88.4	0
Upson	11,759	3,615	7,097	1,016	60.3	28.1
Walker	26,511	1,388	33,686	1,229	100+	88.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walton	9,392	3,076	7,049	1,479	75.0	48.1
Ware	15,674	4,763	13,761	2,840	87.8	59.6
Warren	1,911	2,224	2,009	1,452	100+	65.3
Washington	5,375	5,451	5,686	2,311	100+	42.4
Wayne	8,204	1,878	8,269	1,366	100+	72.7
Webster	775	975	884	266	100+	27.2
Wheeler	2,236	824	2,229	759	99.7	92.1
White	4,047	169	4,876	238	100+	100+
Whitfield	24,437	1,085	20,976	1,055	85.8	97.2
Wilcox	3,309	1,282	3,995	628	100+	48.9
Wilkes	3,621	3,101	3,736	1,092	100+	35.2
Wilkinson	3,135	2,279	3,483	1,088	100+	47.7
Worth	6,324	3,776	5,593	1,038	88.4	27.4
TOTALS	1,797,062	612,910	1,523,560	343,695	84.7	56.1

L O U I S I A N A

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Acadia	22,399	4,557	21,841	4,202	97.5	92.2
Allen	8,357	2,310	8,346	2,066	99.9	89.4
Ascension	10,110	4,171	11,429	3,356	100+	80.5
Assumption	5,877	3,237	5,637	2,253	95.9	69.6
Avoyelles	15,845	4,717	14,284	2,958	90.1	62.7
Beauregard	8,682	2,145	8,679	1,284	99.9	59.9
Bienville	5,617	4,077	5,129	2,440	91.3	59.8
Bossier	23,696	6,847	16,136	3,338	68.1	48.8
Caddo	87,774	41,749	66,058	21,206	75.2	50.8
Calcasieu	62,987	14,924	48,719	9,788	77.3	65.6
Caldwell	3,843	1,161	4,388	789	100+	68.0
Cameron	3,642	239	3,462	233	95.1	97.5
Catahoula	4,110	1,919	4,632	1,031	100+	53.7
Claiborne	6,415	5,032	5,265	2,154	82.1	42.8
Concordia	5,963	4,582	7,232	2,957	100+	64.5
DeSoto	6,543	6,753	6,447	5,168	98.5	76.5
E. Baton Rouge	87,985	36,908	82,319	20,964	93.6	56.8
E. Carroll	2,990	4,183	3,084	3,023	100+	72.3
E. Feliciana	7,043	6,081	3,515	2,440	49.9	40.1
Evangeline	13,652	3,342	14,348	3,957	100+	100+
Franklin	8,954	4,433	8,677	797	96.9	18.0

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Grant	6,080	1,553	6,503	1,093	100+	70.4
Iberia	20,200	7,165	19,703	5,984	97.5	83.5
Iberville	8,733	7,060	8,597	6,013	98.4	85.2
Jackson	6,607	2,535	6,344	1,882	96.0	74.2
Jefferson	98,103	14,970	99,828	10,024	100+	67.0
Jefferson Davis	12,892	2,881	10,985	2,007	85.2	70.0
Lafayette	35,513	9,473	36,334	7,040	100+	74.3
Lafourche	25,737	3,078	26,780	2,390	100+	77.6
LaSalle	6,799	849	7,570	747	100+	88.0
Lincoln	9,611	5,723	9,054	2,572	94.2	44.9
Livingston	12,306	1,818	16,133	1,702	100+	93.6
Madison	3,334	5,181	3,710	3,815	100+	73.6
Morehouse	10,311	7,208	9,089	2,054	88.1	28.5
Natchitoches	11,328	7,444	11,228	5,301	99.1	71.2
Orleans	257,495	125,752	151,824	59,260	59.0	47.1
Ouachita	40,185	16,377	33,012	8,155	82.2	49.8
Plaquemines	8,633	2,897	10,838	1,448	100+	50.0
Pointe Coupee	6,085	5,273	5,881	4,457	96.6	84.5
Rapides	44,823	18,141	36,216	9,238	80.8	50.9
Red River	3,294	2,181	3,813	1,518	100+	69.6

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Richland	7,601	4,608	6,910	1,170	90.9	25.4
Sabine	8,251	2,143	8,835	1,406	100+	65.6
St. Bernard	15,836	1,105	22,302	833	100+	75.4
St. Charles	8,117	2,621	9,078	2,675	100+	100+
St. Helena	2,363	2,082	2,813	2,025	100+	97.3
St. James	4,892	3,964	5,044	3,297	100+	83.2
St. John	4,982	4,279	5,580	4,031	100+	94.2
St. Landry	25,550	14,982	23,835	12,765	93.3	85.2
St. Martin	9,781	4,664	10,910	4,622	100+	99.1
St. Mary	17,991	7,176	18,831	5,678	100+	79.1
St. Tammany	16,032	5,038	23,716	3,648	100+	72.4
Tangipahoa	22,311	9,401	21,606	5,955	96.8	63.3
Tensas	2,287	3,533	2,256	1,186	98.6	63.8
Terrebonne	24,393	5,464	22,051	2,855	90.4	52.2
Union	7,021	3,006	7,000	1,762	99.7	58.6
Vermilion	19,710	2,429	19,872	2,540	100+	100+
Vernon	9,279	1,268	11,362	837	100+	66.0
Washington	16,804	6,821	16,298	3,822	97.0	56.0
Webster	15,713	7,045	13,565	3,806	86.3	54.0
W. Baton Rouge	3,974	3,502	4,668	2,616	100+	74.7

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
W. Carroll	6,171	1,389	5,554	397	90.0	28.6
W. Feliciana	2,814	4,553	1,796	2,054	63.8	45.1
Winn	6,790	2,590	6,494	1,517	95.6	58.6
TOTALS	1,289,216	514,589	1,133,445	304,601	87.9	59.2

M I S S I S S I P P I

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Adams	10,888	9,340	7,769	4,576	71.4	49.0
Alcorn	13,347	1,756	9,524	2,226	71.4	100+
Amite	4,449	3,560	4,247	2,347	95.4	65.9
Attala	7,522	4,262	7,579	2,625	100+	61.6
Benton	2,514	1,419	2,894	1,195	100+	84.2
Bolivar	10,031	15,939	7,086	8,449	70.6	53.0
Calhoun	7,188	1,767	6,013	1,368	83.6	77.4
Carroll	2,969	2,704	3,248	1,984	100+	73.4
Chickasaw	6,388	3,054	7,526	2,387	100+	78.2
Choctaw	3,728	1,105	4,339	729	100+	66.0
Claiborne	1,688	3,969	1,895	3,150	100+	79.4
Clarke	6,072	2,988	5,791	763	95.3	25.5
Clay	5,547	4,444	3,524	1,481	63.5	33.3
Coahoma	8,708	14,604	7,884	9,833	90.5	67.3
Copiah	8,153	6,407	8,655	4,292	100+	67.0
Covington	5,329	2,032	5,201	1,054	97.7	51.9
De Soto	5,338	6,246	7,222	2,869	100+	45.9
Forrest	22,431	7,495	21,149	5,049	94.3	67.4
Franklin	3,403	1,842	3,135	1,201	92.1	65.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
George	5,276	580	6,509	317	100+	54.7
Greene	3,518	859	5,374	516	100+	60.1
Grenada	5,792	4,323	7,602	2,547	100+	58.9
Hancock	6,813	1,129	7,438	732	100+	64.8
Harrison	55,094	9,670	24,006	11,885	43.6	100+
Hinds	67,836	36,138	65,773	25,758	97.0	71.3
Holmes	4,773	8,757	5,539	6,409	100+	73.2
Humphreys	3,344	5,561	3,049	2,684	91.2	48.3
Issaquena	640	1,081	877	651	100+	60.2
Itawamba	8,523	463	10,715	455	100+	98.3
Jackson	24,447	5,113	17,313	6,067	70.8	100+
Jasper	5,327	3,675	4,963	2,024	93.2	55.1
Jefferson	1,666	3,540	1,913	2,061	100+	58.2
Jefferson Davis	3,629	3,222	3,435	1,885	94.7	58.5
Jones	25,943	7,427	12,677	3,347	48.9	45.1
Kemper	3,113	3,221	3,479	938	100+	29.1
Lafayette	8,074	3,239	5,235	2,133	64.8	65.8
Lamar	6,489	1,071	8,511	990	100+	92.4
Lauderdale	27,806	11,924	22,281	5,832	80.1	48.9
Lawrence	3,878	1,720	3,981	1,844	100+	100+
Leake	6,754	3,397	7,290	2,194	100+	64.0

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Lee	18,709	5,130	15,505	1,980	82.9	38.6
Leflore	10,274	13,567	8,220	9,910	80.0	73.0
Lincoln	11,072	3,913	13,038	3,000	100+	76.7
Lowndes	16,460	8,362	12,672	2,785	77.0	33.0
Madison	5,622	10,366	6,287	7,042	100+	67.9
Marion	8,997	3,630	12,109	2,523	100+	69.5
Marshall	4,342	7,168	5,672	4,628	100+	64.6
Monroe	13,426	5,610	13,596	2,337	100+	41.6
Montgomery	4,700	2,627	5,129	1,952	100+	74.3
Neshoba	9,143	2,565	7,368	2,274	80.6	88.6
Newton	8,014	3,018	7,154	1,411	89.3	46.8
Noxubee	2,997	5,172	2,975	2,692	99.3	52.0
Oktibbeha	8,423	4,952	6,379	3,421	75.7	69.1
Panola	7,639	7,250	7,688	4,045	100+	55.8
Pearl River	9,765	2,473	13,463	1,223	100+	49.4
Perry	3,515	1,140	4,276	709	100+	62.2
Pike	12,163	6,936	11,479	3,610	94.4	52.0
Pontotoc	8,772	1,519	6,689	569	76.3	37.5
Prentiss	9,535	1,070	11,960	855	100+	79.8
Quitman	4,176	5,673	4,088	2,708	97.9	47.7

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Rankin	13,246	6,944	12,721	2,445	96.0	35.2
Scott	7,742	3,752	8,875	1,586	100+	42.3
Sharkey	1,882	3,152	6.324	1,582	100+	50.2
Simpson	8,055	3,186	8,787	2,140	100+	67.2
Smith	6,597	1,293	7,607	760	100+	58.8
Stone	2,965	868	3,373	632	100+	72.8
Sunflower	8,785	13,524	7,513	5,665	85.5	41.9
Tallahatchie	5,099	6,483	5,629	3,412	100+	52.6
Tate	4,506	4,326	4,823	2,295	100+	53.1
Tippah	7,513	1,281	8,393	693	100+	54.1
Tishomingo	8,068	359	8,844	231	100+	64.3
Tunica	2,011	5,822	2,122	2,179	100+	37.4
Union	9,512	1,626	8,521	408	89.6	25.1
Walthall	4,536	2,490	4,883	1,853	100+	74.4
Warren	13,530	10,726	14,222	6,735	100+	62.8
Washington	19.837	20,619	15,340	9,056	77.3	43.9
Wayne	5,881	2,556	7.265	1,225	100+	47.9
Webster	4,993	1,174	6,019	1,132	100+	96.4
Wilkinson	2,340	4,120	3,321	2,728	100+	66.2
Winston	6,808	3,611	5,327	728	78.2	20.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Yalobusha	4,572	2,441	4,562	1,329	99.8	54.4
Yazoo	7,598	8,719	8,759	3,442	100+	39.5
TOTALS	748,266	422,256	691,618	250,777	92.4	59.4

N O R T H C A R O L I N A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alamance	42,755	7,429	39,468	5,429	92.3	73.1
Alexander	8,370	506	7,069	293	84.5	57.9
Alleghany	4,588	119	6,852	69	100+	58.0
Anson	7,847	5,218	6,800	2,000	86.7	38.3
Ashe	11,276	115	13,615	39	100+	33.9
Avery	6,507	124	6,124	15	94.1	12.1
Beaufort	13,737	6,196	10,203	2,501	74.3	40.4
Bertie	6,156	6,261	6,279	4,689	100+	74.9
Bladen	9,173	5,147	6,532	2,392	71.2	46.5
Brunswick	7,602	3,170	11,000	1,800	100+	56.8
Buncombe	72,249	8,510	46,030	4,018	63.7	47.2
Burke	29,506	1,921	19,185	1,258	65.0	65.5
Cabarrus	35,165	5,380	22,324	1,718	63.5	31.9
Caldwell	25,520	1,723	23,286	1,958	91.2	100+
Camden	1,988	1,054	1,928	557	97.0	52.8
Carteret	16,030	1,932	13,113	1,180	81.8	61.1
Caswell	6,026	4,129	5,423	2,039	90.0	49.4
Catawba	38,542	3,296	26,014	4,591	67.5	100+
Chatham	11,227	4,026	12,267	1,872	100+	46.5
Cherokee	9,102	226	9,296	191	100+	84.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Chowan	3,825	2,507	2,776	1,032	72.6	41.2
Clay	3,112	37	3,115	30	100+	81.1
Cleveland	30,356	6,474	21,285	3,188	70.1	49.2
Columbus	17,830	7,382	18,535	4,881	100+	66.1
Craven	22,994	8,242	11,034	3,665	48.0	44.5
Cumberland	58,279	18,789	24,823	7,722	42.6	41.1
Currituck	2,845	1,076	2,552	428	89.7	39.8
Dare	3,467	237	3,140	98	90.6	41.4
Davidson	41,462	4,491	37,699	3,486	90.9	77.7
Davie	8,898	1,080	6,459	615	72.6	56.9
Duplin	14,477	6,955	15,000	3,143	100+	45.2
Durham	47,098	19,475	34,329	14,559	70.8	74.8
Edgecombe	15,515	12,330	11,400	5,103	73.5	41.4
Forsyth	87,219	24,952	67,269	17,695	77.1	70.9
Franklin	9,842	5,554	7,787	2,690	79.1	48.4
Gaston	64,154	8,365	45,349	4,572	70.7	54.7
Gates	2,714	2,344	1,879	893	69.2	38.1
Graham	3,324	125	4,853	0	100+	0
Granville	11,584	6,996	10,295	3,162	88.9	45.2
Greene	4,793	3,268	3,940	1,558	82.2	47.7
Guilford	116,748	27,292	80,430	17,595	68.9	64.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Halifax	16,496	13,766	16,485	5,872	99.9	42.7
Hornett	20,061	6,150	13,060	990	65.1	16.1
Haywood	23,055	500	22,180	405	96.2	81.0
Henderson	21,062	1,170	19,362	649	91.9	55.5
Hertford	5,606	6,102	4,589	3,677	81.9	60.3
Hoke	3,998	3,747	2,833	2,221	70.9	59.3
Hyde	2,201	1,100	1,432	428	65.1	38.9
Iredell	31,094	5,517	25,419	3,244	81.7	58.8
Jackson	9,227	841	8,127	624	88.1	74.2
Johnston	28,259	6,395	24,356	2,883	86.2	45.1
Jones	3,248	2,251	2,221	1,191	68.4	52.9
Lee	12,041	2,803	12,026	1,992	99.9	71.1
Lenoir	19,260	10,293	16,850	4,707	87.5	45.7
Lincoln	14,893	1,546	10,679	793	71.7	51.3
Macon	8,573	180	8,945	101	100+	56.1
Madison	9,574	75	6,237	45	65.1	60.0
Martin	8,052	5,683	8,489	3,610	100+	63.5
McDowell	14,693	755	14,232	626	96.9	82.9
Mecklenburg	123,787	34,150	108,362	19,880	87.5	58.2
Mitchell	7,977	29	7,707	14	96.6	48.3
Montgomery	8,119	2,075	7,888	1,282	97.2	61.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Moore	15,733	4,803	10,242	1,770	65.1	37.0
Nash	21,761	10,573	16,541	5,466	76.0	51.7
New Hanover	31,641	10,569	20,400	4,686	64.5	44.3
Northampton	6,178	7,304	6,318	5,423	100+	74.2
Onslow	33,988	5,015	11,426	1,651	33.6	32.9
Orange	19,385	4,978	14,547	3,030	75.0	60.9
Pamlico	3,708	1,593	3,167	825	85.4	51.8
Pasquotank	9,409	4,936	5,577	1,870	59.3	37.9
Pender	5,631	4,085	3,961	1,511	70.3	37.0
Perquimans	3,083	2,027	2,301	1,142	74.6	56.3
Person	9,994	4,227	8,882	2,948	88.9	69.7
Pitt	22,621	13,575	17,455	6,165	77.2	45.4
Polk	6,104	766	8,643	876	100+	100+
Randolph	33,477	2,591	28,046	1,356	83.8	52.3
Richmond	16,019	5,514	12,844	3,758	80.2	68.2
Robeson	20,851	21,424	14,424	14,630	69.2	68.3
Rockingham	33,438	7,398	20,087	4,044	60.1	54.7
Rowan	42,866	7,209	27,029	3,372	63.1	46.8
Rutherford	24,020	2,572	23,890	1,727	99.5	67.1
Sampson	17,370	8,203	24,041	7,768	100+	94.7
Scotland	7,812	4,686	5,804	1,727	74.3	36.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Stanly	22,056	2,164	18,312	1,269	83.0	58.6
Stokes	11,786	1,025	9,000	1,000	76.5	97.6
Surry	26,796	1,423	17,158	724	64.0	50.9
Swain	3,878	756	2,780	254	71.7	33.6
Transylvania	8,687	405	8,680	447	99.9	100+
Tyrrell	1,597	849	1,133	451	71.8	53.1
Union	20,044	4,423	14,129	1,641	70.5	37.1
Vance	11,005	6,520	9,428	4,752	85.7	72.9
Wake	76,799	22,856	67,619	12,296	88.0	53.8
Warren	4,439	5,490	4,821	2,819	100+	51.3
Washington	4,365	2,643	4,252	1,761	97.4	66.6
Watauga	9,639	126	11,226	101	100+	80.2
Wayne	29,349	15,754	18,410	5,456	62.7	34.6
Wilkes	23,779	1,444	24,440	1,826	100+	100+
Wilson	20,566	10,770	13,638	3,473	66.3	32.2
Yadkin	13,039	576	11,180	354	85.7	51.5
Yancey	7,856	76	8,917	68	100+	89.5
TOTALS	2,005,955	550,929	1,578,984	304,405*	78.7	55.3

* Includes about 10,000 Indian voters previously listed as "non-white."

S O U T H C A R O L I N A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Abbeville	8,733	3,215	5,575	1,192	63.8	37.1
Aiken	33,646	10,040	22,554	4,209	67.0	41.9
Allendale	2,531	3,205	2,031	1,621	80.2	50.6
Anderson	47,542	9,598	22,826	2,720	48.0	28.3
Bamberg	4,371	3,807	3,617	1,938	82.7	50.9
Barnwell	5,652	3,242	5,264	2,142	93.1	66.1
Beaufort	12,098	7,247	5,454	4,328	45.1	59.7
Berkeley	10,122	7,619	10,095	5,612	99.7	73.6
Calhoun	2,623	3,318	2,041	1,421	77.8	42.8
Charleston	77,909	35,499	44,463	17,403	57.1	49.0
Cherokee	16,037	3,360	10,787	1,737	67.3	51.7
Chester	11,172	5,664	7,613	3,044	68.1	53.7
Chesterfield	12,099	5,219	9,978	3,209	82.5	61.5
Clarendon	5,223	7,735	5,218	4,648	99.9	60.1
Colleton	8,203	6,180	7,030	3,525	85.7	57.0
Darlington	16,706	9,900	11,879	4,676	71.1	47.2
Dillon	8,725	5,529	6,631	2,669	76.0	48.3
Dorchester	7,121	5,370	8,310	4,421	100+	82.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Edgefield	4,103	3,764	3,414	1,102	83.2	29.3
Fairfield	4,975	5,536	3,974	3,299	79.9	59.6
Florence	27,047	15,951	20,594	8,329	76 1	52.2
Georgetown	8,855	7,173	7,208	4,267	81.4	59.5
Greenville	102,365	18,605	56,629	8,408	55.3	45.2
Greenwood	19,218	6,764	13,169	2,570	68.5	38.0
Hampton	4,711	4,052	4,086	2,306	86.7	56.9
Horry	27,518	7,429	17,647	3,686	64.1	49.6
Jasper	2,689	3,333	2,057	1,575	76.5	47.2
Kershaw	11,258	5,903	8,667	2,449	77.0	41.5
Lancaster	16,213	4,762	13,408	2,582	82.7	54.2
Laurens	19,775	6,818	11,663	2,822	59.0	41.4
Lee	4,394	5,446	3,948	2,638	89.8	48.4
Lexington	28,774	4,782	22,409	2,923	77.9	61.1
McCormick	1,915	2,248	1,713	1,121	89.4	49.9
Marion	8,103	7,684	5,572	3,620	68.8	47.1
Marlboro	8,230	5,932	6,900	3,047	83.8	51.4
Newberry	12,204	4,954	9,021	2,090	73.9	42.2
Oconee	19,762	2,230	11,798	1,116	59.7	50.0
Orangeburg	16,381	17,355	13,744	11,671	83.9	67.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Pickens	24,015	2,356	14,100	1,084	58.7	46.0
Richland	79,050	32,670	43,985	18,549	55.6	56.8
Saluda	5,573	2,327	4,586	1,307	82.3	56.2
Spartanburg	73,317	17,047	48,743	6,877	66.5	40.3
Sumter	22,004	15,380	11,014	7,501	50.1	48.8
Union	12,826	4,125	10,602	2,024	82.7	49.1
Williamsburg	7,560	10,535	6,602	6,202	87.3	58.9
York	31,799	10,196	18,445	3,408	58.0	33.4
TOTALS	895,147	371,104	587,064	189,088	65.6	51.0

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NORTH CAROLINA
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

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THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT,
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INTRODUCTION

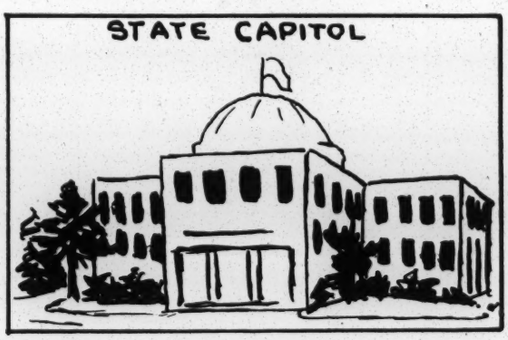
Voting power gives you a say-so in your city, county and state government. There is nothing secret about voting power. It comes about when you and others who share your views organize to get people to:

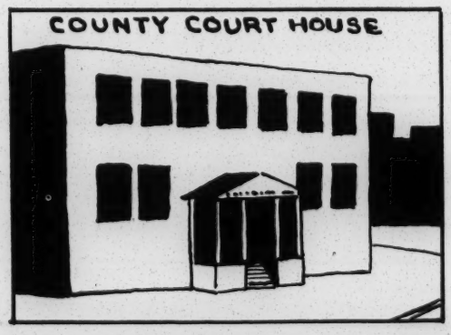
1. register to vote.
2. go to the polls on election day.

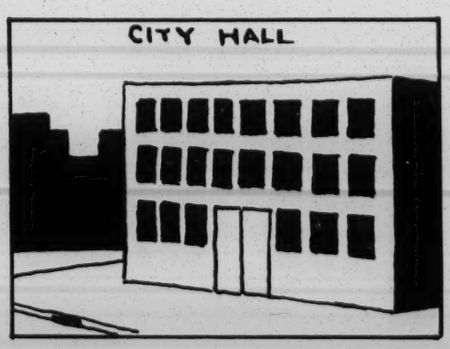
But to get voting power you must do more than just register and vote. You must learn and teach others how to use their voting power wisely. In order to use your voting power wisely, one of the things you need to know is how the government is set up.

This booklet explains some things about how government in North Carolina is set up. In North Carolina, as in other states, we have three kinds of government: city, county and state.

Everybody comes under the state government. It has more power than the other two. Everybody comes under a county government but only those people who live in a town or city come under city government.





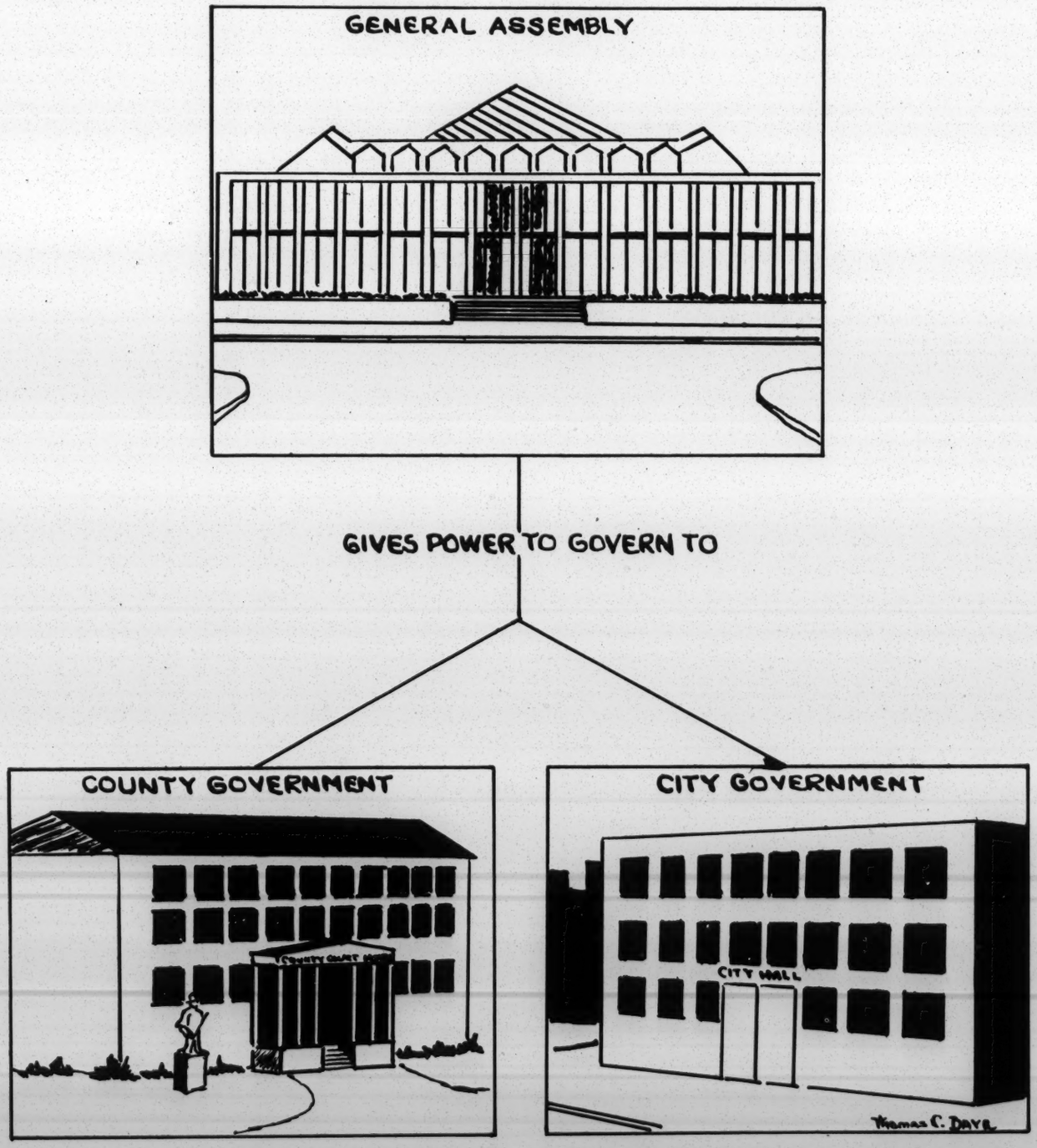


THOMAS C. DAYE

CITY AND COUNTY GOVERNMENTS GET THEIR POWER FROM THE STATE GOVERNMENT

The General Assembly, the state law-making body which meets in Raleigh, governs the state with the help of the city and county governments and other governing bodies. The General Assembly tells the city and county governments what kinds of jobs they can do. It gives the local government the power to do these jobs.

The General Assembly does not give all the 100 county governments exactly the same jobs and power. This is also true for city governments. Some cities in North Carolina have more power than others..



CITY GOVERNMENT

Town and city governments are called municipal governments. The main job of municipal governments is to provide services to the people who live in the towns and cities. Another job is to protect the people. Some of the jobs of the municipal governments are to:

- Provide police and fire protection.
- Build and keep up the streets.
- Provide street lighting and sidewalks.
- Pick up garbage.
- Inspect buildings and houses to make sure they are safe.
- Build and maintain a water and sewage system and other public works, such as playgrounds, community centers, libraries and housing.
- Plan for the growth of the city.

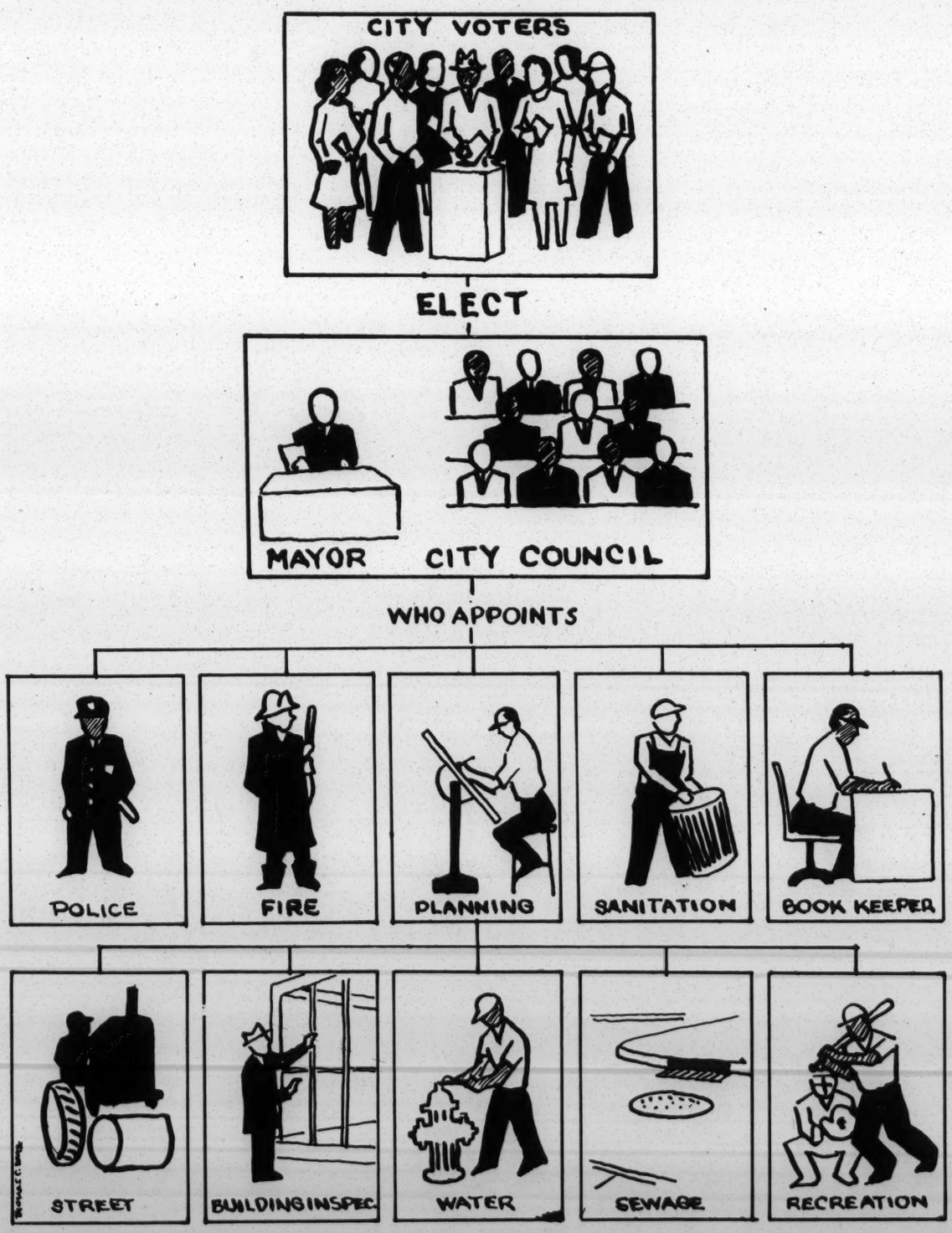
In order to do these jobs, municipal governments have certain powers. Some of these powers are to:

- Plan the spending of city money.
- Collect property taxes and other taxes.
- Appoint heads of departments, such as police chief, fire chief and head of water department, who, in turn, hire and fire other city workers.
- Pass ordinances (laws) about municipal affairs — local speed and parking laws, rules about garbage collection, rules about how and where buildings and houses can be built, and so on.

There are two major forms of municipal government in the state: the council-manager form and the mayor-council form. All cities with more than 10,000 people have the manager-council form. Most towns and cities with over 5,000 people have the manager-council form. Most of the smaller towns have the mayor-council form.

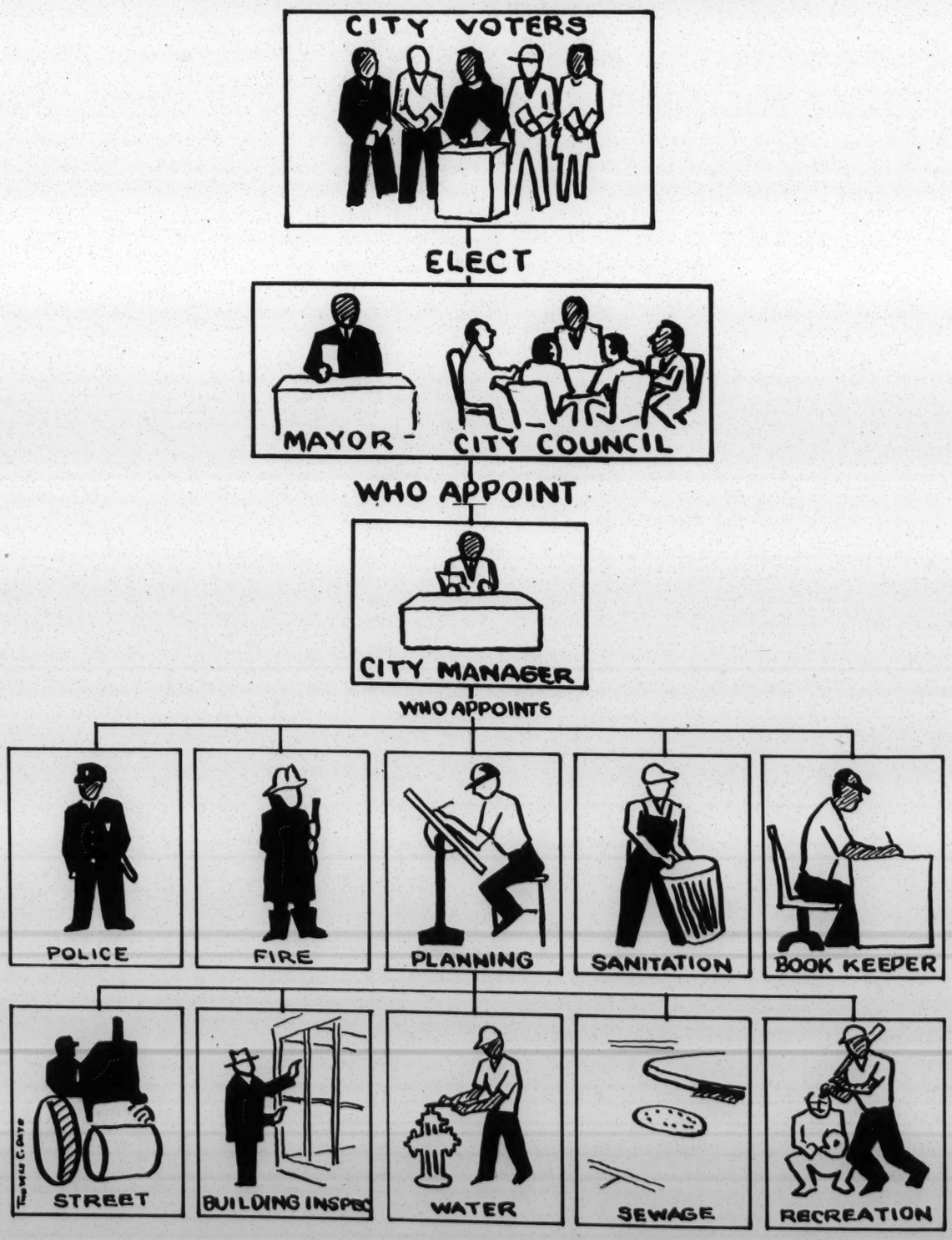
Under the mayor-council form, the voters elect a group of people to care for the city business. This group is called the City Councilmen (or City Commissioners or Aldermen). It makes city laws. The voters choose one man to head their municipal government. He is the Mayor. The job of running the government is divided into departments—fire, police, water, sewage, street, building inspection and garbage collection. An important officer is appointed to head and run each department.

MAYOR-COUNCIL FORM



Under the council-manager form of government, the voters elect a City Council (or City Commission or Board of Aldermen). One of the members of the City Council serves as Mayor. The Mayor can be elected by the voters, or the councilmen can appoint one of their members to serve as Mayor. The City Council makes up the budget and passes city laws. The City Council appoints a man to carry out the laws and to run the government from day to day. He is called the City Manager. Often he appoints the heads of the different departments. In some cities, the City Council may appoint some of the department heads.

COUNCIL-MANAGER FORM



The rules about electing the Mayor and Councilmen (or Commissioners or Aldermen) are not just alike in every city. Most of the municipal governing bodies are small They usually have five members.

Most municipal elections are non-partisan. This means that people do not run for office as a member of a political party. City officers usually are elected for a four-year term, but some are elected for two years.

City officers often are elected at-large—that is, by all the voters of the city. In some cities the voters of each ward (a voting district) elect a city officer. Other cities require that the officers be from the different wards but be voted on by the whole city at-large. In some cities both methods are used.

In some cities all the city officers are elected at the same time. In other cities, some of the city officers are elected in each election.

In most municipalities a person must register to vote on the city registration books. This is a separate set of books from the county voter registration books. But cities and counties may combine their voter registration books if they wish. Then a person registers only once in order to vote in all elections. Only a few cities and counties have combined their books.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT

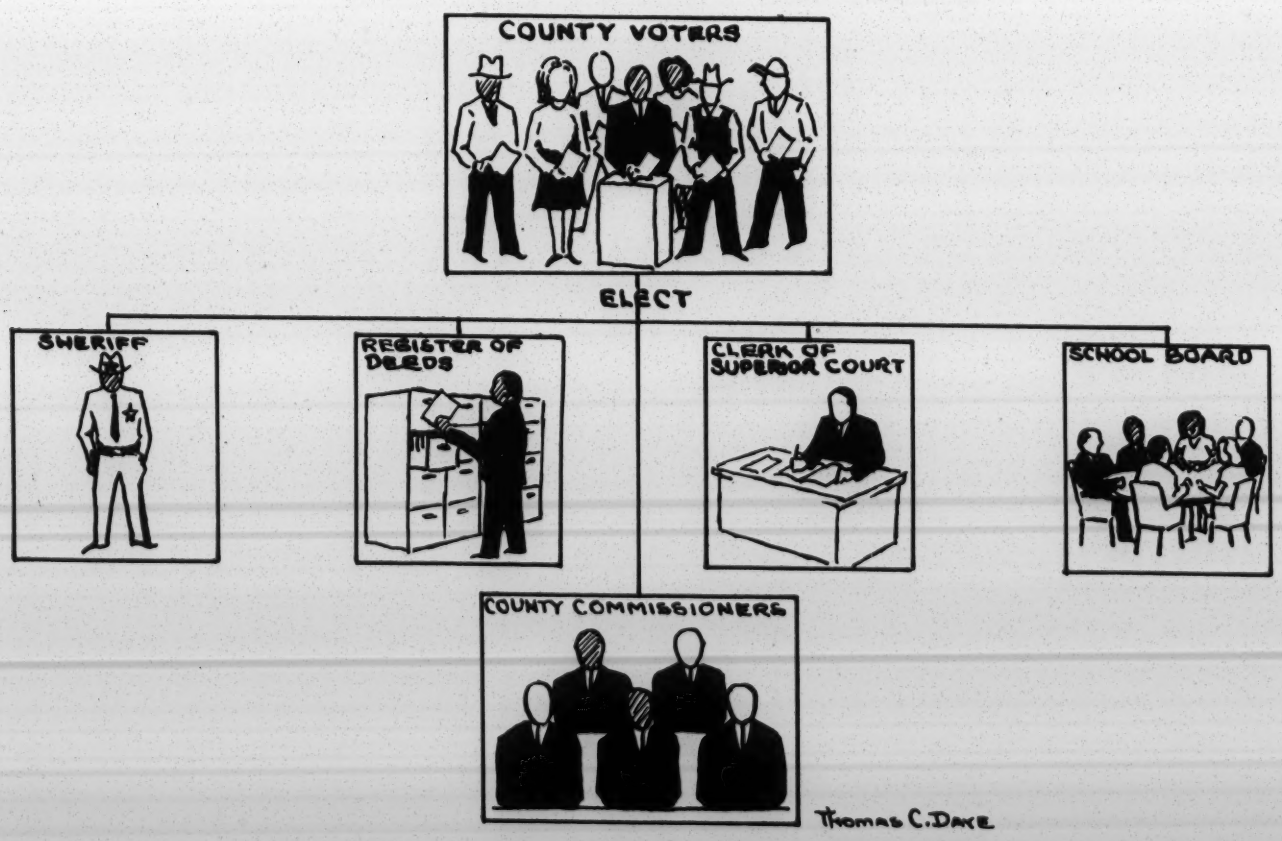
North Carolina has 100 counties. The main job of county goverment is to act for the state in providing services for the people—education, health, welfare and so on. Another important job of the county government is carrying out laws. County governments do not have much power to make laws.

Some of the jobs of the county government are to:

- Decide how much money is needed to give the people the services they need. The county government must then set the local tax rate and collect the taxes.
- Run the schools and the health and welfare departments with the help of the school, health and welfare boards.
- Build and keep up the courthouse, jail, other public buildings, such as libraries.
- Enforce state laws.
- Keep records of important papers, such as marriage licenses and deeds to property.
- Provide a place for some of the state courts.
- Help run the elections.

The job of running the county governments is divided between elected officials and persons who are appointed to offices and boards. Some of the elected officials are: County Commissioners, Sheriff, Register of Deeds, Clerk of Superior Court, and School Board. In some counties the County Accountant (Bookkeeper) and the Tax Collector are elected. In other counties they are appointed. Some of the other appointed officers and boards are: County Lawyer, Tax Supervisor, Welfare Board and Health Board.

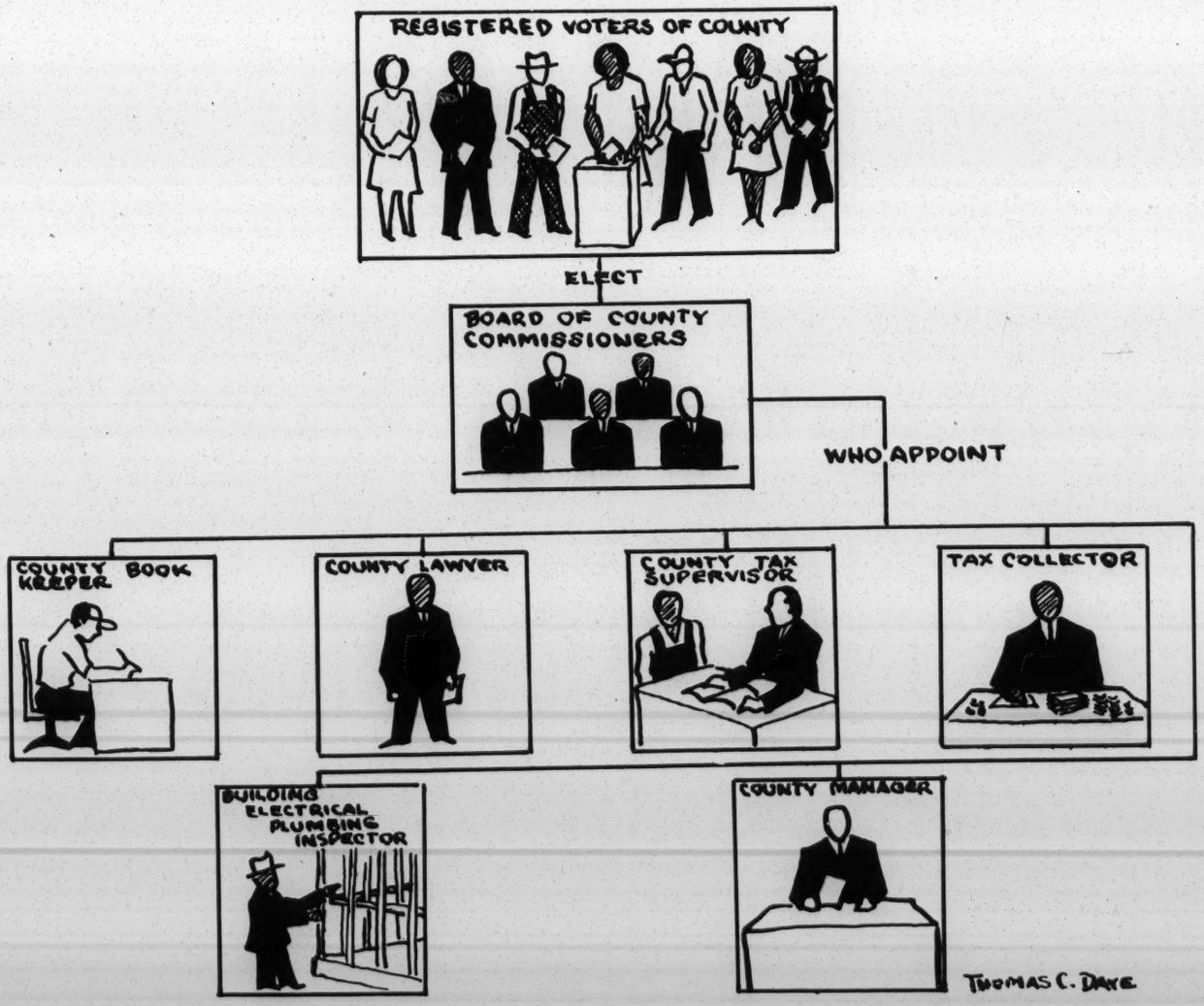
ELECTED COUNTY OFFICIALS



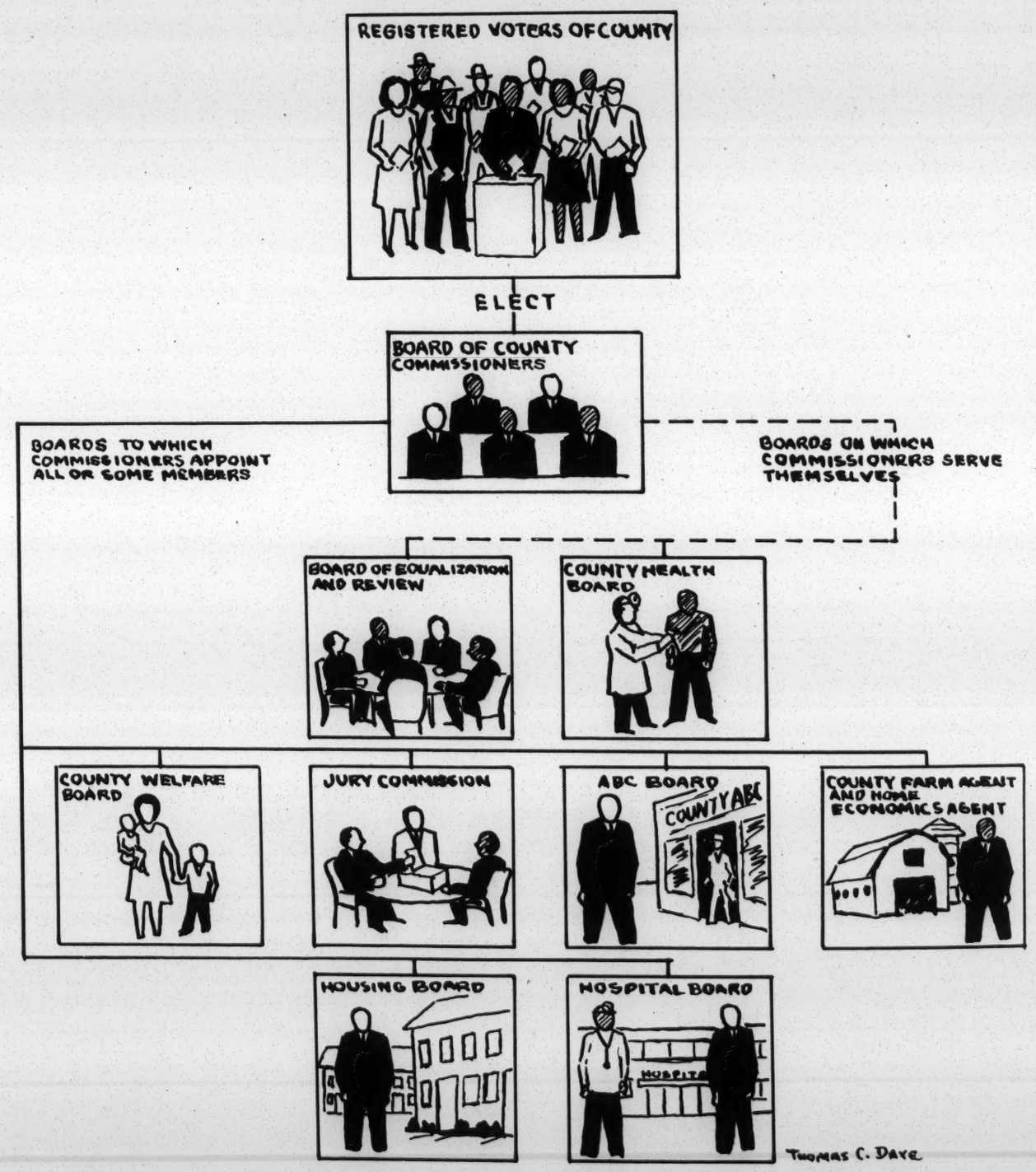
The County Commissioners have more say-so in running the county government than anyone else. They:

- Decide how much money is needed to run the county government and set the tax rate.
- Appoint other people to county jobs, such as County Lawyer, County Bookkeeper, County Tax Supervisor and Tax Collector, Building Inspectors. In some counties, they appoint a County Manager.
- Serve on some boards themselves. They serve on the board of Equalization and Review (which holds hearings about the tax value of property). One member serves on the County Health Board.
- Appoint people to other Boards, such as the County Welfare Board, ABC Board, Hospital and Housing Boards and Jury Commission.
- Have some power to start projects to help the people. They can do this by calling for a bond election to improve and build hospitals, schools, libraries, sewages and water systems.

OFFICIALS APPOINTED BY THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS



BOARDS ON WHICH COMMISSIONERS SERVE AND APPOINT MEMBERS



Most counties have five members on the County Commission. In most counties, the County Commissioners serve for four-year terms. In some counties, all the County Commissioners are elected at one time, but in many counties some of the members are elected in each election. In many counties, the Commissioners are elected at-large by all the voters of the county. Some counties divide the county into districts. Each of the Commissioners must live in a different district, but they are elected by all the county voters.

Some of the other elected county officials are:

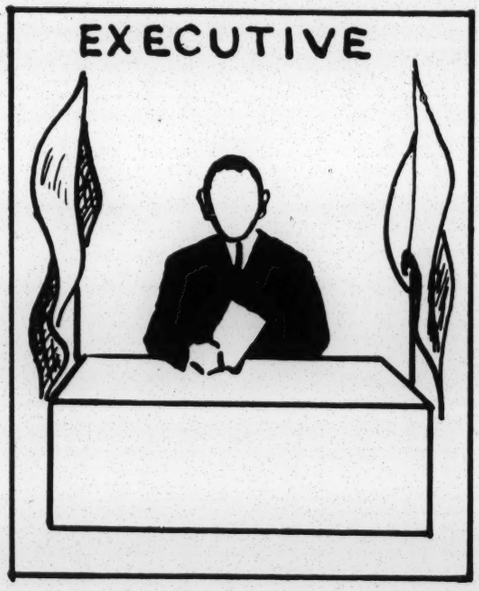
- Sheriff. His main job is to enforce state law.
- Register of Deeds. He keeps records of important papers.
- Clerk of Superior Courts. He keeps court records.
- School Board. This board runs the schools at the local level. The School Board—like the Welfare, Health, and other boards and officials—must present a budget to the County Commissioners each year. The County Commissioners may approve the budget or they may cut the budget. (Some cities have a City School Board, but the City School Boards also must present the city school budget to the County Commissioners for their approval.)

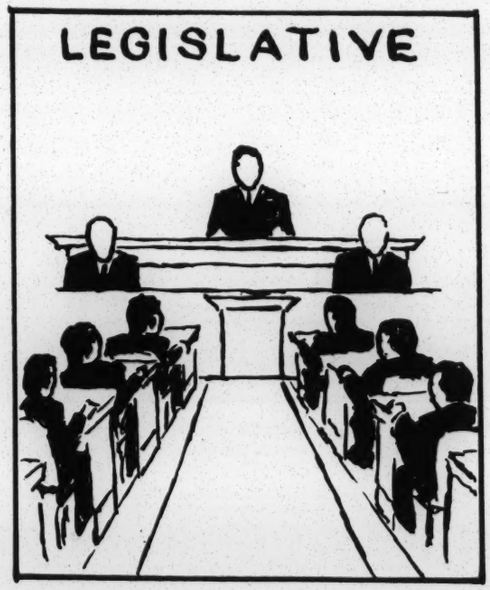
All the county officials, except for some county school boards, are elected in partisan elections. This means that people run for office as a member of a political party. County officials are elected in primary and general elections.

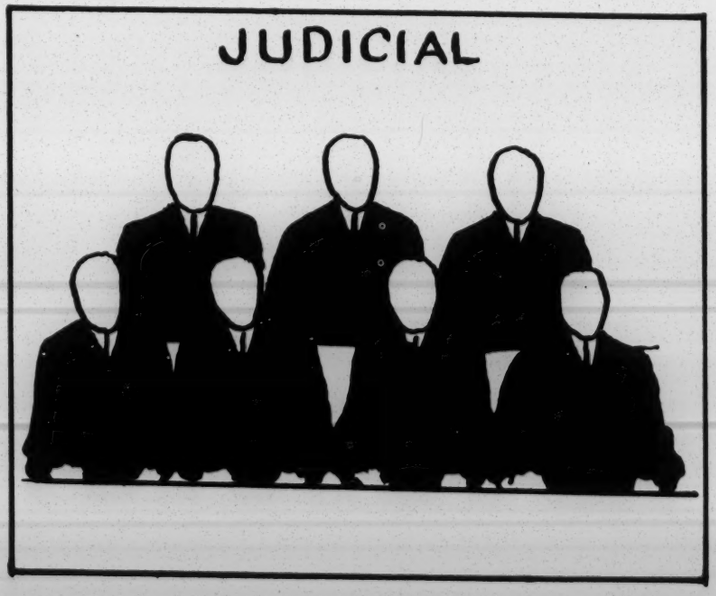
STATE GOVERNMENT

The state government is divided into three parts just like the United States government. The three parts are:

- Executive. This part is made up of the Governor, other elected officials and appointed officials and boards. The job of this branch is to run the government and enforce the laws.
- Legislative. This is the General Assembly which meets in Raleigh. This branch makes the laws about how the government is to be run.
- Judicial. This part is made up of the different courts of law. The job of this branch is to decide questions of law and help punish those who are proved guilty of crimes.







THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The job of the executive branch is to run the government and see that the laws are carried out. The Governor is head of the executive branch. The Governor has persons who help him do the work of the executive branch. Some of these people are appointed by him. Others are elected.

The Governor has a lot of power. He serves on many important boards himself. He appoints others to offices and boards. He tells the General Assembly (legislature) what laws he thinks are needed. He is the commander of the Highway Patrol and National Guard.

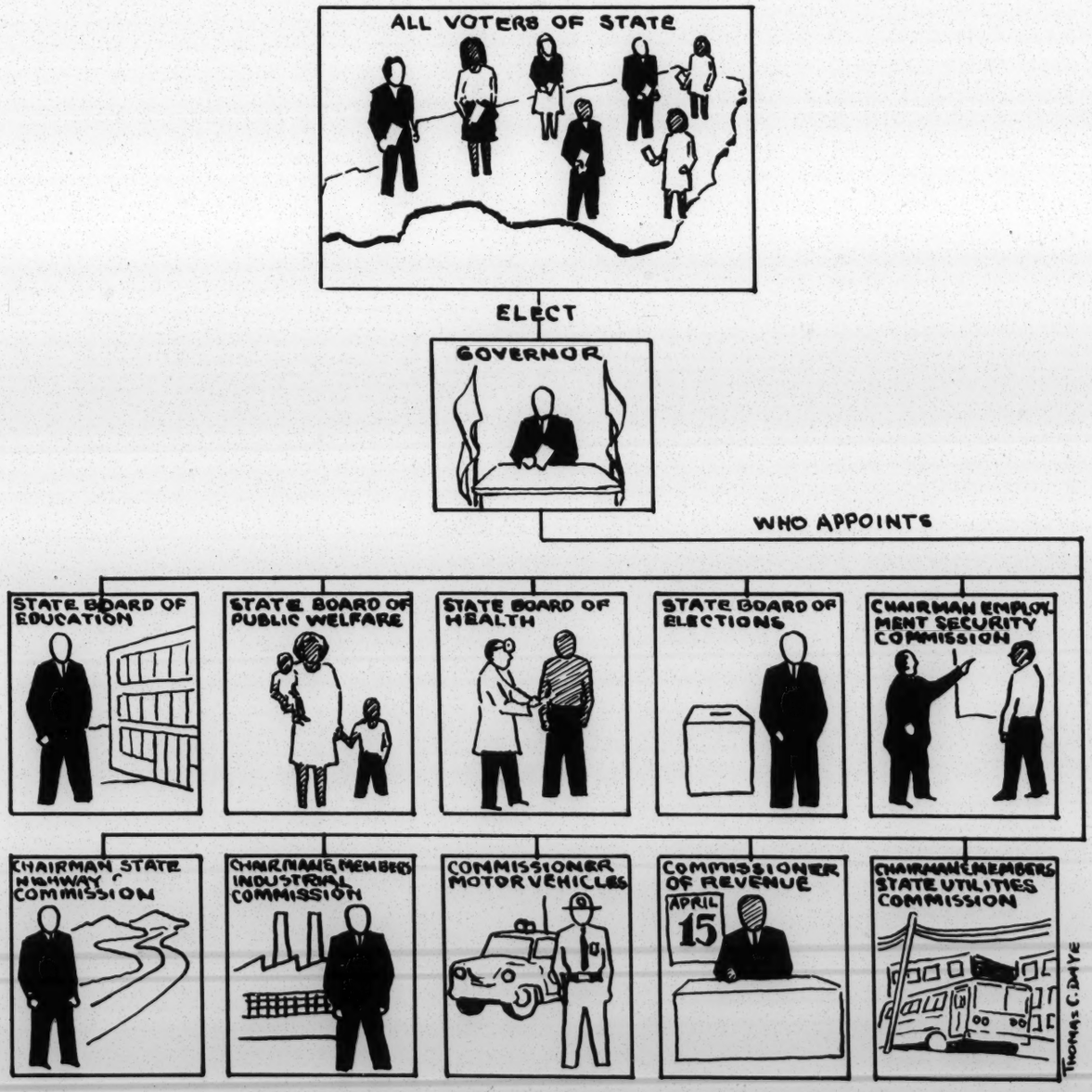
One of the most important powers of the Governor is the power to appoint people to state offices, boards, and commissions. Boards and commissions are a group of people given the orders and duty to do a certain job. This power to appoint people gives the Governor great power in the state government but also in the political party of which he is a member. People are willing to be loyal to the Governor and work for the party if they have a chance of getting jobs that pay well. The people appointed to these jobs and boards have a lot of power. They have a lot of say about how people live—whether they get good schools, highways, health care.

Some appointments made by the Governor are:

- State Board of Education. Most of the members of this board are appointed by the Governor. This board oversees the running of the public schools in the counties and cities. It decides such things as teacher requirements and salary scales.
- State Board of Public Welfare. The job of this board is to oversee the running of the welfare department at the state and county levels. This board hires a Commissioner of Public Welfare to run the State Department of Public Welfare.
- State Board of Health. The Governor and Medical Society of the state appoint the members of this board. The board hires the State Health Director. One of the jobs of this board is to enforce health laws.
- Chairman of the Employment Security Commission. A job of this commission is to run the employment offices in the state. It also has some say-so in who can get unemployment insurance.
- Chairman of the State Highway Commission. One of the jobs of this commission is to decide what highways and roads to build and repair and then to build and repair them.
- Chairman and Members of the Industrial Commission. The job of this commission is to run the workmen's compensation system.
- Commissioner of Motor Vehicles. He is head of the State Highway Patrol.
- Commissioner of Revenue. He collects state taxes.

- Chairman and Members of the State Utilities Commission. This board sets the rates that people have to pay companies for electricity, telephone, natural gas, and bus and railroad fares.
- State Board of Elections. The Governor appoints all the members of this board. This board hires an Executive Secretary. His job is to help see that voter registration and election laws are followed. The State Board appoints the members of the County Boards of Elections.

OFFICERS, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR



Another important power of the Governor is to help make the laws. The Governor tells the General Assembly what laws he thinks are needed. He also tells the General

Assembly how much he thinks it should cost to run the state government and how the money should be spent. The Governor can not veto (veto means forbid) laws passed by the General Assembly. But because he has something to say about the budget and can make many appointments, he still has a lot of power with the General Assembly.

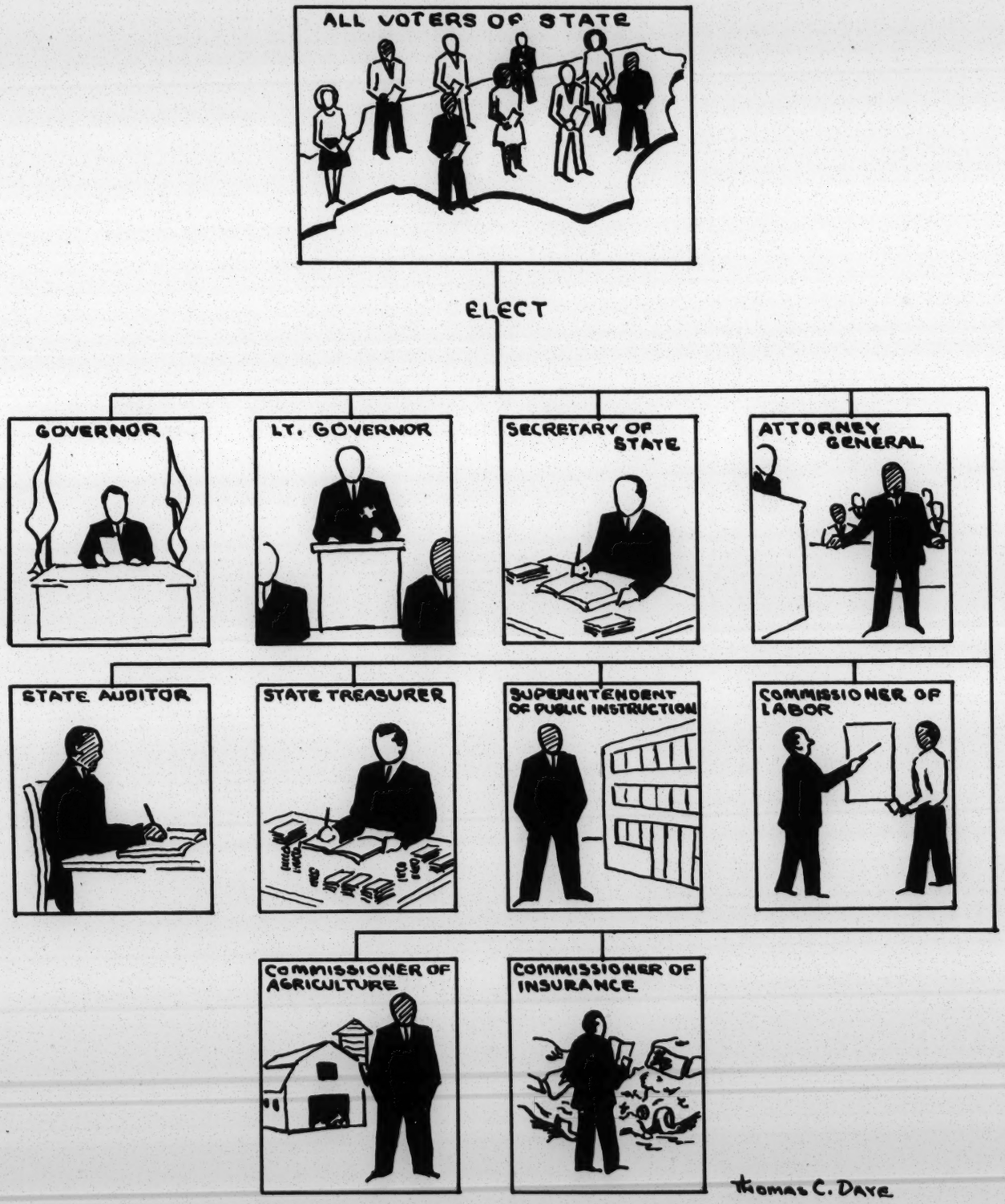
The Governor may call a special session of the General Assembly. He can do this when he thinks there is some important matter the General Assembly must take up.

As we said earlier, some executive officers of the state are elected. The elected officers are:

- Lieutenant Governor. Sometimes the Governor is not able to serve all of his term of office. Then the Lieutenant Governor takes the place of the Governor. The Lieutenant Governor presides over the State Senate.
- Secretary of State. He keeps the records of the state. He has state laws printed. He helps carry out elections in the state.
- Attorney General. He is the chief lawyer of the state. He advises the Governor and other state officials about state laws. He represents the state in the courts.
- State Auditor. He is the state bookkeeper. He looks at the public bills of the state. If he feels bills are right, he asks the Treasurer to pay them.
- State Treasurer. He takes care of fees and taxes that come to the state. He pays all the bills of the state.
- Superintendent of Public Instruction. He works with the schools of the state. Some of his jobs are to help the schools have better education programs and to see that state school laws are obeyed.
- Commissioner of Labor. He is head of the Department of Labor. Some of the jobs of this department are to enforce child labor laws and minimum wage and hour laws, settle strikes, and help train workers for better jobs.
- Commissioner of Insurance. He is head of the Department of Insurance. Some of the jobs of this department are to make sure that the insurance companies have the money to pay claims and to see that the companies do not charge too much for insurance policies.
- Commissioner of Agriculture. He is head of the Department of Agriculture. The job of this department is to see that laws having to do with farming are carried out.

The Governor and the other executive officers are elected in primary and general elections. The executive officers are elected every four years in even numbered years, like 1968, 1972 and 1976.

ELECTED EXECUTIVE OFFICIALS



THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The law-making body of the state government is the General Assembly. The General Assembly has the power to make many kinds of laws.

The General Assembly can make laws about money matters. It can make laws about how much and what kind of taxes people and companies have to pay. It can decide how much of the tax money the different departments—education, health, welfare, highways, prisons and so on—will get.

The General Assembly can make laws about companies that do business in the state. For example, it can require that the companies pay their workers a certain minimum wage. It can pass laws that make it easy or hard for workers to join unions. The General Assembly can pass laws to start new projects that will give people jobs and help people live better. It can pass laws so that the state and local governments can take part in the many federal (U. S. Government) programs that will help the people.

The General Assembly of North Carolina is made up of two parts: the State Senate and the State House of Representatives. The Senate has 50 members and the House 120 members. The General Assembly meets in Raleigh every odd-numbered year, like 1969, 1971, 1973.

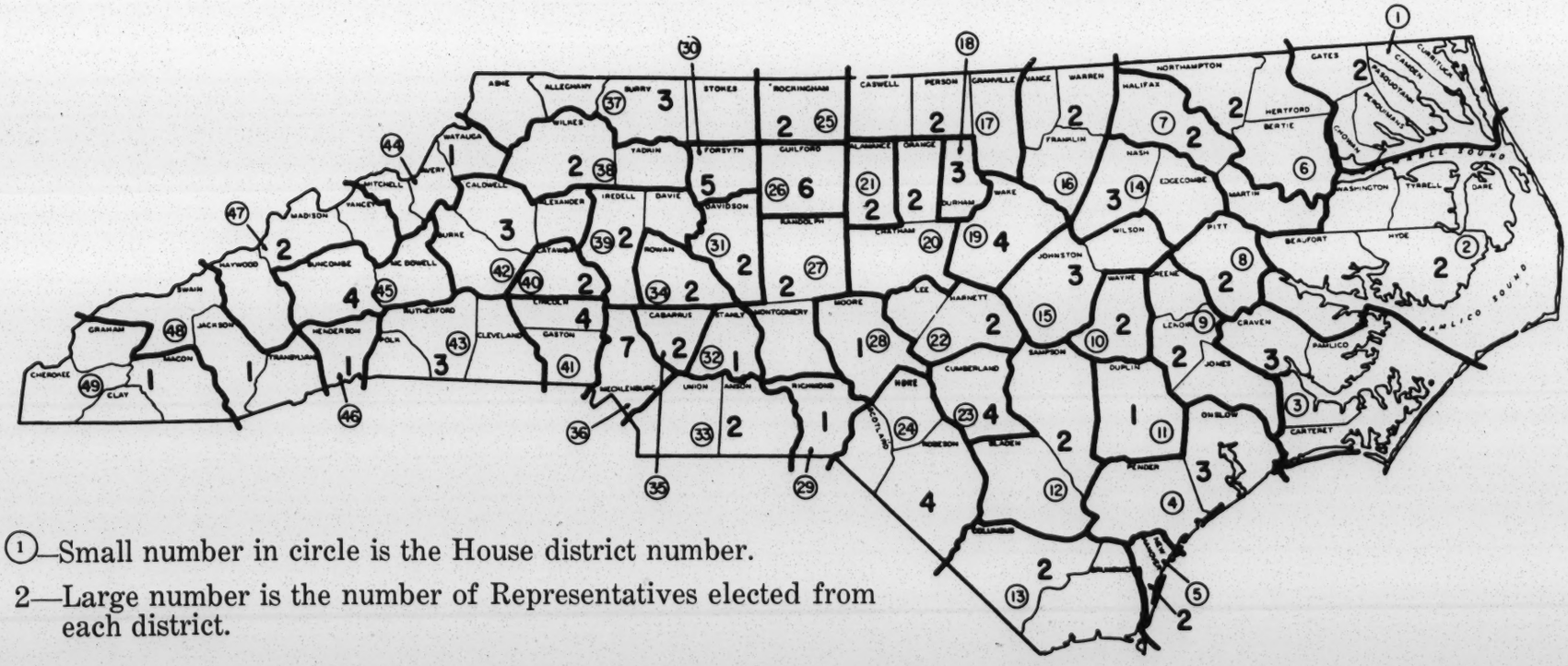
Members of the General Assembly are elected in primary elections (in May) and general elections (in November) just like the executive officers are elected. They are elected every even-numbered year, like 1968, 1970, 1972, for two-year terms.

The state is divided into Senatorial and House of Representative districts. Members of the Senate and House are elected by the voters in each district. Every district is made up of one or more whole counties. Some districts have only one county. Many districts have two or more counties. Some districts elect only one member. Others elect two or more members.

Look at the maps on the next two pages to see in which Senatorial and House District your county is located.

NORTH CAROLINA

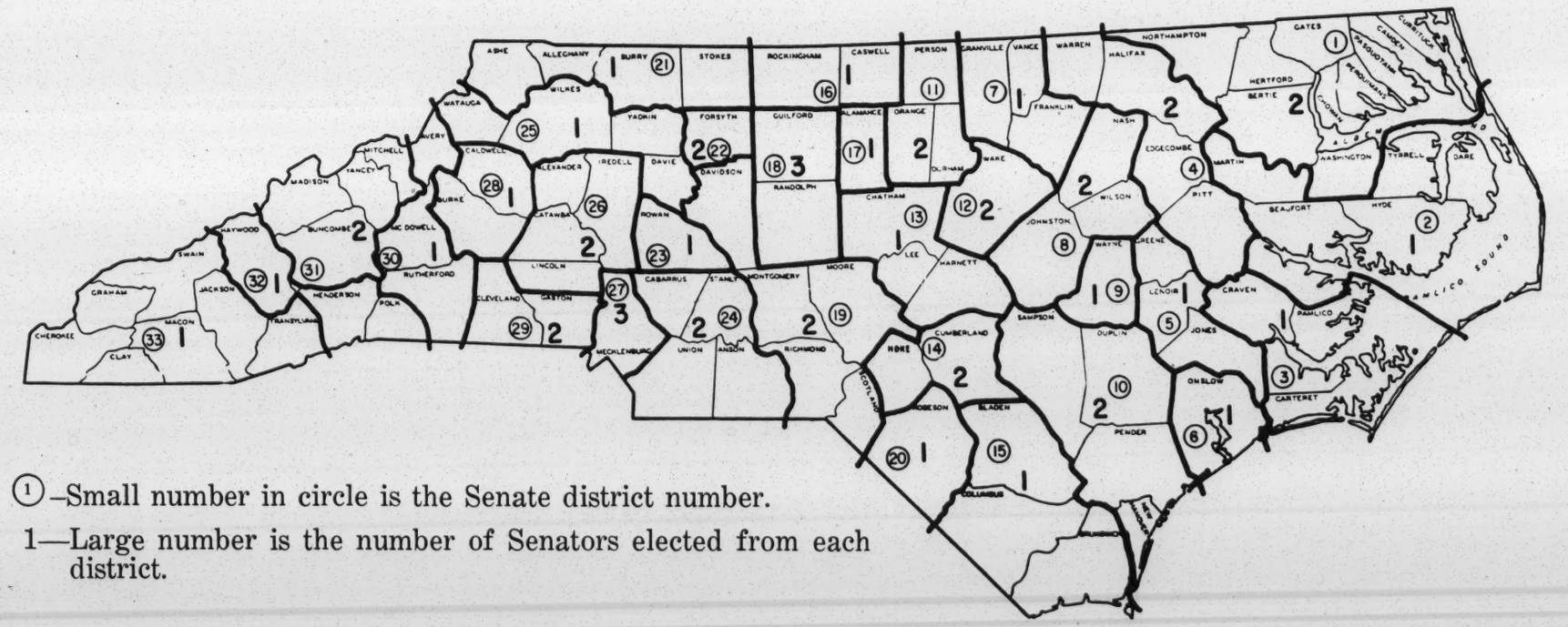
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



(1)—Small number in circle is the House district number.

2—Large number is the number of Representatives elected from each district.

NORTH CAROLINA SENATE



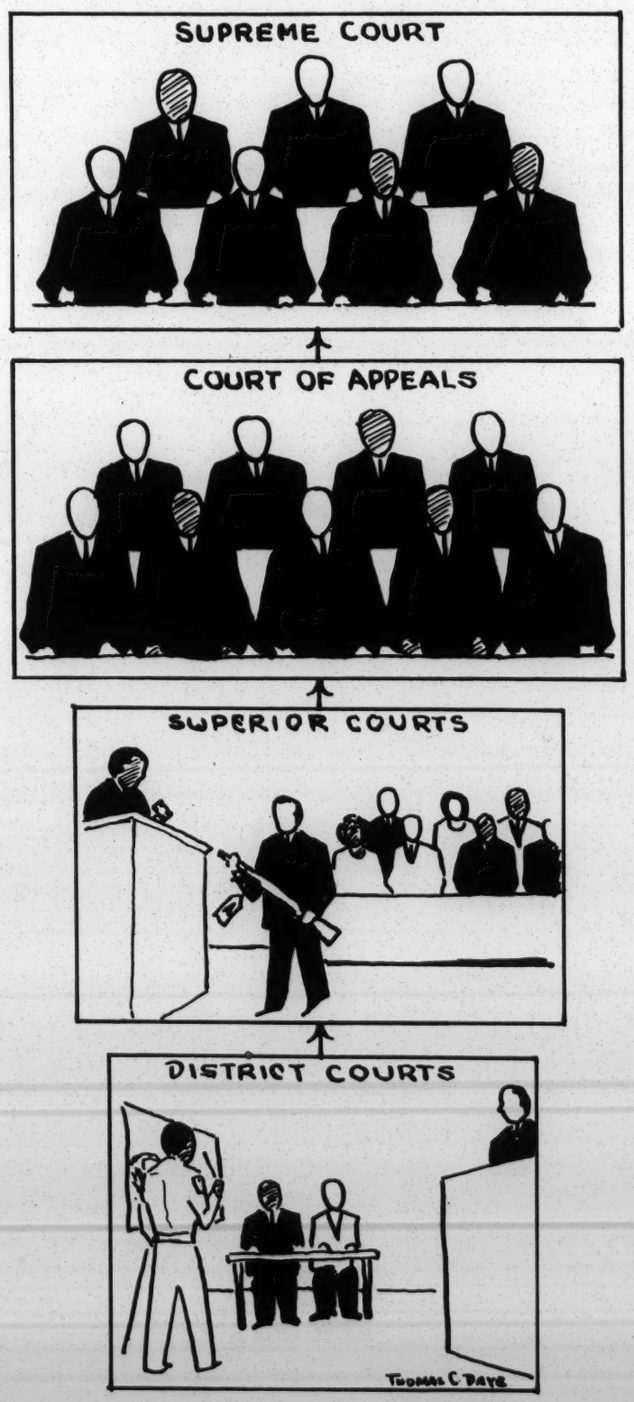
(1)–Small number in circle is the Senate district number.

1—Large number is the number of Senators elected from each district.

COURTS AND JURY SYSTEM

The state has a system of law courts. It is called the judicial branch of the government. In 1962 and 1965, the state system of courts was changed. This was done so that there would be the same system throughout the state. It will be late 1970 before all the changes are made. Under the new system there will be three kinds of courts: the Appeal Courts, Superior Courts and District Courts.

COURT SYSTEM



The Appeal Courts

This is the highest level of courts. One job of the Appeal Courts is to hear appeals from the lower courts—the Superior and District Courts. If a person does not believe he has been given a fair trial in the lower courts, he may appeal his case. Another job of the appeal courts is to decide if laws are in agreement with the North Carolina Constitution.

There are two kinds of appeal courts. They are the North Carolina Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals. The North Carolina Supreme Court is the highest state court. It has seven justices. The justices are elected by all the state voters for eight-year terms.

The Court of Appeals was set up in 1967 to help the North Carolina Supreme Court. It does this by hearing the less important cases. This court will have nine judges. Six took office in 1967 and the other three will take office in 1969. All nine judges will be elected by the state voters. They serve for eight-year terms.

In appeals courts there are no jury trials.

The Superior Courts

One important job of the Superior Courts is to try the more serious criminal and civil cases. Criminal cases are cases in which a person breaks a law that protects people —robbery, murder, and the like. Civil cases are when two or more persons cannot agree about something, such as who owns a car, land, or furniture. Cases are tried by juries in the Superior Court.

The state is divided into 30 judicial districts. In nearly all the judicial districts, there are two or more counties. Each of the 30 judicial districts has a Superior Court. Each district has one or more Superior Court Judges. The Judges are nominated in primaries by the voters of each district. They are elected in general elections for eight-year terms by all the voters of the state. Also there are eight Special Superior Court Judges. They are appointed by the Governor for four-year terms.

The state lawyer who represents the state in criminal cases is called the Superior Court Solicitor. He is elected by the voters of his district for a four-year term. There will be a Solicitor in each of the 30 judicial districts when the new system is complete.

Look at the map on page 22 to see in which judicial district your county is located.

The District Courts

The District Court system is being set up to do away with the many different kinds of courts at the local level—recorder's court, juvenile court, mayor's court, justice of peace court. By December 1970 there will only be one court at the local level: the District Court. The job of the District Court is to try the less serious criminal cases such as traffic violations. It also tries the less important civil cases—cases involving less than $5,000 of property.

In most trials in the District Court there is no jury. But in some cases a person can request a jury trial. Also if a person does not believe he has been given a fair trial, he can appeal his case to the Superior Court.

Each of the state's 30 judicial districts has a District Court as well as a Superior Court. The voters of each district elect the District Court Judges that hold court in their district. The Judges serve for four-year terms. Each district has from two to six Judges.

Each county has a magistrate. The magistrates assist the District Court Judges by issuing warrants, setting bail, and accepting pleas of guilty in certain traffic cases. In short, they replace the job now done by the justices of peace. Magistrates for each county are appointed by the Superior Court Judge of each judicial district.

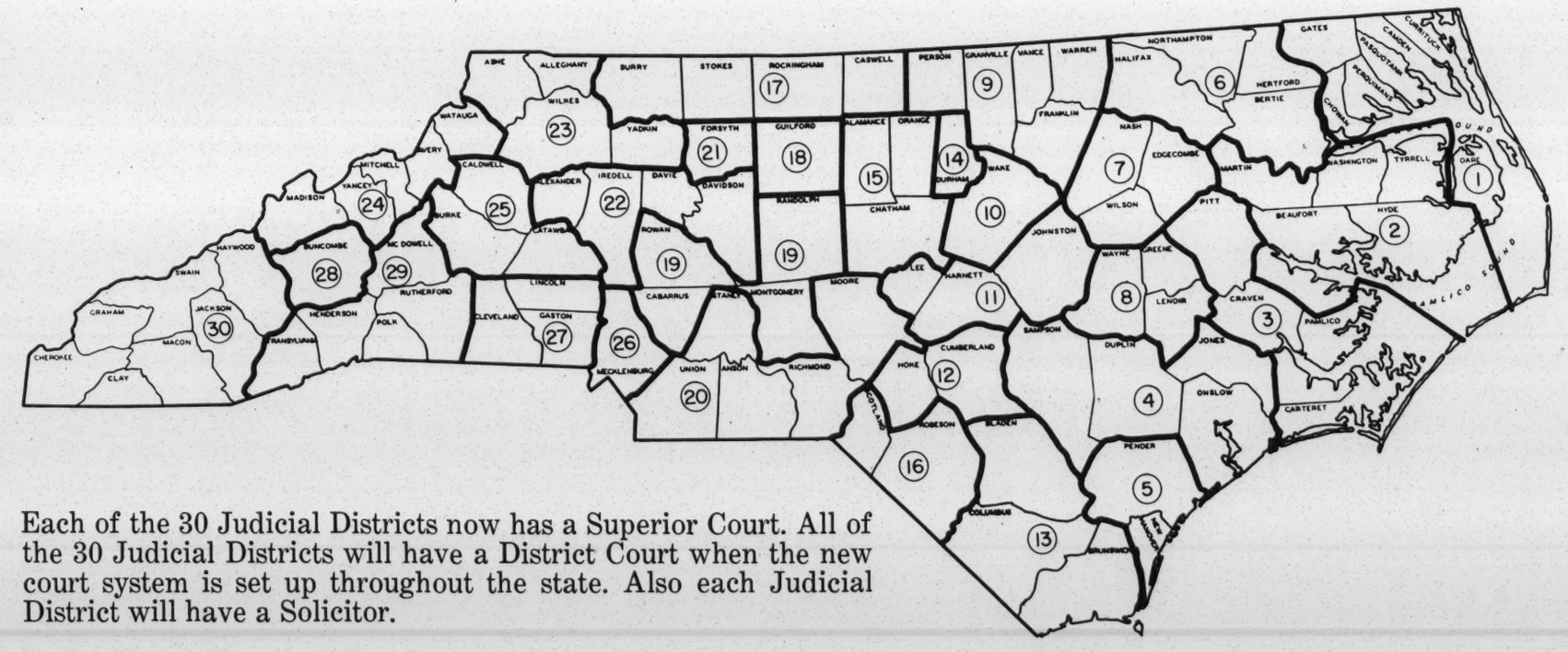
Look at the map on page 23 to see when the District Court is set up in your county.

Jury System

Another new law about the court system was passed in 1967. The new law sets up a Jury Commission for each county. The Jury Commission has three members. One member is appointed by the Superior Court Judge, another by the Clerk of Superior Court, and the other by the County Commissioners.

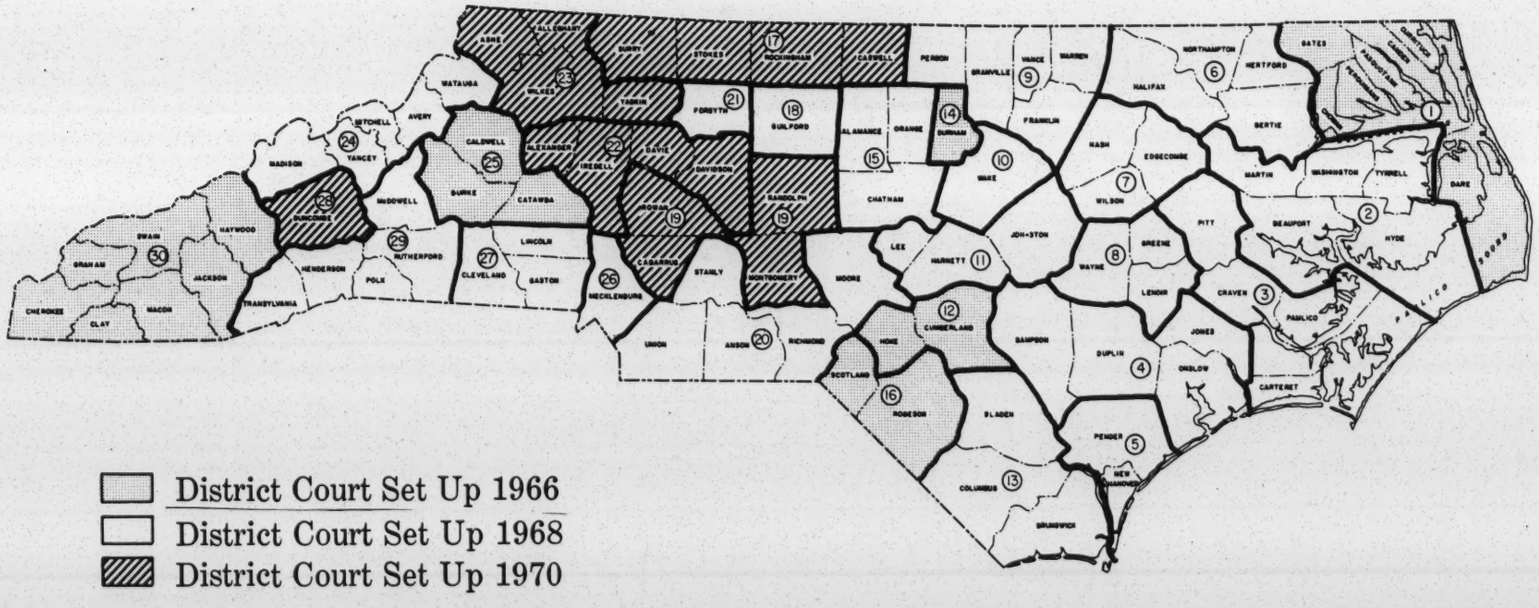
The job of Jury Commissioners is to choose people who might serve on juries. They make up the list of people to serve by using the tax lists and voter registration lists.

NORTH CAROLINA JUDICIAL DISTRICTS



Each of the 30 Judicial Districts now has a Superior Court. All of the 30 Judicial Districts will have a District Court when the new court system is set up throughout the state. Also each Judicial District will have a Solicitor.

WHEN THE DISTRICT COURTS ARE BEING SET UP



CONCLUSION

This booklet doesn't tell you all you need to know about government in North Carolina. To do that would take a booklet many times this size. But we hope it does tell you some of the important things you need to know.

There are other booklets that can tell you more about certain parts of your local government. These are booklets, pretty much like this one, written by the North Carolina Voter Education Project. These booklets are about school boards, county commissions, voter registration, election rights, and precinct meetings. Other booklets like these are being written. If you would like copies of these booklets get in touch with:

North Carolina Voter Education Project
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Telephone: (919) 682-1222

Illustrations: Thomas C. Daye

RADICALISM: SOUTHERN STYLE

A Commentary on Regional Extremism of the Right

by Reese Cleghorn

Reese Cleghorn, a native of Lyerly, Georgia, is associate editor of the Atlanta *Journal*. He is co-author, with Pat Watters of the Southern Regional Council of CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDAR: THE ARRIVAL OF NEGROES IN SOUTHERN POLITICS, published by Harcourt, Brace and World in 1967. He has contributed articles to *The Reporter, Saturday Evening Post, Esquire, New Republic, New York Times Magazine, The Progressive, New South,* and *The Christian Advocate.*

RADICALISM: SOUTHERN STYLE

A Commentary on Regional Extremism of the Right

By Reese Cleghorn

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

December, 1968

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Regional Council and the American Jewish Committee originally asked Reese Cleghorn, associate editor of the *Atlanta Journal,* to undertake this comprehensive overview of right-wing extremism in the South before the recent efforts to use this sentiment as a base for a nationwide political movement. Our purpose was to cast fresh light on the frustrations and tensions—some local and others quite unrelated to geographic area—that contribute to racism and bigotry in this country.

Although the final Wallace vote in the 1968 Presidential election was far smaller than early opinion polls had indicated, it demonstrated quite clearly that a sizable reservoir of prejudice and repression continues to exist in our land, and that it is vulnerable to manipulation by politically ambitious demagogues, not only in the South, but in the large industrial centers of the North as well.

Mr. Cleghorn's incisive examination into the roots of the "Wallace phenomenon" reveals the historical and psychological underpinnings of southern extremism and alienation and its implications for the nation as a whole. Such an understanding, in our judgment, is an essential element in any program designed to strengthen the forces of moderation and justice not only in the South, but throughout the length and breadth of our nation.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Bertram H. Gold
Executive Vice-President
The American Jewish Committee

John F. Kennedy had chosen the South as a forum for dealing with the most serious import of rightwing extremism. In the speech that was not delivered in Dallas on November 22, 1963, the President was to have said:

"Ignorance and misinformation can handicap the progress of a city or a company—but they can, if allowed to prevail in foreign policy, handicap this country's security. In a world of complex and continuing problems, in a world full of frustrations and irritations, America's leadership must be guided by the lights of learning and reason—or else those who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible will gain the popular ascendancy with their seemingly swift and simple solutions to every world problem.

"There will always be dissident voices heard in the land. . . . Those voices are inevitable. But today other voices are heard in the land—voices preaching doctrines wholly unrelated to reality . . . We cannot expect that everyone, to use the phrase of a decade ago, will 'talk sense to the American people.' But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. . . ."

Less than three months later, Professor Revilo P. Oliver, a member of the John Birch Society's National Council, expressed his view in the society's magazine, *American Opinion,* that "Kennedy was assassinated by the Communist Conspiracy because he was planning to turn American." Robert Welch, founder and president of the Birch Society, found Professor Oliver's analysis to be "superb commentary." Such is the degree of irrationalism which characterizes the extreme right in America and which, as President Kennedy had suggested, can endanger American security "in a world full of frustrations and irritations."

In the South today, as in turbulent and unsettled California and in the old isolationist regions of the Middle West, what we might call "white-collar" rightwing extremism has found fertile ground. To designate it "rightwing" is, however, a poor bit of shorthand, for, as President Kennedy seemed to be saying, its doctrines and underlying assumptions often are in essence neither left nor right but simply hallucinations, "wholly unrelated to reality." By some measures these "rightwing extremists" are close to the most extreme left, having strong anarchistic leanings and, contradictorily, strong inclinations toward state suppression and totalitarianism. Rightist radicalism arises generally out of the great confusion which rapid change has produced in American life. More specifically, it comes out of an inability on the part of millions of 20th Century Americans to understand an increasingly complex form of government; and an inability, for all the extreme right's ostensible devotion to tradition, to accept perhaps the most important tradition underlying two centuries of democratic continuity in

America: moderation and liberality in our political processes and a rejection of political diabolism.

The seed sown in the South by the Birch Society and lesser organizations of the extreme right fall on soil different from that of California or Michigan. It is fertile soil for rightwing doctrines; yet it could prove less receptive to hard-line rightwing organizations than the political and social climate might at first suggest.

It is well to remember that most of the nation only recently made a gross misjudgment in the case of racism, finding the South peculiarly guilty on the basis of the usual indicators. Then in the 1960s we began to see slack-jawed hoodlums harassing peacefully demonstrating Negroes in Michigan, Wisconsin and California. (Were these the fabled "crackers"?) We also heard mayors and congressmen from New Jersey and Illinois speaking all the lines long since assumed to be the peculiar litany of southern officialdom. (Were these "Dixiecrats"?) Perhaps all this has changed some of our perception of racism outside the South; surely it also must have changed some of the simplistic views about the South itself. An examination of rightwing radicalism in the South will be similarly distorted if runaway assumptions allow us to take specifics of rightwing influence in the region and loosely extend them to generalities with the reasoning that all this must be so because the South is, after all, "the most rightwing part of the country."

THE SOUTH'S PECULIAR ETHOS

The South does have its peculiar ethos, of course, that repeatedly has entangled it with whatever rightwing obsession was current. This, along with the more Gothic part of the South's history, has generated judgments that often are too pat. Consider, for example, the ways in which the region can easily be compared with the rightist totalitarian countries of our time.

This is the only part of the country with a history of strong "master race" theory. It has often been regionally paranoiac, suspicious of the rest of the nation and of the world. It is the only part of the country that has suffered stinging and humiliating defeat, and that in a war with a central moral issue. It has always been the poorest part of the nation, and often it has been the victim of discrimination; for instance, for generations, through railroad freight-rate structures fashioned through Northern political and industrial influence to help enable Northern industry to make a colony of the South. Its peculiar Church, warped by its proximity first to slavery and later to white supremacy, developed apart from mainstream Christianity and came to a theology that rationalized the status quo and sanctified the authority of the state — the state government — in basic social matters. Finally, it is the part of the country most conscious of a martial heritage. It has always responded to war. Even in the wake of the Civil War calamity

and estrangement from the nation, the South was in the forefront of American chauvinism in the Spanish-American War. Much of its private, secondary education has been in military academies. A general in uniform, Robert E. Lee, adorns the walls of its banks, law firms, and insurance offices. It has been the region lending greatest support to a "hard line" on Vietnam. Without question, the South thrills to military braid and admires military authority.

For comparison, place alongside these characteristics, now, some characteristics of places which in the 20th Century have been the most fertile ground for rightwing extremism. More often than not, they have been places with a tradition of or a susceptibility to racial doctrines something like white supremacy; have known chaos, defeat and/or some colonization (not necessarily through political structures) on the part of other countries; have had deep-running problems of poverty; have had religious influences that identified themselves with narrow power interests and with the state; and could readily accept military authority and the enthronement of military swagger and its trappings as a kind of substitute for or handmaiden of monarchy's regal trappings.

The comparisons may be imperfect, but they have general validity. If the South had attained its independence a century ago, it might have moved further into these patterns under the duress of hardship. The social, economic, political, and religious conditions that bred demagogues who could only flail against Washington might have made demagogues who could have captured the Capitol at Richmond. The modern technology without which real totalitarianism is impossible might have abetted the suppression of dissent. (The process of suppression often has been present in the South; the means usually have not been.) The hardy, indigenous strain of liberality and resistance which always has been present in the South might have been overcome, just as similar old, indigenous democratic strains were overcome in Germany Italy, Spain, Portugal and many other countries.

But because the South was not a separate nation, because it had to make its public life mesh at least somewhat with that of the nation and ultimately abide by the Constitution, the influences that might have tilted it this other way remained strong but not dominant. The region was protected and saved by its own defeat. The relatively honorable leadership of the Confederacy, which (notwithstanding its defense of slavery) still had much of the idealism and the republican, democratic devotion of the nation's Founding Fathers, was not supplanted by political jackals of the kind that often come in the second and third stages of revolution.

Liberals of the South usually have instinctively known all this, or at least have acted on these premises: They have known that the survival of liberal democracy in the South sometimes has been dependent upon

supplies, spiritual reinforcement and governmental force from outside, all these constituting a kind of reverse "underground railroad." For all their prominence, the worst influences in the region could never fully move it into anti-democratic, anti-liberal patterns. All this was with one mighty exception, of course: Negroes in much of the South lived under totalitarian control. But in a strange contradiction, even while this was taking place democracy was being extended and was becoming entrenched for others in the South.

The region's very racism enabled it to put Negroes aside as another variety of beings, so that they were not even seen as contradictions to the South's oft-expressed and oft-serious devotion to democracy. In the South's view Negroes were, after all, different. Even during the aberrations of the 1950s and early 1960s in Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia, state-level efforts at totalitarianism were only outrageous, not finally effective. The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission said blithely that thought control was one of its chief objectives; but it never did, even so, control thoughts. Even in Mississippi's sickness of the time, this could not have been pulled off. Some sense of democracy prevailed when white people's rights began to be intruded upon.

The South in its worst moments, as during the throes of reaction following the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, has been saved from its home-grown totalitarians by two forces: the centuries-old grassroots sense of democracy (which, though blinded to the lack of democracy for Negroes, was very real); and the South's very romanticism and irrationalism. Irrationalism, then, has worked both ways: to nurture doctrines of the radical right, and to thwart them in application. A police state, surely, must have efficiency and a basic ideology compatible with the aims of state control.

IRRATIONALISM: A WAY OF LIFE

Irrationalism has been a public way of life in the South since early in the 19th Century, when the region had to begin reconciling its devotion to democracy with its denial of democracy to Negroes. The South thus is vulnerable, by tradition, to nonsense. With the necessity of embracing American ideals while simultaneously defending first slavery and later rigid white supremacy, which often was absurd as well as ruthless in practice, the white South developed an irrational thought system that was both legalistic and moralistic. Its objectives, of course, were neither legal nor moral. Given this tension, the most preposterous propositions came to be accepted with tenacity. Leslie W. Dunbar has written of a great wonder: the fact that the South, which bore a burden of regional guilt that was apparent to anyone who looked and had some sensitivity to morality, has always regarded itself not just as a moral equal among regions but as morally

superior. To manage this, and to manage to defy the Constitution and make the rest of the nation ignore that for a century, it was necessary to invent legalistic and moralistic rationales that could and did stand the test of time. They were codified, becoming a catechism which ignorant white southerners could ignore ("nigger, nigger" being sufficient for them) but which intelligent and educated white southerners must know and defend lest they be seduced by troublesome alien beliefs, sponsored by "outsiders" who "hated the South." Consequently, irrational mechanisms — "Our Negroes are happy and don't want any of this agitation," "The 14th Amendment is really illegal," "The Supreme Court's decisions are unconstitutional," "The South is not racist; it is just for states rights and freedom of association"—became perfectly acceptable. The mind that could not understand these things, so the thinking went, just did not understand the South.

It is an easy jump from these mental processes, which were the product of guilt, obsessive defensiveness, closed-mindedness, and a bit of paranoia, to the catechisms of those who "confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible." These codes, too, usually are based upon obsessive defensiveness, guilt, closed-mindedness and a bit of paranoia. People who could believe that every day a snickering, South-hating, usurping, power-mad, socialistic ilk in Washington was plotting to throttle the South's best interests and set Negroes on their best friends might just as well believe that every day Moscow was chortling as it watched its agents infiltrate and gain control of the government, press, churches and unions of America so that the country was already about three-fourths conquered by Soviet power. The two propositions were, after all, about equally true. And, of course, when the Communist scare was nicely linked with the Negro scare, as an explanation of why "our Negroes are upset," the second proposition tended to make still more sense.

CHANGE AND PERSONAL CRISIS

Then there are the crises of change in the South which are a part of the change going on elsewhere in the country. Especially intensive are the changes from rural to urban and from agricultural to industrial. Uncertainty about one's place and worth appears to be an increasing phenomenon in the highly organized society of modern America. It also appears to be a common factor among many people attracted to rightwing extremism. A number of analyses have suggested this. Using conclusions of a study of radical rightists, Ira S. Rohter, a political scientist at the University of Wisconsin, has usefully categorized many rightists as "the decliners, the new arrivals, and the value keepers" who feel status frustration. The "decliners" are people "going down on the social scale—undeservedly, as they see it," often falling below the status levels of fathers who were self-

employed businessmen or farm owners; the "new arrivals" are "on the way up" but caught in the lag between the time the new arrival achieves success and the time he finds an established place among peers and is accepted as an equal; the "value keepers" may be rising or falling in status and feel themselves at least temporarily threatened severely by "aliens who know not the Lord," who put more stock in education, expertise and mass solutions than in the hard work, self-discipline, prudence and independence that was the bedrock of the small-town life of the past.

Study of a selected group of radical rightists indicated, Rohter concluded, a disproportionate number who were undergoing status change with feelings that they "do not have the prestige and power they should have if the world were just—and their enemies have too much." They identify themselves with "older, traditional (Protestant ethic) values of work, religion and morality" so that their fight seems not simply a struggle with other legitimate interests but, rather, on the side of truth, justice, decency, God and America. They tend to believe their troubles are caused by an evil conspiracy and see society as essentially closed to them, dominated by personalities, controlled by the wrong kind of people. They want simple explanations, and conspiracy satisfies that need. They tend to show "strident negativism and combativeness" that expresses itself in extreme self-righteousness, a strong belief in harsh punishments, a feeling of powerlessness, a view that Communism is not merely a bad and aggressive threat but an all-pervasive Satan incarnate which cannot be tolerated in any way by the righteous. (About half were members of fundamentalist religious faiths.)

It is obvious that much of the South is susceptible to such feelings, with the South's unusually rapid increase in population mobility and transitions of many kinds. Between 1950 and 1960 the nation's increase in urban population was 29.3 per cent, and in the South as defined by the Census it was 40.1 per cent. The rural farm population declined 41.7 per cent nationally and 50.2 per cent in the South. During that decade the South's urban population increased from 48.6 per cent to 58.5 per cent of the total population (compared with a national figure of 69.9 per cent). Even such a Deep South state as Georgia, which had been 90 per cent rural at the turn of the century, plunged well beyond the 50-50 mark in urbanization.

Values of the farm and the village often are in sharp conflict with the demands of the city. Further, religious fundamentalism has been so widespread in the South in the past that a confused southerner seeking explanations for the strange changes in the world around him may respond well to a simplistic religious explanation. Rightwing extremism also is more likely to be race-related in the South than elsewhere. This is true not

only because of historic racist doctrines in the region but also because a man who feels his own status threatened can see that in recent years Negroes have been rising on the ladder, Jews have occupied prominent places, and a Catholic has become President. Much of the nation may be startled at the very idea when it sees hoodlums bearing signs saying "White Power," "Keep America White," and "National Association for the Advancement of White Power," but the idea of Anglo-Saxon whites' being shoved aside and outdistanced is not strange to men and women whose own individual status seems imperiled and who are surrounded by others who see things the same way. In terms of numbers of people, there may be more of this feeling in the urban, industrial areas of the Midwest and the mobile, often impersonal and frequently rootless life of California. But in the South of today, probably a higher percentage of the population feels this powerlessness and victimization.

THE POLITICAL RADICALS

It is in the political arena, rather than in the spread of such organizations as the John Birch Society, that these frustrations are having the most dramatic impact in the South. The region obviously has much more than its proportionate share of major political figures who are close to the radical right. The list is long, but these examples are pre-eminent:

—Gov. Lester Maddox of Georgia has had an involvement with a variety of rightwing organizations over at least a decade. In the years immediately before his election as governor in 1966, he frequently was a public ally of the Birch Society, the Citizens Councils, and such rightwing gospelers as Billy James Hargis. He refused to disavow the Ku Klux Klan, obviously because to do so would have offended many of his friends. At the time he was elected, the Let Freedom Ring rightwing telephone messages for Atlanta were coming from his furniture store. After he was publicly embarrassed by a Let Freedom Ring attack on the American Legion, the telephone equipment was swiftly removed; shortly, the message service was back in action, with its equipment located in an American Opinion book store (distributor of John Birch literature). Despite an initial effort to establish a "moderate" image, Gov. Maddox did not otherwise disavow his old friends. Some members of the radical right won second-level political appointments. A few months after taking office, Maddox appeared at a national gathering of the Rev. Mr. Hargis' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. His pronouncements on such subjects as the urban riots, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination and international affairs have continued to reflect the rightwing extremist line. Following the assassination, for instance, he said Dr. King had "carried out the policies and programs of Communists in this country."

—George Wallace, as governor of Alabama and later as a candidate for president, was the beneficiary of nationwide help from the radical right. Its members had been prominent in local efforts outside the South for his candidacy in presidential primaries in 1964. In the 1968 presidential campaign, they held key roles in the various state organizations created to support Wallace's candidacy. Wallace supporters used the rightist third parties established in many states as an outgrowth of the Congress of Conservatives, held in 1965 under the chairmanship of Kent Courtney, a rightist pamphleteer. These truly represented the outer fringes of American politics. Principal movers in some of the activities were Courtney; "Ace" Carter, who had been in the news over the years as an Alabama Klansman and Citizens Council leader; and former Sheriff James G. Clark of Selma, who also was popular on the John Birch Society speaking circuit.

Wallace's efforts also rested heavily in some areas upon the extremist Citizens Councils, Liberty Lobby and Congress of Freedom. Liberty Lobby began pushing the Wallace candidacy in 1965. It announced it was sending everyone on its mailing list a copy of a tabloid called "Stand Up for America—The Story of George Wallace." The Citizens Councils touted Wallace in their publications. In 1965 Wallace was speaker at the annual leadership conference of the Citizens Councils of America, at which one extremist speaker lengthily spiked the proceedings with anti-Semitic remarks that could only be described as rantings. Two months later Wallace was a main speaker at the annual convention of the Congress of Freedom, one of the wildest of all organizations of the radical right.

Some of the early Wallace campaign planning was at a meeting on November 8, 1965, in Montgomery attended by Ned Touchstone, Richard Cotton and John R. Rarick. Touchstone, whose plans for a "Draft Wallace" movement must have had either Wallace's approval or acquiescence, is widely known because of the crude racism and anti-Semitism of the *Councilor*, which he edits. Cotton is a radio commentator whose views are far beyond simple arch-conservatism; he sees a "Zionist-Jewish conspiracy" as all-pervasive and works with some of the country's leading hate peddlers. Rarick, then a Louisiana judge and later a congressman, has included such nationally known extremists as Col. Curtis B. Dall and Lt. Gen. Pedro Del Valle in his congressional campaign organization.

In Ohio, the Christian Conservative Party was the first group to promote the Wallace candidacy. Its headquarters, and the offices of the early statewide Ohio-for-Wallace group, were in a book store that distributed the most rancid propaganda of the radical right. A key figure in the effort there was a man who had advocated sending Negroes to Africa and who had suggested all Jews are Communists. In Missouri, one of the leading Wallace people was the Rev. Bill Beeney, of St. Louis. He sponsored the

appearance of former Sheriff Clark when he was in Missouri as the campaign organizer. Beeney's splinter, the Counter Revolutionary Organization on Salvation and Service (CROSS), promoted the distribution of weapons to be used to combat uprisings. In some places representatives of the Patriotic Party, political arm of the Minutemen, had leading roles in the Wallace effort. Though there later was confusion about its endorsement, in 1967 the Patriotic Party chose Wallace as its presidential candidate. John Birch members had prominent roles in Wallace organizations in many states. Robert Shelton, imperial wizard of the United Klans of America, claimed more strength than his organization actually had but no doubt reflected its political allegiance when he said of Wallace: "We made him governor and we must make him president." Extremist followers of Wallace were not hanging on despite discouragement; he repeatedly refused to disavow individuals and organizations with which presidential candidates traditionally have disassociated themselves. In many ways his was the most radical major presidential campaign in the country's history.

—John Bell Williams, governor of Mississippi, had rightwing ties as open as those of Maddox and Wallace. His voting record as a congressman would have warmed the heart of any ultra-rightist. Most notably in his non-legislative activities, he was a supporter of the Citizens Councils and the Liberty Lobby. The latter organization was founded by Willis Carto, a former Birch Society worker who once proposed that American Negroes be shipped to Africa. Liberty Lobby sometimes has had anti-Semitic thrust, as well. The Washington *Observer,* which Group Research has called a thinly-disguised Liberty Lobby newsletter, once suggested that Jewish organizations were behind efforts to win U.S. approval of the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty to facilitate Jewish migration from Russia. It added that consequently "we not only got a Consular Treaty but also will now receive many more Jews as immigrants from Russia! How lucky can we be?" Among Liberty Lobby's founders was Tom Brady, later a Mississippi Supreme Court justice and a leading figure in the Citizens Councils.

—Among congressmen and senators, the South Carolina delegation often has led the South in support of the radical right. Rep. Mendel Rivers, one of Congress' most powerful men as chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, defended the John Birch Society on the floor of the House in 1961. He has appeared on the rightwing Manion Forum. In July of 1967 the American Security Council, a conservative pressure group that grew out of an industry loyalty-security program, said it had been retained by Rivers' committee (apparently without payment) to study the U.S. arms race with Russia.

Rep. Albert Watson of South Carolina was a featured speaker at a Washington gathering of the Liberty Lobby in January of 1967. Reps.

W. J. Bryan Dorn and E. Y. Berry of South Carolina have been Liberty Lobby supporters. Sen. J. Strom Thurmond has always been a favorite of the radical right in general, and probably no other member of Congress has so consistently satisfied the radical right's conception of what a legislator should be.

—In Louisiana, the strong influence of Leander Perez, Sr., a nationally-known white supremacist and anti-Semite, has waned in recent years but in 1968 he showed renewed strength in manipulations within the Louisiana Democratic Party organizaton and through his efforts on behalf of Wallace. With a political and economic power base of his own for five decades (through his domination of minerals-rich Plaquemines Parish), Perez has had the wherewithal to voice his bigotry without compromise; it came out not only explosively anti-Negro but thoroughly and elaborately anti-Semitic. To Perez, trends toward extending civil liberties in recent years have been results of the plotting of Communist Zionists who were manipulating inherently inferior Negroes in the civil rights movement. Perez has said frankly that he does not believe in democracy and many times has advocated violence. One would think that the influence of such a man could not stand the test of time, but 50 years after his emergence as a political figure in Louisiana he still can move events. It would appear that his loss of the influence he once exercised is related less to the outrageousness of his words and actions than to the fact that in Louisiana he is now regarded as *gauche*. Perez is no longer the kind of man the most "respectable" people want to be associated with. With shiftings toward moderation in Lousiana, and with a rising Negro vote there, it is probable that no one can quite take the place of Perez. Rep. John R. Rarick, a loyal Citizens Councils supporter, and Rep. Joe Waggoner, who has supported the Liberty Lobby, are, however, two public figures of influence who are friends of the radical right.

The five states represented by these men have been, of course, the wellsprings of Southern extremism in recent years. It is worthwhile to note, however, that the rightist Southern politicians seldom worked seriously *to structurally build rightwing organizations.* An exception to this observation was to be found in Mississippi in the 1950s and early 1960s, when prominent political figures such as Ross Barnett positively furthered the development of the Citizens Councils. But for the most part, the leading political rightwingers have not cared to seriously build separate, private organizations that might rival their own bases or force them at points to take steps that could be politically damaging. An example of this caution was the Talmadge organization's success in the mid-1950s in preventing the Citizens Councils from becoming a serious factor *as an organization* in Georgia. The big names of Georgia segregation — Herman Talmadge,

Marvin Griffin, Roy Harris, Lester Maddox, and others — sponsored the Georgia States Rights Council, the state's equivalent to the Citizens Councils. But apparently because of Talmadge's influence, it never was allowed to extend roots organizationally. Once a year its sponsors would gather for oratory. The council itself never became an apparatus that could be used by new Jacobins to challenge the old Jacobins politically. Politicians usually are jealous of their own control, and distrustful of power bases that might be used by someone else to outdo them at their own games.

Some politicians have learned that relying upon Birch members or encouraging their influence in political structures can be costly. One leading southern Republican, who was beneficiary of substantial Birch Society political action in the Goldwater campaign of 1964, said then they were welcome and that his only requirement was that they work for the party. They did. But in time their primary allegiance to the doctrines of the Birch Society caused difficulties. His assessment of their political participation, coming from a tough-minded political organizer, is worth noting. He said recently in private:

"Those people are no problem if you've got others who know what's going on, who'll fight them when necessary. I've never been concerned with the Birch Society as an organization. I've never seen their lines of organization and leadership galvanized behind a particular candidate or policy, with control that transcends other lines of leadership. They may get together before a meeting and talk about what to do. But I never saw evidence that a section leader ordered them to do something which they just carried out. On the other hand, the Birch Society attracts some people who are irresponsible, and the nature of the society gives them a feeling of personal power. That type, trying to satisfy his own need for power, concerns me more than the ideological commitments of Birchers in general. The Birch Society members usually are not really interested in politics on a continuing and realistic basis. The ones who helped us most in 1964 are mostly out of party work now and busy with fundamentalist-type religion of the anti-Communist, anti-National Council of Churches type."

EXPORTING SOUTHERN RADICALISM

In 1968 a basic question about rightist radicalism in Southern politics arrested the attention of the nation as a whole: Could it be exported, so that a peculiarly southern politician might lead the whole country to the extreme right? George Wallace set out to make his presidential candidacy a truly national campaign, in sharp contrast with the sectional campaign conducted in 1948 by Sen. Thurmond and the States Rights Party. He won a place on the ballot in every state, an accomplishment requiring prodigious

effort and widespread support. Polls early in the campaign, and in mid-campaign, showed his popularity rising steadily across the nation.

Is Wallace a peculiarly southern politician? The argument can be made that he is simply a major political figure of the right who happens to be from the South; that other non-southern politicians, such as the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, have occupied essentially the same position in the political spectrum; and that accordingly there is nothing peculiarly southern about Wallace's politics. To a degree, this is true. It is easy to imagine that a national demagogue similar in many ways to Wallace might emerge from, for instance, the struggles over order in the schools of New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio. But even so, such a figure would not represent the same phenomenon that Wallace represents. He embodies the essence and spirit of a century of peculiarly southern resistance to the national ideals, with all its sly subtleties alien to most of the country's people; disregard for constitutional processes in general, with an assumption (accepted in much of the South) that tradition and folk custom are more important than law; traditional southern "put-the-bottom-rung-on-top" class appeals; and regional paranoia unlike any to be found elsewhere. Even his political rhetoric, which often surprised his non-southern listeners (with such lines as "We gone put 'em *under* the jail"), reduced the sense of identity which non-southerners could have with him. Wallace was, after all, a man who had a strong political base at home partly because he had exploited many people's sense of inferiority *as southerners* and their conviction that they were being looked down upon because of what they were. ("Folks down here in Alabama are just as refined and cultured as folks anywhere!" Wallace often says, and these words invariably bring applause from people who apparently need to be told just this.) In his last speech of the campaign, on the Georgia State Capitol steps, Wallace returned repeatedly to his regional themes. He said Georgians were tired of being looked down upon, and that they were as good as any bureaucrats with briefcases. He spoke of the need to show that a southerner could be elected president. The speech again underscored that, if Wallace was not a sectional candidate, at least he was a particular kind of peculiarly southern candidate running nationally.

The election results indicated that if the nation is soon to be led to the extreme right by a demagogue, as it may be, he will have to be something more than a demagogue of provincial thought processes, rhetoric and spirit. Rightwing radicalism in the South may help him substantially; but in its provincialism, it has peculiarities that only southerners can identify with.

The early poll showings reflected a strong general discontent in the country which Wallace could marshal for the pollsters but which he could

not translate into votes for the presidency of the United States. His 13 per cent nationally can be construed as alarming or as small enough to be reassuring. What is more important than the percentage is the distribution of his vote: It almost perfectly reflected the southern nature of his candidacy and the unwillingness of those outside the South to follow him.

Wallace carried only Alabama, with 65 per cent of the votes; Mississippi, with 63 per cent; Louisiana, with 48; Georgia, with 43; and Arkansas, with 40. Twenty years earlier Thurmond had carried Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. There was, then, little difference between the outcome for Wallace, with respect to his area of strong appeal, and the results for Thurmond, an easily identifiable southern sectional candidate. Wallace carried most of the "inner" South and did more poorly in the "outer" South, more poorly still in border states, and more poorly still in the rest of the nation. The pattern, in terms of the "southernness" of his appeal, was clear.

In the "outer" South, which he had hoped to carry, there were these results for him: Virginia, 24 per cent; Tennessee, 34; North Carolina, 31; Florida, 29; and Texas, 19. (In South Carolina, an "inner" South state, he apparently was limited to 31 per cent largely by the influence of Thurmond and other influential Republicans who presented Richard Nixon as perhaps less desirable for the South but more likely to win.) In the border states, he won these votes: Kentucky, 18 per cent; Maryland, 15; Missouri, 11; Delaware, 13; and West Virginia, 10. Significantly, in typical conservative states distant from the South, he made some of his worst showings; for instance, in Arizona (where Barry Goldwater was regaining his seat in the Senate), Wallace had nine per cent, and in Kansas, 10. He obviously was not seen primarily as a conservative in these states, but primarily as a southern radical.

In three states where he had served as a vehicle for very strong protest votes in the Democratic primaries of 1964, he did very poorly as a genuine candidate for the White House. He won 15 per cent in Maryland, where he had polled 43 per cent in the 1964 primary; 12 per cent in Indiana, where he had 30 per cent in 1964; and eight per cent in Wisconsin, where he had polled 34 per cent in 1964. These votes indicated that although many people four years earlier had been willing to vote for him in plebiscites on their discontent, most did not see his politics as suitable for a national presidential candidate.

Surely his peculiarly southern appeal was the basic factor in his insignificant showings in such states as Maine, where he won two per cent; Vermont, three per cent; New Hampshire, four per cent; and Hawaii, one per cent. In the final analysis, too, he lost much of the blue-collar support he had seemed to have during what might be called the rhetorical protest

stage of the campaign, before the White House was at stake. His results were poor in all industrial states. In Michigan he received only 10 per cent of the votes; in Ohio, 12 per cent; in New Jersey, nine per cent; in Illinois and Pennsylvania, eight per cent; and in California, seven per cent.

The Wallace campaign, with strong financing, nationwide organization, and almost even-time treatment by the mass media in general, scored well enough to cause concern about the extent of rightwing extremist feeling in the country. But what it revealed about that was not surprising. Certainly it did not indicate that the South can mold and direct the nation's extremism according to the designs and emphases of its peculiar, provincial variety of rightwing radicalism.

RIGHTISTS IN AND OUT OF OFFICE

The kind of political extremism that has prevailed or at least has been strongly represented in much of the South for decades is not substantially the product of radical national or regional organizations. Southern political rightists frequently have aided the organized right; but they have seldom been created by it. Nor is there convincing evidence that the election of a radical governor, such as Maddox or Wallace, has greatly increased the membership and activity of such organizations as the Birch Society, again with the lone exception of Mississippi during the era of Citizens Councils strength and their alliance with Gov. Ross Barnett. No one could have been more of an "anything goes" radical rightist than Maddox. But as he approached the middle of his term in office, there seemed to be no great increase in organized radical rightist activity in Georgia attributable to his influence. The John Birch Society in the Atlanta area in mid-1968 evidently had no more than 500 active members (one former member scoffed at any suggestion that it had more than 200). That figure represented no substantial increase and possibly a decline since 1964, despite intense new organizational efforts. The Citizens Councils still had made no inroads in Georgia, which always had been barren land for them. In Atlanta, where a council existed in name, it was hardly more than a mailing address. The Klan's membership apparently had not risen appreciably. Evidence of Klan activity seemed, in fact, substantially less than in some recent years and largely amounted to an occasional peaceful demonstration in Atlanta. (The Georgia Grand Dragon of the United Klans, Calvin Craig, resigned his Klan office in early 1968, indicating he would seek public office. He was amicably sitting down with Negroes regularly as a participant in Atlanta's Model Cities program, and he sought their votes in an unsuccessful race for sheriff.) When the preacher-evangelists of the radical right, in particular Billy James Hargis and Fred Schwarz, came through Georgia in 1967, their crowds were no larger than before. A visit by Robert Welch of the

Birch Society in February of 1967 attracted about 400 people, a much smaller crowd than he had drawn in 1966.

PROPAGANDA IN PRINT

If the radical organizations have not burgeoned everywhere, nevertheless the word they bear about public issues has. The theory of the Birch Society and its allies often has served as a codification and rationalization of existing prejudices, extending and enforcing them. Much of this has been done through publications and radio.

Among the principal rightist publications widely distributed in the South is *Human Events,* started in 1944 as a four-page newsletter by some prominent people (including Gen. Robert E. Wood and Charles E. Lindbergh) who had been associated with the isolationist America First Committee. *Human Events* at one time had close ties with the Birch Society, H. L. Hunt's Life Line organization, and other radical right groups. *Human Events* and the Birch Society have jointly offered their followers bulk subscriptions to *Human Events* and the Society's *American Opinion* magazine, at reduced rates. Many of the sponsors of *Human Events* in recent years have been leading Birch members, and the tabloid-size paper continues to push a standard set of far-right views and proposals. It cannot be as clearly labeled radical right as some other publications. Much of its content may be described as very conservative but not radical rightist in the narrow sense, consisting of articles by such people as Barry Goldwater, Ralph de Toledano, and Max Rafferty and reprints from conservative newspapers such as the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Charleston News and Courier.* It offers a combination of far-rightist viewpoints along with very conservative views that are more in the mainstream of public exchange. Its national circulation has reached an estimated 180,000, and it appears to be distributed very widely in the South.

Several publications of the radical right originate in the South. They are produced primarily for Southern readers. These include the Citizens Councils' magazine, the *Citizen,* and various pamphlets and books which that organization pushes; the *Augusta Courier,* a weekly tabloid put-together of clippings and extreme personal views published by old-time segregationist politician Roy Harris, of Augusta, Georgia, president of the Citizens Councils of America; the *Independent American,* a small monthly newspaper published by Free Men Speak, Inc., of New Orleans, whose principal voices have been Kent and Phoebe Courtney; the Southern States Industrial Council *Bulletin,* published semi-monthly in Nashville by a council with some large corporate support whose stated views parallel most of the program of the radical right; the *Birmingham Independent,* whose

readership is local; and the *Councilor,* publication of the Louisiana Citizens Councils.

Other radical right publications with some influence in the South include the Birch Society's *American Opinion* magazine, a monthly, and its *Bulletin,* a monthly in which Robert Welch tells members how they may implement the society's program first by reading and then by action; *Life Lines,* a four-page commentary put out three times a week by H. L. Hunt's Life Lines Foundation; the *Dan Smoot Report,* a four-page, letter-size weekly published in Dallas by Dan Smoot, who previously was commentator for Hunt's defunct radio program "Facts Forum;" the *Christian Crusade,* a monthly magazine, and the *Weekly Crusader,* a bulletin, published at Tulsa by Billy James Hargis; *Liberty Letter,* monthly official organ of the Liberty Lobby, whose 210,000 circulation nationally makes it the biggest periodical clearly representing the radical right; and *News & Views,* a monthly published by Maj. Edgar Bundy's Church League of America.

An arresting fact about all these publications is their sameness of viewpoint. The standard line, from which there is little variation, is opposition to the United Nations, the poverty program and the Supreme Court; hysterical exaggeration of the progress of internal communism; advocacy of a return of prayer to the public schools; opposition to civil rights legislation, with assertions that civil rights organizations are Communist pawns; a belief that the schools, press, churches and other basic institutions are Communist-infiltrated or at best dominated by "liberal-socialist" theory; and proposals to basically alter the federal system. There are variations on such questions as whether to support a third party and whether to dismantle the federal government by repealing the income tax and barring it from professional and business services (as the Liberty Lobby's proposed Liberty Amendment would do) or whether to simply limit income tax rates by amendment except in time of war (as the Southern States Industrial Council proposes).

PROPAGANDA ON THE AIR

The message of the radical right is much stronger in the South than elsewhere on radio stations. In fact, radio appears to be the most formidable weapon in the radicals' arsenal. A reasonable estimate indicates that 7,000 programs of the radical right are heard weekly across the nation, and a sizable portion of these are on southern stations. One reason for their proliferation has been the sluggishness with which liberals and others have moved to challenge them. Now when licenses are up for renewal before the Federal Communications Commission, questions occasionally are being raised about whether a station heavily dispensing radical rightist views is providing the kind of balance on public issues which the FCC requires. But each challenge must be well documented. Further, a station may escape

giving equal time to those attacked or to the causes they represent if there is no well-prepared request for the time; and when a station goes unchallenged at the time of a program it can argue that it would have granted equal time if this had been requested.

The South's affinity for radical right radio programs is worth close scrutiny. The region is still less urban than most of the nation, and a large part of its population regularly listens to small, local stations. It is exactly these low-budget stations, often without network ties or other good sources of programming, which most often use the radical right's prepared propaganda. The rightist evangelists, especially, have appeal in the South. One of their byproducts appears to be in influencing local preachers (usually of the smaller, fundamentalist sects) who use the radio simultaneously for jeremiads and fund appeals to sustain the program.

The Rev. Carl McIntyre's "Twentieth Century Reformation Hour" has led the field in the South, as well as nationally. Organized in 1958, this daily program was being heard on 313 stations by 1962. Its biggest forward movement came during and immediately after the general national upsurge of the right in 1964. At one point during that year the number of stations was 448, with 201 of these (45 per cent) in the South. In 1965 the number of stations exceeded 600. The program apparently continued to be strong in 1968, with about half the stations in the southern states. Much of McIntyre's appeal is to those who dislike the National Council of Churches and the directions in which almost all the major Protestant denominations have been moving on social and theological questions. McIntyre himself was barred from continued service as a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (now the United Presbyterian Church) in 1936. That church's General Assembly, its highest governing body, accused him of defaming the character of fellow Christians, causing "dissension and strife" and engendering suspicion and ill will. He has been a leading figure in the American Council of Churches and the International Council of Churches, splinter groups established as rivals of, respectively, the National and World Councils of Churches. McIntyre's appeal to religious separatism and fundamentalism is enhanced in the South by his longstanding opposition to civil rights legislation and statements like the one in which he said talk about racial brotherhood is only Communist propaganda. He is stridently anti-Catholic and in the past has been allied with anti-Semites. In the spring of 1967 he held a Washington meeting of his American Council of Churches to charge suppression of his radio program by the FCC under the "fairness doctrine" on equal time; but the program appears to be still going strong.

The progress of another broadcast of the religious rightists, the "Christian Crusade Radio Ministry," a daily program by Billy James Hargis,

also is especially noteworthy. It is sponsored by Hargis' Christian Crusade, which derives funds from various sources, and by contributions it requests on the air. In 1962 it had reached a peak, with 200 radio and 12 television outlets in 46 states. The next year it was forced to retrench, keeping about 50 radio stations and a few TV outlets. In 1964, with the whole radical right feeling an upsurge in connection with the Goldwater candidacy, the Christian Crusade program was back over the 100 mark in stations and by the next year it had 237 stations in 37 states, Canada and Mexico. In 1967, it had 208 U. S. stations, 86 of which were in the southern states. Thus, southern stations accounted for more than 41 per cent of Hargis' total.

Hargis has emerged in a short time as one of the two or three leading forces of the radical right nationally. In the South, his organization may have more impact than any other national rightist propaganda force. He preaches an orthodox rightist ideology, and in 1967 he seemed to be stepping up his appeals to racism. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was "a part of the whole Communist conspiracy," he told an Atlanta audience. He went on to scoff at the idea that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People speaks for Negroes. "They have never allowed a Negro to head their organization," he declared. His line generally has been that all civil rights efforts were related to communism and effectuated by dupes and fellow-travelers. His use of the race issue was not new: As early as the 1957 school desegregation struggle at Little Rock, he was defending white supremacy. He distributed a pamphlet on the Little Rock situation written by Joseph P. Kamp, a veteran rightwing extremist. Hargis has had a background of close association with extreme anti-Semites such as the late Gerald Winrod and Allen Zoll.

Maj. Edgar Bundy's Church League of America has a 15-minute program which from its outset in 1962 had a substantial southern representation. Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and Florida were four of the eight states reached by the program the first year. It remains a small operation by comparison with Hargis' and McIntyre's. In 1968 the South apparently had more than its share of the Bundy programs, though not as many as some Western states.

Howard Kershner's "Commentary on the News," sponsored by the Christian Freedom Foundation, Inc., also had found the South fertile ground. The number of its stations in the region is currently uncertain but, in 1962, 43 of the 148 stations carrying it, or 29.1 per cent, were in Southern states. The total number had risen by 1965 to 362 stations, including substantial increases in the South.

In addition to these rightist programs with specifically rightist appeals, others have been unusually successful. "Life Lines," the 15-minute daily

program heavily supported by Hunt's petroleum and food concerns, was organized in 1958. By 1961 it was carried by 200 stations nationally, and by the next year the figure had risen to 304. In 1963, 60 per cent of the 289 "Life Line" stations were in the South. In 1967, the figure was 236, or 47 per cent of the 500 stations. The "Manion Forum," which uses radio-solicited contributions and private industries' gifts to present Clarence Manion and his guests, has always had a disproportionate southern base. In 1959, when it had only 89 stations, 38 were in the South. In 1965, its 267 radio stations included 105, or 39 per cent, in the South. By 1967 the "Manion Forum" had been substantially reduced in scope nationally and was even more southern-oriented. Its 155 radio and TV stations included 101 in the South, 65 per cent of the total.

The Birch Society's radio program, relatively new, was making headway in the South in 1967 but how extensively was uncertain. America's Future, Inc., which might be called a fellow-traveler of the radical right, had a much less extensive but still disproportionate distribution in the South. In 1961, it had 371 stations nationally, with 121 of these, or 33 per cent, in southern states. The programs of the Citizens Councils Forum, which is supported by wealthy businessmen and which in the past had a subsidy from the State of Mississippi, were being used by more than 150 stations nationally in 1967, with a large part of this distribution in the South. The weekly "Radio Edition" of the Courtneys' *Independent American* newspaper was being broadcast in 1967 on 33 stations in about 15 states, most of these in the South.

Of the major programs only the "Dan Smoot Report" could be verifiably determined to have a less-than-proportionate distribution in the South. Analysis of the 1965 totals indicates that 20 of the 138 stations broadcasting the Smoot program were in the South, slightly less than seven per cent.

Some stations present a steady diet of the radical right's national offerings and supplement it with local rightist political programs and, frequently, religious fundamentalism. It is possible, in a few cities, to find a rightist program for almost every hour on some local station. In Birmingham in 1967, one might swing through a succession of programs, with hardly an interruption, by dialing six radio stations. On week days, starting at 7:55 a. m. and ending at 9 p.m., the right-winger's radio log included "Paul Harvey," "Christian Crusade," "Conservative Viewpoint," "Paul Harvey," "Paul Harvey," "Fulton Lewis III," and "Life Line;" and on Sundays, between 9:30 a.m. and 9:45 p.m., the "Rev. Ferrell Griswold" (a local minister and ally of the Birch Society), "The Independent Presents" (a local rightwing program), "Dan Smoot," "Christian Crusade," "John Birch Report," "Congressman John Buchanan" (a rightwing Republican), "Citizens Council Forum," "Manion Forum," and the "R. K. Scott Commen-

tary." In Birmingham the extreme rightwinger need hardly ever be without radio inspiration.

The dissemination of rightist views through broadcasting has unique significance, despite the fact that ultra-conservative opinions also are extensively distributed in the region's general-circulation newspapers. The latter will not be examined here. It might be said in passing that ultra-conservative newspaper columnists usually are sustained through normal syndication payments rather than through organizations and subsidies which exist only to promote the special causes of the radical right.

THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Among national organizations of the radical right, the John Birch Society remains the only one organized substantially across the South. (The Citizens Councils, strong in some areas, are excepted here because they are not truly national.) Some light on the degree of Birch Society penetration of the South is shed by a study done by Dr. Fred W. Grupp Jr., then of the University of Wisconsin's Department of Political Science. He surveyed members of the Birch Society in 1966 to determine, in part, how the individual attitudes of members might be correlated with the Society's official positions. He concluded there was wide disparity. Especially among the members recruited in the big expansion of 1964 and 1965, he found a very large number who did not accept the full "party line." Of principal interest here, however, is the fact that the Birch Society, though it would not reveal to him its mailing list, agreed to mail his questionnaires to a cross-section of its membership. From the replies received, Dr. Grupp calculated that 26 per cent of the Birch membership was in the 11 Southern states, which have 27 per cent of the nation's population. Since the best estimates of national Birch membership at that time were between 75,000 and 80,000, this percentage suggests a southern membership of 19,000 or slightly more. There was substantial variation state to state. From various evidences, the writer concludes that the following situation existed in early 1968. Alabama was the third state in the country in Birch members, with the highest number per capita. Texas and Florida were close to Alabama among southern states in membership. Mississippi had more than its per capita share: probably about 2,000 members. A middle rank could be assigned to Georgia, which appeared to have three per cent of the Birch membership (its total population being approximately two per cent of the nation's). Some other southern states, most notably Tennessee and North Carolina, apparently had substantially less Birch membership than their populations would indicate if membership were evenly distributed across the country. Of the remaining southern states, it appeared that Virginia and South Carolina were closer to the Texas-

Florida pattern and Arkansas and Louisiana closer to the Georgia mid-rank in Birch membership.

In some ways, the South seems to have been deliberately short-changed by the Birch Society organizationally, though it may be that only recently has the southern membership become substantial enough to justify a concentrated effort. In 1966, the Society had a chief public relations director and regional public relations directors for the East, Midwest, Southwest and Washington. No resident public relations director was in the Deep South even by early 1968. When the Society went all-out in general public appeal through newspaper advertising with a 16-page, multi-color newspaper supplement, it placed this special section in major newspapers in Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Indianapolis and Dallas. (In Houston, the section was mailed directly to homes.) No major southern newspapers outside Texas had the supplement. In 1965, a national fund drive brought in $200,000 through testimonial dinners ($50 and $25 per plate) in Los Angeles, Phoenix, New York, Chicago, and Dallas. Again, except for Dallas, the South had no such events. The Society has had field offices in White Plains, N. Y. (Eastern); Glenview, Ill. (Midwestern); San Marino, Calif. (Western); Washington; and Dallas (supplanting Houston in 1965, primarily for the Southwest). The Society had no such office for the South outside Texas.

Much of the Society's strength in the South is in small towns and cities of 50,000 population or less, such as Americus, Georgia, where racial difficulties apparently stimulated growth. From one smaller city to the next, there are great variations and many gaps. As for the larger urban areas, a map would call for pins to indicate relatively strong membership in all the major cities of Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas and Texas; most of those in Florida (and in particular, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, St. Augustine, West Palm Beach, Fort Lauderdale, Daytona, and Sarasota); some cities of Tennessee; several cities of Louisiana and Mississippi; some cities in North Carolina, though not as all-inclusively as among the large cities of South Carolina; and some cities of Virginia.

Growth appears to be spasmodic. Charles D. Nelson, "major coordinator" of the Society for Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida, said in an interview for this report that 1966 was a slack year in his three states following big gains in 1965. He said he expected a surge in membership with the 1968 political campaign and the attendant heightening of political interest. For his area, particularly, that appeared to be a reasonable prediction, especially in view of the George Wallace candidacy. Birch membership does seem to rise and fall with the intensity of interest in politics. Although 1966 was a bad year in general for Birch membership, it was a good year in Atlanta and its suburbs; the number of chapters there increased from 17 to 33

between the spring of 1966 and the spring of 1967. During most of that time a heated state political campaign was under way, with several candidacies which were encouraging to the radical right. (The Birch Society was divided in Georgia over the candidacies of Lester Maddox, Democrat, and Howard (Bo) Callaway, Republican.)

THE "SEGREGATION ACADEMIES"

The increase in the number of private, segregated schools in the South during the past few years has raised the spectre, in the minds of some observers at least, of a substantial increase in rightwing influences in education. The "segregation academies," schools founded specifically to maintain segregation (though this frequently was denied), began to appear in a number of states in the early 1960s, when the reality of public school desegregation was at hand. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and subsequent implementation of its school desegregation provisions by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare further expanded the private-school movement. Between 1965 and 1967, the number of private, segregated schools increased to about 200, with about 40,000 students, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service. The number of schools and students remained about the same during 1967 and into 1968. Louisiana, with about 65 schools enrolling about 16,500 students, and Virginia, with about 30 schools enrolling about 12,000, were the leading states in the new private-school movement. Many of the schools were sponsored by people identified with rightwing causes. The Citizens Councils encouraged them and founded some of its own. The extent of direct rightwing influence upon the pupils was difficult to define, but clearly it was substantially present.

Gov. Lester Maddox said in 1967 he would like to see 100 more private schools in Georgia. He obviously was encouraging the "segregation academies" rather than the educational purpose of older private schools, which had no primarily racial motivation and some of which were integrated. Georgia had only four such academies when the governor spoke, and since then the movement has not spread in the state. Gov. Maddox himself, it is clear, identified the private-school movement with defiance of federal desegregation requirements and probably also with conservative influences in the classroom. He said he would like to find some way to make state tuition grants but acknowledged this would be difficult. It was proving, in fact, to be impossible, or nearly so. The federal courts had knocked down other states' plans for subsidizing schools obviously established with the intent of evading civil rights requirements. Gov. Maddox made no further moves on the matter, having encountered intense resistance from other high-ranking state officials in Georgia.

The progression of cases through the federal courts gave every evidence that shortly no way would be left for states to give impetus to the private-school movement. There remained the question of whether a large number of "seg academies" might yet survive because of strong private financial support. Some seemed likely to do so. They were beginning to fill a demand for quality private education which existed apart from the desire to evade desegregation requirements. As these schools (which were not in the majority) tended to follow the patterns of older private schools, they seemed to be unlikely future vessels for the perpetuation of racism and rightwing political philosophy; at least, no more likely to be than private schools in general across the country. The tuition costs of private schools genuinely striving for quality in education made it apparent that they would be limited in number.

There are, however, numerous "segregation academies" whose genesis and whose support clearly suggest that their pupils will be subject to rightwing extremist and racist influences. Dr. T. E. Wannamaker, a leading South Carolina spokesman for private schools, is a favorite of the white Citizens Councils and the John Birch Society. Wade Hampton Academy at Orangeburg, S. C., of which he is president, is one of several schools that award their graduates a lapel pin consisting of a Confederate flag and the word "Survivor" underneath. It symbolizes, Dr. Wannamaker said, "the fight to maintain great principles such as the value of truthfulness, of honor, of courage and integrity, and the great principle that governments should be governments of laws and not of men." Dr. Wannamaker discounts the role of libraries and laboratories. "Our books today tend to mis-educate as well as to educate," he said.

The inferiority of many of the segregation academies is clear, and some states have lately moved to tighten requirements for private schools. "All you have to do to open a private school in South Carolina is to have a spare stable," Cyril Busbee, the state superintendent of education, said in 1967. The state was moving toward standards for the private schools, which in some areas were undermining the local public schools by attracting their students, teachers and community support.

The spread of segregated academies, with which John Birchers and old-line segregationists frequently have been identified, appears to be encountering now the hard reality that in the long run a private school will cost parents substantial amounts of money and will be depriving the children if the main purpose is espousal of views such as Dr. Wannamaker's. Some will become more respectable. Others are likely to die. Their long-range impact thus seems much smaller than it might have seemed two years ago, when state tuition grant programs were still alive.

In the area of public education, the South has the same kind of influences

at work on its schools as do other regions, as well as its own more pronounced racist pressures. These are difficult to measure quantitatively. Some evidence exists, however, that specifically rightwing pressure on public schools is no more pervasive in the region than in many other parts of the country. The Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities of the National Education Association, having examined rising harassment of teachers and schools, reported in 1966 that the John Birch Society was "clearly in first place as a trouble-making agency." Among others it cited were the Dan Smoot Reports and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Significantly, it said 90 per cent of the complaints of red-baiting and book censorship came from three states: California, Michigan and Ohio. Similarly, Mrs. Jennelle Moorhead, national president of the Parent-Teacher Association, blamed rightwing pressures for much of the loss of about 340,000 PTA members during the preceding three years but indicated most of the trouble had come not from the South but from other regions.

THE SOUTHERN RELIGIOUS WARP

The South, it probably can be said then, has both a vulnerability to rightwing doctrine and some resistance to formal organization of the John Birch kind. This vulnerability and this resistance are both related to the peculiar apartness of the region's culture. Although that apartness is declining under the constant impact of national norms and national outlooks, furthered through mass communications and national organizations such as religious denominational structures, it still exists.

One reason such organizations as the Birch Society have not fared especially well is that the South has a strong inclination to turn toward its traditional structures, including political forms, for expression and participation. If one lives in a state whose governor is a Lester Maddox or a George Wallace, has congressmen who vote to the satisfaction of the Americans for Constitutional Action and the Citizens Councils, is under a steady radio bombardment from rightwing propagandists and rightwing fundamentalist preachers, and lives in a city dominated by reactionary elements, who needs the John Birch Society? It becomes a foreign element in the native habitat. This kind of native habitat is not universal in the South, of course, but it exists in the areas which otherwise might be most receptive to national rightwing groups.

The South's paradoxical vulnerability to and resistance of rightwing organization also is clearly related to its religious peculiarity. The most church-oriented part of the country, the South is also the region most noted for fundamentalist, pietistic Protestantism. This has special pertinence inasmuch as even organizations of the radical right which do not have a religious orientation, such as the John Birch Society, appear to have a membership

strongly imbued with literalistic and pietistic religious views (of Catholic, as well as Protestant, varieties). "The preponderant majority of our members are deeply religious," Charles D. Nelson, the Birch coordinator for Alabama, Florida and Mississippi, has said. Ira S. Rohter, in his study of the radical right mentioned earlier, compared a sample group of radical rightists with an arbitrarily-chosen control group and found a very strong correlation between radicalism of the right and fundamentalist religious loyalties. Two students of fundamentalism and the radical right, Jack Dodson and Camille Vandervoort of the University of Houston, have suggested "the distinct possibility of the 'holinization' of the politics of the extreme right in the contemporary American society." In 1968, cars could be seen in the South bearing two bumper stickers: "God Give Us a Leader" and "Wallace '68."

The dominant churches in the South have been those which, in the broad sweep of Protestant history, would have to be called radical, part of the left wing of the Reformation. These were the churches that introduced the most radical changes in church government, including forms more democratic than previously existed and forms lending themselves to localism and extreme individualism. In theology, these were the churches that were most radical in altering views of the relationship between free will on the one hand and divine sovereignty on the other, asserting that not only was each man his own priest and not only did he fully make his own choice but that he could expect instant experience of his own salvation. This was the final triumph of religious individualism and personal pietism.

These were the churches which elsewhere were sects, characterized by their minority status, their feeling of alienation from a hostile society around them, their sense of apartness from the secular order. But in the South, what was a despised minority elsewhere (the Baptists) became the majority church. Southern Protestantism did not feel itself antagonistic toward the secular order around it; it began to be shaped by, identify with, and support that society.

The dominant Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians became the state church of the South, defending the status quo and the entrenched, and sanctifying public policy. The most bizarre, and by most standards anti-Christian, instance of this was in church defenses of slavery. That tradition was extended through the period of segregation's decline, so that Monday newspapers depicted ushers standing with grim faces and folded arms blocking church doorways to Negroes while, inside, ministers talked of love and sin. All these evidences of the obscuring of Christian ethical demands within Christian churches have their parallels outside the region, of course, but the southern Church's history has made it especially weak in the face of today's moral confrontations and such phenomena as radicalism of the

right, with all its denials of the universality of man's humanity. A "southern theology" is central in this phenomenon. It has been in the making for a long time.

Samuel S. Hill, an authority on religion in the South, has surmised that the southern religious pattern was already set by 1800. In early colonial times, the region was not extensively religious. Anglicanism was the main force, but its reach was limited. Then, during the Great Awakening period of the 1740's, the Presbyterians spread rapidly, with an evangelical thrust which nevertheless had strong intellectual accompaniment. In the 1750's, the Baptists began a long burst of growth. From 1770, the Methodists spread rapidly, with camp meetings as a principal means. The Baptists and the Methodists, more than any others, went where the people were and offered them a faith they could quickly respond to.

The South, James McBride Dabbs has written, institutionalized revivalism in the late 19th century. Other parts of the country moved on past. But the South stayed with revivalism and its heavy emphasis on emotion, simple doctrine and quick assurance of salvation. In fact, the South distorted each of the great founders of Protestantism. Martin Luther had asserted each individual's ability to interpret the Scriptures, but the South made a preposterous anti-intellectual, individualistic fetish of that principle. John Wesley had emphasized free-will in the attainment of salvation, but he did not tear free-will loose from divine sovereignty; many of his southern Methodist followers and others did, all but making man sovereign in determining his salvation through instant self-declarations of conversion. John Calvin's strong views on social responsibility were abandoned by southern Presbyterians; Calvin had asserted that the Church must be the social conscience of the land, but for decades southern Presbyterians largely ignored that doctrine, replacing it with an extreme view on the separation of church and state which facilitated the suspension of ethical judgments on state affairs. The southern Baptists also left their ancient moorings. They have sometimes traced their origins to the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century; but their views of social responsibility became much narrower than the Anabaptist assertion that each man was responsible for the deeper morality of his day-to-day actions and for the tone of the society around him. In the great retreat from concern about the social order, Dabbs has written, the Southern Church "avoided the core problems and dabbled around the edges with a bunch of blue laws." In the early stage, said W. J. Cash, the South needed and received "a faith, not of liturgy and prayer book, but of primitive frenzy and the blood sacrifice — often of fits and jerks and barks — . . . a personal God, a God for the individualist . . . ." Cash also noted a strange contrast: the South's love of pleasure alongside its Puritanism. How could hedonism be recon-

ciled to Puritanism? Cash concluded that this could be done only if religious faith and daily life were kept separate. New England Puritans had done this, too; but in the South, Puritanism lived on and became a dominant faith.

The relevance of all this to radical rightist influence in the South is clear. Rightist views in the United States are commonly grounded in narrow, anti-intellectual views of the world; in moralistic certitude; in a view that opposing ideas are satanic; in a devotion to old practices and old values with the assumption that these are under attack from evil forces; and in an assertion of individualism which, although rightists often are themselves subject to herding, becomes an official virtue. These threads of rightist radicalism are obviously also the central elements in the Southern church's peculiarity (its heresy, perhaps, from the viewpoint of mainstream Protestantism).

The revivalistic nature of the big Protestant denominations in the South has been substantially modified in recent years. These churches' clergy are better educated than in the frontier days, and increasingly influenced by mainstream religious ideas. The institutions themselves are more sophisticated. But much of the old influence remains.

Membership figures suggest just how pervasive has been the influence of the peculiar Southern church. We start with the fact that the South is far more church-oriented than any other part of the nation. The percentage of people who are *current members* of southern Protestant churches is about twice as high as in any other part of the country, and three times as high as in some. This is the only region where current members of Protestant churches *far outnumber* the members of Catholic and Jewish congregations. Only in the South do Protestant churches have an actual majority of the total population. The South had, in 1952, 4.1 churches per 2,000 people, compared with 1.4 in the Northeast, 2.4 in the North Central region, and 1.5 in the West. Beyond this, we must consider what churches southerners are in. Two examples suffice for the Deep South. In Mississippi, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and members of the Disciples of Christ account for 94 per cent of the population; in Georgia, for 93 per cent. Baptist and Methodist memberships comprise the great bulk of this membership.

Dr. Earl D. C. Brewer, a sociologist who directs the Religious Research Center at Emory University, has said: "The Klan is a child of the main religious forces in the South. The connection becomes closest in the case of the extreme sects. But the fundamentalist thrust is at the center of the southern brand of Protestanism."

As the major Protestant denominations that have been traditional in the South move away from the core of fundamentalism, a largely unnoticed

phenomenon is taking place which could have profound import for the future. The Pentecostal-Holiness and Church of God denominations, which reach back to the fundamentalism of old, are growing astonishingly. The best evidence is that while the region's population was increasing 37 per cent between 1926 and 1952, membership in the Pentecostal-Holiness churches in the South increased 1,000 per cent and in the Church of God congregations 659 per cent. Dr. Brewer has remarked upon the South's impact on the nation through the out-migration of its religious fundamentalists; the spread of the newer fundamentalist faiths is likely to have similar impact. They carry on with the kind of simplistic, emotional, salvationist and intellectually indifferent strains that earlier went into the mass Protestant faiths of the South, before the memberships became predominantly middle class.

In the South's political life, Lester Maddox is the peak of a largely-concealed iceberg. He combines political primitivism with religious primitivism. Far more than most political analysts seem to realize, his appeal is to the religious simplism of a sub-culture in the South which lies beneath the middle class or at its lower edges and whose extent is told in the figures on poverty in the South's poorest region. Gov. Maddox is often seen as a demagogue cut from the familiar cloth of old-style demagoguery in the South. But in many ways he is different from the cynical political charlatans. He is the South's brand of religious and political simplism run amuck. He is the logical extension, in high office, of the moods and feelings that come from those origins. It is no accident that he is both a fundamentalist Protestant and a rightwing political extremist.

THE FUTURE

It is these phenomena, essentially indigenous, which must claim first priority in any evaluation of the future of rightwing radicalism in the South. The John Birch Society is alien, with a limited middle-class appeal, though it may yet have greater impact. The Ku Klux Klan is a small fossil from the not-so-distant past. The Citizens Councils, created in the post-1954 convulsion, have been steadily dying and are of little consequence today even in Mississippi. The pure ideology of many other political extremist groups from outside the region is too complex and too pseudo-rational for all but a relatively few paranoiac southerners. But those preaching "doctrines wholly unrelated to reality," as President Kennedy described them, who can combine these nostrums with the emotional set and the religious forms indigenous to the South will be of greater significance.

A George Wallace has appeal largely based upon petulance and bitter defiance, and this is satisfying to those who feel threatened by modernism and the world at large. A Lester Maddox has this same "strike-back"

appeal, but also the moralistic appeal of a profoundly ignorant neo-Puritan who sees many devils, all of them on the left. He represents the rightwing "holinization of politics." On the South's airwaves, this tendency is fed best by the radio preachers and other rightwingers who at least superficially identify themselves with fundamentalist religious values.

The counter-weights are many, of course. Major southern religious denominations are moving rapidly away from the peculiarity of their past. Even the Pentecostal-Holiness churches tend to change somewhat as they move into the cities and the suburbs, and as many of their members continue on the "up" economic escalator taking them into the middle class. All these churches are subject, finally, to the challenge of their own religion when they begin reading it without the blinders that the South's peculiarities imposed. The region's racial and poverty crises already are beginning to receive fruitful attention from many churches whose theologies only a few years ago made them oblivious, at best. This new attention to realities will not mix well with "doctrines wholly unrelated to reality."

The South for some time probably will remain a part of the country oddly susceptible to radicalism of the right, but also resistant. It is not likely to lead the nation to the right. Its George Wallaces and Lester Maddoxes will have too limited an appeal elsewhere. Conversely, a Barry Goldwater (despite his success in five southern states) in time loses appeal among southern rightists because he is not of their ethos and style. So as has been true with so many other phenomena, southern rightist radicalism will be essentially provincial. Its future will be determined by the rapidity with which the South becomes like the nation at large.

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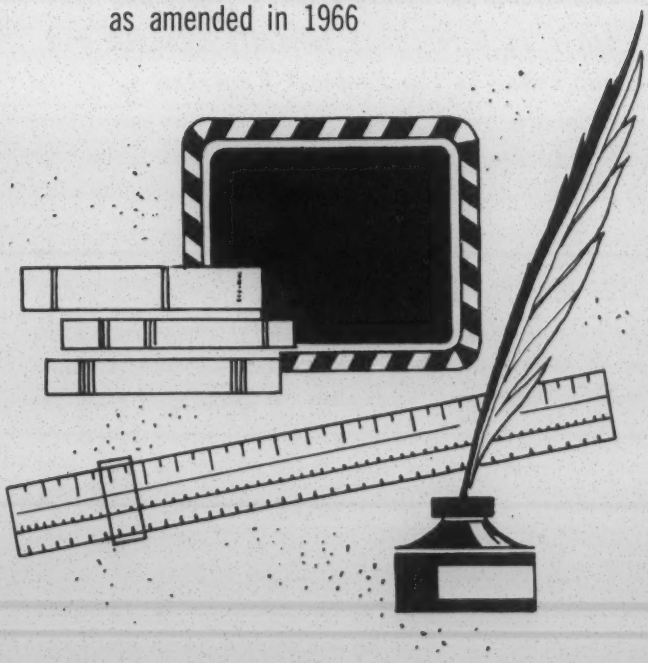

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
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WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, *Administrator*

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THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 extended the coverage of the Act generally to all employees of elementary and secondary schools, institutions of higher education, and schools for the mentally or physically handicapped or gifted children. This means that the minimum wage, overtime, equal pay and child labor provisions of the Act will apply to all nonexempt employees.

The Act continues to apply, as it did before the 1966 Amendments, to nonexempt employees of private schools, including institutions of higher education, who are individually engaged in interstate commerce or producing goods for interstate commerce, and to other employees of private school establishments having such employees if the annual gross volume of the enterprise is in excess one million dollars. (In the case of organizations which are not operated for profit, gross dollar volume from eleemosynary, religious, educational and other similar activities is not counted toward this monetary requirement.)

Employees of private schools in such previously covered employment must be paid a minimum wage at a rate of not less than $1.25 an hour until February 1, 1967, and at a rate of not less than $1.40 an hour beginning on that date; and must receive overtime compensation at a rate of not less than one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for all hours worked over 40 in any workweek. On and after February 1, 1968, such employees must be paid a minimum wage rate of not less than $1.60 an hour, as well as the prescribed overtime after 40 hours a week.

All employees of the described schools are covered effective February 1, 1967, regardless of whether the schools are public or private, whether they are operated for profit or not for profit or whether they are financed solely by private contributions or receive substantial Federal assistance.

"Elementary" and "secondary" schools (as these terms are defined in the Act) are residential or day schools which provide elementary education, or secondary education, as determined under State law.

"Schools for mentally or physically handicapped or gifted children" include those educational establishments catering to the needs of children who are physically handicapped, mentally handicapped or gifted.

MINIMUM WAGE

For newly covered employment in schools and institutions of higher education, employees unless specifically exempt must be paid not less than the minimum wage shown in the following schedule:

$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967
$1.15 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968
$1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969
$1.45 an hour, beginning February 1, 1970
$1.60 an hour, beginning February 1, 1971

(The reasonable cost or fair value as determined by the Administrator of meals (board) and lodging customarily furnished by the employer may be considered as part of an employee's wages. The term "reasonable cost" as used in the Act does not include a profit to the employer or to any affiliated person.)

OVERTIME

For newly covered employment in such educational institutions, employees, unless specifically exempt, must be paid not less than one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for all hours worked:

After 44 hours, beginning February 1, 1967
After 42 hours, beginning February 1, 1968
After 40 hours, beginning February 1, 1969

(This law does not require premium pay for Saturday, Sunday, or holiday work as such, or vacation or severance pay, or a discharge notice; nor does it set any limit on the number of hours of work for females or persons 16 years of age and over.)

EXEMPTIONS

Bona fide executive, administrative and professional employees (including any employee employed in the capacity of academic administrative personnel or teacher in elementary or secondary schools) may be exempt from the minimum wage and overtime requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act if they meet certain tests established for such exemption.

EQUAL PAY

The employer may not discriminate on the basis of sex by paying employees of one sex wages at rates lower than he pays employees of the other sex for doing equal work on jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility which are performed under similar working conditions. This applies to all employees within the establishment who are subject to the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

CHILD LABOR

The basic minimum age for employment is 16 except for occupations declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor, to which an 18 year minimum age applies. Minors 14 and 15 years of age may by employed outside school hours in a variety of nonmanufacturing and nonmining occupations but not after 7 p.m. or before 7 a.m., nor over 3 hours per school day, 18 hours per school week; 8 hours per non-school day, 40 hours per non-school week. There are special provisions limiting employment of young persons in agriculture, and permitting employment as actors or performers and in the delivery of newspapers to consumers. Where both Federal and State child labor laws apply, the higher standard must be observed.

RECORD KEEPING

Every employer must maintain accurate records of earnings, hours worked, and other data required by the Regulations, Part 516. An official "NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES" furnished by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions must be posted where employees can readily see it.

MORE INFORMATION AVAILABLE

Further information about the Fair Labor Standards Act may be obtained by contacting the nearest office of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, U.S. Department of Labor. Offices are located in the cities listed below:

State	Regional Office	Field Office
Alabama	Birmingham	Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery
Alaska	San Francisco, Calif.	Anchorage*
Arizona	San Francisco, Calif.	Phoenix
Arkansas	Birmingham, Ala.	Little Rock
California	San Francisco	Hollywood, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Francisco, Whittier
Colorado	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver
Connecticut	Boston, Mass.	Hartford
Delaware	Chambersburg, Pa.	Philadelphia, Pa.
District of Columbia	Chambersburg, Pa.	College Park, Md.
Florida	Atlanta, Ga.	Jacksonville, Miami, North Miami, Tampa
Georgia	Atlanta	Atlanta, Columbus, Hapeville, Savannah
Hawaii	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu
Idaho	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland, Oregon
Illinois	Chicago	Chicago, Springfield
Indiana	Chicago, Ill.	Indianapolis, South Bend
Iowa	Kansas City, Mo.	Des Moines
Kansas	Kansas City, Mo.	Wichita
Kentucky	Nashville, Tenn.	Lexington, Louisville
Louisiana	Birmingham, Ala.	Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Shreveport
Maine	Boston, Mass.	Portland
Maryland	Chambersburg, Pa.	Baltimore, College Park
Massachusetts	Boston	Boston, Springfield
Michigan	Chicago, Ill.	Detroit, Grand Rapids
Minnesota	Chicago, Ill.	Minneapolis
Mississippi	Birmingham, Ala.	Jackson
Missouri	Kansas City	Kansas City, St. Louis

*Field Station.

State	Regional Office	Field Office
Montana	Kansas City, Mo.	Salt Lake City, Utah
Nebraska	Kansas City, Mo.	Omaha
Nevada	San Francisco, Calif.	Oakland, Calif.
New Hampshire	Boston, Mass.	Manchester
New Jersey	New York, N.Y.	Newark, Paterson, Trenton
New Mexico	Dallas, Texas	Albuquerque
New York	New York	Bronx, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Hempstead, New York, Syracuse
North Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh
North Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
Ohio	Chicago, Ill.	Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus
Oklahoma	Dallas, Tex.	Oklahoma City, Tulsa
Oregon	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland
Pennsylvania	Chambersburg	Harrisburg, McKeesport, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wilkes-Barre
Rhode Island	Boston, Mass.	Providence
South Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Columbia
South Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls
Tennessee	Nashville	Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville
Texas	Dallas	Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, Waco
Utah	Kansas City, Mo.	Salt Lake City
Vermont	Boston, Mass.	Springfield, Mass.
Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Richmond, Roanoke
Washington	San Francisco, Calif.	Seattle
West Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Charleston, Clarksburg
Wisconsin	Chicago, Ill.	Madison, Milwaukee
Wyoming	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver, Colo.
Canal Zone	Santurce, P.R.	
Puerto Rico	Santurce	Santurce, Mayaguez
Virgin Islands	Santurce, P.R.	
Guam	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
Wake Island	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
American Samoa	San Francisco, Calif.	

☆ GPO : 1967 O - 240-859

HOSPITALS AND NURSING HOMES

under the

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

AS AMENDED IN 1966

WAGE AND HOUR and PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, *Secretary*

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS

Clarence T. Lundquist, *Administrator*

WHPC Publication 1165

November 1966

This pamphlet is for general information and is not to be considered in the same light as official statements of position contained in Interpretative Bulletins and other such releases formally adopted and published in the Federal Register.

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 extended the coverage of the Act generally to all employees of hospitals and nursing homes (with the exception of hospitals operated by the Federal government). Employees are covered whether the institution is public or private, or operated for profit or not for profit.

Nursing homes whose employees are covered are institutions primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective who reside on the premises.

MINIMUM WAGE

Employees of hospitals and nursing homes, unless specifically exempt, must be paid not less than the minimum wage shown in the following schedule:

$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967
$1.15 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968
$1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969
$1.45 an hour, beginning February 1, 1970
$1.60 an hour, beginning February 1, 1971

(The reasonable cost or fair value as determined by the Administrator of meals (board) and lodging customarily furnished by the employer may be considered as part of an employee's wages. The term "reasonable cost" as used in the Act does not include a profit to the employer or to any affiliated person.)

OVERTIME

Hospitals: Nonexempt hospital employees must be paid not less then one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for all hours worked:

After 44 hours, beginning February 1, 1967
After 42 hours, beginning February 1, 1968
After 40 hours, beginning February 1, 1969

unless the hospital employee and his employer have an agreement or understanding arrived at before the performance of the work that a fixed work period of fourteen consecutive days is accepted in lieu of the workweek of seven consecutive days for the purpose of computing overtime. Where such an agreement or understanding exists, the hospital must pay the employee at time and one-half his regular rate of pay for the hours worked over eight in any workday and in excess of eighty hours in the fourteen-day period.

(This law does not require premium pay for Saturday, Sunday, or holiday work as such, or vacation or severance pay, or a discharge notice; nor does it set any limit on the number of hours of work for females or persons 16 years of age and over.)

Hospital employees subject to the Act's minimum wage and overtime requirements under the law's provisions prior to the 1966 Amendments must receive a minimum wage of not less than $1.25 an hour until February 1, 1967, not less than $1.40 an hour beginning on that date, and not less than $1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1968, together with overtime compensation of not less than one and one-half their regular rates of pay for all hours worked over 40 in a workweek. Hospitals whose facilities are available to the general public would not ordinarily have any such employees, because of the exemption applicable prior to the 1966 Amendments to hospitals qualifying as retail or service establishments.

Nursing Homes: Employees of nursing homes are exempt from the Act's general overtime requirements for newly covered employees so long as they receive not less than one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for all hours worked in excess of forty-eight during a workweek.

EXEMPTIONS

Bona fide executive, administrative, and professional employees may be exempt from the minimum wage and overtime requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act if they meet certain tests established for such exemption.

EQUAL PAY

The employer may not discriminate on the basis of sex by paying employees of one sex wages at rates lower than he pays employees of the other sex for doing equal work on jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility which are performed under similar working conditions. This applies to all employees within the establishment who are subject to the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

CHILD LABOR

The basic minimum age for employment is 16 except for occupations declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor, to which an 18 year minimum age applies. Minors 14 and 15 years of age may be employed outside school hours in a variety of nonmanufacturing and nonmining occupations but not after 7 p.m. or before 7 a.m., nor over 3 hours per school day, 18 hours per school week; 8 hours per non-school day, 40 hours per non-school week. Where both Federal and State child labor laws apply, the higher standard must be observed.

RECORD KEEPING

Every employer must maintain accurate records of earnings, hours worked, and other data required by the Regulations, Part 516. An official "NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES" furnished by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions must be posted where employees can readily see it.

For further information, contact the nearest Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions' Office in the cities listed below:

State	Regional Office	Field Office
Alabama	Birmingham	Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery
Alaska	San Francisco, Calif.	Anchorage*
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California	San Francisco	Hollywood, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Francisco, Whittier
Colorado	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver
Connecticut	Boston, Mass.	Hartford
Delaware	Chambersburg, Pa.	Philadelphia, Pa.
District of Columbia	Chambersburg, Pa.	College Park, Md.
Florida	Atlanta, Ga.	Jacksonville, Miami, North Miami, Tampa
Georgia	Atlanta	Atlanta, Columbus, Hapeville, Savannah
Hawaii	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu
Idaho	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland, Oregon
Illinois	Chicago	Chicago, Springfield
Indiana	Chicago, Ill.	Indianapolis, South Bend
Iowa	Kansas City, Mo.	Des Moines
Kansas	Kansas City, Mo.	Wichita
Kentucky	Nashville, Tenn.	Lexington, Louisville
Louisiana	Birmingham, Ala.	Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Shreveport
Maine	Boston, Mass.	Portland
Maryland	Chambersburg, Pa.	Baltimore, College Park

*Field Station.

State	Regional Office	Field Office
Massachusetts	Boston	Boston, Springfield.
Michigan	Chicago, Ill.	Detroit, Grand Rapids
Minnesota	Chicago, Ill.	Minneapolis
Mississippi	Birmingham, Ala.	Jackson
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Nebraska	Kansas City, Mo.	Omaha
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New Jersey	New York, N.Y.	Newark, Paterson, Trenton
New Mexico	Dallas, Texas	Albuquerque
New York	New York	Bronx, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Hempstead, New York, Syracuse
North Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh
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Rhode Island	Boston, Mass.	Providence
South Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Columbia
South Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls
Tennessee	Nashville	Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville
Texas	Dallas	Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, Waco
Utah	Kansas City, Mo.	Salt Lake City
Vermont	Boston, Mass.	Springfield, Mass.
Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Richmond, Roanoke
Washington	San Francisco, Calif.	Seattle
West Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Charleston, Clarksburg
Wisconsin	Chicago, Ill.	Madison, Milwaukee
Wyoming	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver, Colo.
Canal Zone	Santurce, P.R.	
Puerto Rico	Santurce	Santurce, Mayaguez
Virgin Islands	Santurce, P.R.	
Guam	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
Wake Island	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
American Samoa	San Francisco, Calif.	

GPO : 1966 O - 238-139

WHPC Publication 1163 / Wash., D.C. 20210
November 1966

CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

under the
Fair Labor Standards Act
as amended in 1966

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, *Secretary*

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, *Administrator*

This pamphlet is for general information and is not to be considered in the same light as official statements of position contained in Interpretative Bulletins and other such releases formally adopted and published in the Federal Register.

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

Workers in the construction industry[1] are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act which contains minimum wage, maximum hours, overtime pay, equal pay, and child labor standards. Before the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, the Act applied to:

(a) Employees individually engaged in work relating to construction which is closely connected with interstate commerce or producing goods for interstate commerce; and

(b) All employees employed in a construction (or reconstruction) enterprise having an annual gross volume of business of not less than $350,000, in which some employees handle or work on materials or goods that have been moved in or produced for interstate commerce.

Employees in the employments described in both paragraphs (a) and (b) remain covered under the amended Fair Labor Standards Act, and are referred to in this leaflet as employees in "previously covered" employment.

The 1966 Amendments, effective February 1, 1967, extended the Act's coverage to additional employees in the construction industry by removing the annual sales test for construction enterprise coverage.

[1]Note: On Federal and Federally financed and assisted construction, the Davis-Bacon and related Acts, and the Contract Work Hours Standards Act may apply as well as the Fair Labor Standards Act. Information about these Acts may be obtained from the Office of the Solicitor, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 20210.

PREVIOUSLY COVERED EMPLOYMENT

All employees engaged in "previously covered" employment, unless specifically exempt, must be paid a minimum wage of not less than $1.25 an hour until February 1, 1967, not less than $1.40 an hour beginning February 1, 1967, not less than $1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1968, for all hours worked, and overtime compensation at a rate of not less than one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for the hours worked over 40 in any workweek.

NEWLY COVERED EMPLOYMENT

All construction employees in employment "newly covered" by virtue of the 1966 Amendments, unless specifically exempt, must be paid not less than the minimum wages for all hours worked and not less than one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for overtime, as shown in the following schedule:

$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967, and overtime after 44 hours a week;

$1.15 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968, and overtime after 42 hours a week;

$1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969, and overtime after 40 hours a week;

$1.45 an hour, beginning February 1, 1970, and overtime after 40 hours a week;

$1.60 an hour, beginning February 1, 1971, and overtime after 40 hours a week;

(Wages include the "reasonable cost" or "fair value", as determined by the Administrator, of board (meals), lodging, or other facilities customarily furnished by an employer to his employees unless excluded by the terms of an applicable *bona fide* collective bargaining agreement. "Reasonable cost" has been determined to be "actual cost" and does not include a profit to the employer or to any affiliated person.)

(This law does not require premium pay for Saturday, Sunday, or holiday work as such or vacation or severance pay, or a discharge notice nor does it set any limit on the number of hours of work for females or persons 16 years of age and over.)

HOURS WORKED

Employees who are entitled to the benefits of the Act must be paid in compliance with its provisions for all hours worked. This includes at least all time they are required to be at their place of work or on duty and time spent in traveling from job to job during the course of the workday.

EXEMPTIONS

Bona fide executive, administrative, and professional employees may be exempt from the minimum wage and overtime requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act if they meet certain tests established for such exemption.

EQUAL PAY

The employer may not discriminate on the basis of sex by paying employees of one sex wages at rates lower than he pays employees of the other sex for doing equal work on jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility which are performed under similar working conditions. This applies to all employees within the establishment who are subject to the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

CHILD LABOR

The basic minimum age for employment is 16 except for occupations declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor, to which an 18 year minimum age applies. Minors 14 and 15 years of age may be employed outside school hours in a variety of

nonmanufacturing and nonmining occupations but not after 7 p.m. or before 7 a.m., nor over 3 hours per school day, 18 hours per school week; 8 hours per non-school day, 40 hours per non-school week. Where both Federal and State child labor laws apply, the higher standard must be observed.

RECORD KEEPING

Every employer must maintain accurate records of earnings, hours worked, and other data required by the Regulations, Part 516. An official "NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES" furnished by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions must be posted where employees can readily see it.

For further information, contact the nearest Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions' office located in the cities listed below:

State	Regional Office	Field Office
Alabama	Birmingham	Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery
Alaska	San Francisco, Calif.	Anchorage*
Arizona	San Francisco, Calif.	Phoenix
Arkansas	Birmingham, Ala.	Little Rock
California	San Francisco	Hollywood, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Francisco, Whittier
Colorado	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver
Connecticut	Boston, Mass.	Hartford
Delaware	Chambersburg, Pa.	Philadelphia, Pa.
District of Columbia	Chambersburg, Pa.	College Park, Md.
Florida	Atlanta, Ga.	Jacksonville, Miami, North Miami, Tampa
Georgia	Atlanta	Atlanta, Columbus, Hapeville, Savannah
Hawaii	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu
Idaho	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland, Oregon
Illinois	Chicago	Chicago, Springfield
Indiana	Chicago, Ill.	Indianapolis, South Bend
Iowa	Kansas City, Mo.	Des Moines
Kansas	Kansas City, Mo.	Wichita
Kentucky	Nashville, Tenn.	Lexington, Louisville
Louisiana	Birmingham, Ala.	Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Shreveport

*Field Station.

State	Regional Office	Field Office
Maine	Boston, Mass.	Portland
Maryland	Chambersburg, Pa.	Baltimore, College Park
Massachusetts	Boston	Boston, Springfield
Michigan	Chicago, Ill.	Detroit, Grand Rapids
Minnesota	Chicago, Ill.	Minneapolis
Mississippi	Birmingham, Ala.	Jackson
Missouri	Kansas City	Kansas City, St. Louis
Montana	Kansas City, Mo.	Salt Lake City, Utah
Nebraska	Kansas City, Mo.	Omaha
Nevada	San Francisco, Calif.	Oakland, Calif.
New Hampshire	Boston, Mass.	Manchester
New Jersey	New York, N.Y.	Newark, Paterson, Trenton
New Mexico	Dallas, Texas	Albuquerque
New York	New York	Bronx, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Hempstead, New York, Syracuse
North Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh
North Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
Ohio	Chicago, Ill.	Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus
Oklahoma	Dallas, Tex.	Oklahoma City, Tulsa
Oregon	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland
Pennsylvania	Chambersburg	Harrisburg, McKeesport, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wilkes-Barre
Rhode Island	Boston, Mass.	Providence
South Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Columbia
South Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls
Tennessee	Nashville	Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville
Texas	Dallas	Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, Waco
Utah	Kansas City, Mo.	Salt Lake City
Vermont	Boston, Mass.	Springfield, Mass.
Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Richmond, Roanoke
Washington	San Francisco, Calif.	Seattle
West Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Charleston, Clarksburg
Wisconsin	Chicago, Ill.	Madison, Milwaukee
Wyoming	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver, Colo.
Canal Zone	Santurce, P.R.	
Puerto Rico	Santurce	Santurce, Mayaguez
Virgin Islands	Santurce, P.R.	
Guam	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
Wake Island	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
American Samoa	San Francisco, Calif.	

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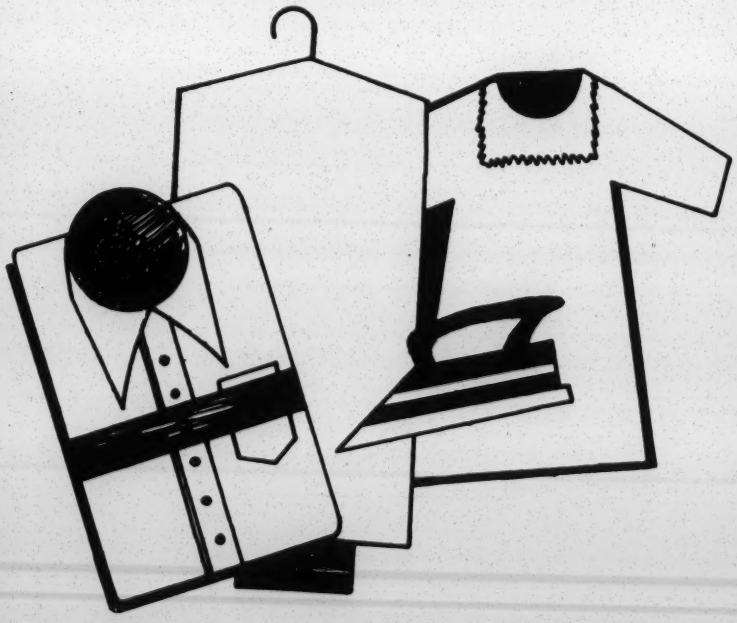
November 1966

LAUNDRIES AND DRY CLEANING ESTABLISHMENTS

under the
Fair Labor Standards Act
as amended in 1966



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, *Secretary*

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, *Administrator*

This pamphlet is for general information and is not to be considered in the same light as official statements of position contained in Interpretative Bulletins and other such releases formally adopted and published in the Federal Register.

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, effective February 1, 1967, extended general coverage of the Act to all employees employed in laundry and dry cleaning enterprises. Before these Amendments, coverage under the wage and hours provisions of the Act was limited to employees of certain laundries and dry cleaning establishments which did not meet the requirements for the exemption provided in the Act prior to the Amendments of 1966.

PREVIOUSLY COVERED EMPLOYMENT

Establishments of laundry and/or dry cleaning enterprises having employees covered and not exempt from the minimum wage and overtime provisions prior to the 1966 Amendments include:

- any establishment performing central functions such as providing office, warehouse, or garage services for two or more establishments engaged in laundering, cleaning or repairing clothing or fabrics;

- any establishment engaged in laundry, cleaning or repairing clothing or fabrics, making 50 percent or more of its annual dollar volume of sales of such services from laundry or dry cleaning work for out-of-state customers;

- any establishment engaged in laundering, cleaning or repairing clothing or fabrics, making more than 25 percent of its annual dollar volume of sales of such services from laundry or dry cleaning work for customers engaged in mining, manufacturing, transportation and communications businesses.

Employees of such establishments in employments covered by the Act's prior provisions and not otherwise exempt must be paid a minimum wage at a rate of not less than $1.25 an hour until February 1, 1967 and at a rate of not less than $1.40 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967, and overtime compensation at a rate of not less than one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for the hours worked over 40 in any workweek. On and after February 1, 1968, such employees must be paid a minimum wage of not less than $1.60 an hour, and the prescribed overtime pay after 40 hours a week.

NEWLY COVERED EMPLOYMENT

All other employees employed in lanudry and dry cleaning enterprises, regardless of their previous status under the Act, and without regard to the annual volume of sales or business done, are newly covered employees, and unless specifically exempt, must be paid not less than the minimum wages for all hours worked and not less than one and one-half times their regular rates of pay for overtime, as shown in the following schedule:

$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967, and overtime after 44 hours a week;

$1.15 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968, and overtime after 42 hours a week;

$1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969, and overtime after 40 hours a week;

$1.45 an hour, beginning February 1, 1970, and overtime after 40 hours a week;

$1.60 an hour, beginning February 1, 1971, and overtime after 40 hours a week.

EXEMPTIONS

Bona fide executive, administrative, and professional employees may be exempt from the minimum wage and overtime requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act if they meet certain tests established for such exemption.

EQUAL PAY

The employer may not discriminate on the basis of sex by paying employees of one sex wages at rates lower than he pays employees of the other sex for doing equal work on jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility which are performed under similar working conditions. This applies to all employees within the establishment who are subject to the minimum wage provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

CHILD LABOR

The basic minimum age for employment is 16 except for occupations declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor, to which an 18 year minimum age applies. Minors 14 and 15 years of age may be employed outside school hours in a variety of nonmanufacturing and nonmining occupations but not after 7 p.m. or before 7 a.m., nor over 3 hours per school day, 18 hours per school week; 8 hours per non-school day, 40 hours per non-school week. Where both Federal and State child labor laws apply, the higher standard must be observed.

RECORD KEEPING

Every employer must maintain accurate records of earnings, hours, and other data required by the Regulations, Part 516. An official "NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES" furnished by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions must be posted where employees can readily see it.

For further information, contact the nearest Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions' office in the cities listed below:

State	Regional Office	Field Office
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Colorado	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver
Connecticut	Boston, Mass.	Hartford
Delaware	Chambersburg, Pa.	Philadelphia, Pa.
District of Columbia	Chambersburg, Pa.	College Park, Md.
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Georgia	Atlanta	Atlanta, Columbus, Hapeville, Savannah
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Idaho	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland, Oregon
Illinois	Chicago	Chicago, Springfield
Indiana	Chicago, Ill.	Indianapolis, South Bend
Iowa	Kansas City, Mo.	Des Moines
Kansas	Kansas City, Mo.	Wichita
Kentucky	Nashville, Tenn.	Lexington, Louisville
Louisiana	Birmingham, Ala.	Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Shreveport
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Maryland	Chambersburg, Pa.	Baltimore, College Park
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New Hampshire	Boston, Mass.	Manchester
New Jersey	New York, N.Y.	Newark, Paterson, Trenton

*Field Station.

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New Mexico	Dallas, Texas	Albuquerque
New York	New York	Bronx, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Hempstead, New York, Syracuse
North Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh
North Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
Ohio	Chicago, Ill.	Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus
Oklahoma	Dallas, Tex.	Oklahoma City, Tulsa
Oregon	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland
Pennsylvania	Chambersburg	Harrisburg, McKeesport, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wilkes-Barre
Rhode Island	Boston, Mass.	Providence
South Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Columbia
South Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls
Tennessee	Nashville	Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville
Texas	Dallas	Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, Waco
Utah	Kansas City, Mo.	Salt Lake City
Vermont	Boston, Mass.	Springfield, Mass.
Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Richmond, Roanoke
Washington	San Francisco, Calif.	Seattle
West Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Charleston, Clarksburg
Wisconsin	Chicago, Ill.	Madison, Milwaukee
Wyoming	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver, Colo.
Canal Zone	Santurce, P.R.	
Puerto Rico	Santurce	Santurce, Mayaguez
Virgin Islands	Santurce, P.R.	
Guam	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
Wake Island	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
American Samoa	San Francisco, Calif.	

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HIRED FARM WORKERS

under the

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT AS AMENDED IN 1966

WAGE AND HOUR and PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, *Secretary*

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, *Administrator*

WHPC Publication 1161
October 1966

This pamphlet contains only general information on the Fair Labor Standards Act and is not to be considered in the same light as official statements of position formally adopted and published in the Federal Register.

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT REQUIRES A MINIMUM WAGE

FOR COVERED EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE

of at least $1.00 an hour

Effective February 1, 1967

($1.15 an hour, effective February 1, 1968)
($1.30 an hour, effective February 1, 1969)

This minimum wage must be paid to every worker who is employed in covered employment in agriculture by an employer who used more than 500 man-days of farm labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding calendar year. Exceptions to this requirement are listed below under "Who is Exempt?"

OVERTIME

There is no requirement regarding overtime pay for farm workers.

AGRICULTURE

Workers who cultivate the soil or grow or harvest crops, or who raise livestock, bees, fur bearing animals, or poultry are engaged in agriculture. Those who do such work in greenhouses, nurseries, and hatcheries are included.

Also included are workers employed by a farmer on work incidental to their employer's own farming operations, including delivery of his farm products to market. They are not doing "agricultural" work as defined by the Act in weeks when they work on products not grown by their own employer.

An example: Workers in the ordinary farm packing shed who, as an incident to the farming, pack only the fruit grown by their employer are employed in agriculture. If any of the fruit was not grown by their employer, they are not agricultural workers, and will generally be subject to a minimum wage of $1.40 an hour beginning February 1, 1967 ($1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1968) and to overtime pay at time and one-half for work over 40 hours in a workweek, unless a specific exemption applies.

Workers who work on a farm in work incidental to the farming operations conducted on that farm are also considered as agricultural workers, whether employed by a farmer or by an independent contractor. Agriculture as defined in the Act, however, does not include any work off the farm which is performed by any employees other than those employed by the farmer.

Workers employed by a contractor are considered to be employed in agriculture when they grow or harvest crops -- for example, when they pick fruit. This is also the case when they do work on a farm for the farmer that is incidental to the farming operations of that farm -- as when they thresh grain grown on that farm.

COVERED WORK

The act applies generally to all workers who are engaged in or are producing goods for interstate commerce, and to workers employed in certain enterprises. Thus, the Act covers workers who grow crops or raise livestock which will leave the State directly, or which will leave the State indirectly through a buyer who will ship them across the State lines or who will process them or use them as ingredients of other goods which will move in interstate commerce.

WHO IS EXEMPT?

The minimum wage (and overtime pay) is not required for

(1) Workers who are employed in agriculture by an employer who did *not* use 500 man-days of farm labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding calendar year;

(2) Members of the employer's immediate family;

(3) Hand harvest laborers paid piece rates in an operation generally recognized as piece work in the region, if (a) they go each day to the farm from their *permanent* residence, and (b) they have been employed in agriculture less than 13 weeks in the preceding calendar year;

(4) Migrant hand harvest laborers 16 years of age or under and employed on the same farm as their parents, if (a) they are paid piece rates in an operation generally recognized as piece work in the region, and (b) the piece rate is the same as paid workers over age 16;

(5) Employees principally engaged in the range production of livestock.

MAN-DAY

A "man-day" means any day during which an employee performs agricultural labor for not less than one hour. Workers listed in (2) and (3) above are excluded when counting "man-days".

CHILD LABOR RESTRICTIONS

Children under 16 may not be employed in agriculture during school hours for the school district where the child lives while so employed.

No child under 16 years of age may be employed in agriculture in an occupation found by the Secretary of Labor to be hazardous (except where the child is employed by a parent on a farm owned or operated by the parent).

These restrictions apply regardless of whether the child must be paid the minimum wage.

EQUAL PAY

Wage discrimination on the basis of sex to employees subject to the minimum wage is prohibited. An employer may not pay employees of one sex at rates lower than he pays employees of the opposite sex for doing work in the same establishment on jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility which are performed under similar working conditions.

SPECIAL MINIMUM RATES

Full-time students may be employed for not more than 20 hours a week while attending school at rates lower than the statutory minimum under certificates issued under the Act.

Handicapped workers may also be employed at special minimum rates under certificates issued by the Administrator of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions. A handicapped worker is one whose earning or productive capacity is impaired by age or physical or mental deficiency or injury.

EMPLOYER - FURNISHED FACILITIES

Wages also include the reasonable cost or fair value, as determined by the Divisions' Administrator, of board, lodging, and other facilities customarily furnished by the employer to his employees. However, such costs are not included

in wages to the extent they are excluded under an applicable bona fide collective bargaining agreement.

RECORD KEEPING

Every employer must maintain accurate records of earnings, hours, and other data required by the Divisions' Regulations, Part 516. An official "NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES" furnished by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions must be posted where employees can readily see it.

MORE INFORMATION AVAILABLE

Further information about the Fair Labor Standards Act may be obtained by contacting the nearest office of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, U.S. Department of Labor. Offices are located in the cities listed below:

State	Regional Office	Field Office
Alabama	Birmingham	Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery
Alaska	San Francisco, Calif.	Anchorage*
Arizona	San Francisco, Calif.	Phoenix
Arkansas	Birmingham, Ala.	Little Rock
California	San Francisco	Hollywood, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Francisco, Whittier
Colorado	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver
Connecticut	Boston, Mass.	Hartford
Delaware	Chambersburg, Pa.	Philadelphia, Pa.
District of Columbia	Chambersburg, Pa.	College Park, Md.
Florida	Atlanta, Ga.	Jacksonville, Miami, North Miami, Tampa
Georgia	Atlanta	Atlanta, Columbus, Hapeville, Savannah
Hawaii	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu
Idaho	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland, Oregon
Illinois	Chicago	Chicago, Springfield
Indiana	Chicago, Ill.	Indianapolis, South Bend
Iowa	Kansas City, Mo.	Des Moines
Kansas	Kansas City, Mo.	Wichita
Kentucky	Nashville, Tenn.	Lexington, Louisville
Louisiana	Birmingham, Ala.	Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Shreveport
Maine	Boston, Mass.	Portland
Maryland	Chambersburg, Pa.	Baltimore, College Park
Massachusetts	Boston	Boston, Springfield
Michigan	Chicago, Ill.	Detroit, Grand Rapids
Minnesota	Chicago, Ill.	Minneapolis
Mississippi	Birmingham, Ala.	Jackson
Missouri	Kansas City	Kansas City, St. Louis

*Field Station.

State	Regional Office	Field Office
Montana	Kansas City, Mo.	Salt Lake City, Utah
Nebraska	Kansas City, Mo.	Omaha
Nevada	San Francisco, Calif.	Oakland, Calif.
New Hampshire	Boston, Mass.	Manchester
New Jersey	New York, N.Y.	Newark, Paterson, Trenton
New Mexico	Dallas, Texas	Albuquerque
New York	New York	Bronx, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Hempstead, New York, Syracuse
North Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh
North Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
Ohio	Chicago, Ill.	Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus
Oklahoma	Dallas, Tex.	Oklahoma City, Tulsa
Oregon	San Francisco, Calif.	Portland
Pennsylvania	Chambersburg	Harrisburg, McKeesport, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wilkes-Barre
Rhode Island	Boston, Mass.	Providence
South Carolina	Atlanta, Ga.	Columbia
South Dakota	Kansas City, Mo.	Sioux Falls
Tennessee	Nashville	Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville
Texas	Dallas	Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, Waco
Utah	Kansas City, Mo.	Salt Lake City
Vermont	Boston, Mass.	Springfield, Mass.
Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Richmond, Roanoke
Washington	San Francisco, Calif.	Seattle
West Virginia	Nashville, Tenn.	Charleston, Clarksburg
Wisconsin	Chicago, Ill.	Madison, Milwaukee
Wyoming	Kansas City, Mo.	Denver, Colo.
Canal Zone	Santurce, P.R.	
Puerto Rico	Santurce	Santurce, Mayaguez
Virgin Islands	Santurce, P.R.	
Guam	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
Wake Island	San Francisco, Calif.	Honolulu, Hawaii
American Samoa	San Francisco, Calif.	

GPO : 1966 O - 236-227

"LIST OF PUBLICATIONS"

This leaflet of the Wage and Hour Division is temporarily out of print. It will be supplied in future kits when available.

A special leaflet on Hotels and Restaurants will be supplied when available.

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October 1966
Wash., D.C. 20210

HANDY REFERENCE GUIDE
To The
FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
as amended in 1966

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, *Secretary*
WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, *Administrator*

T COPY AVAILABLE

This Guide provides general information concerning the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended in 1966. It is not to be considered in the same light as official statements of position as contained in the regulations, interpretative bulletins and other such releases, formally adopted by the Divisions and published in the Federal Register. Copies of such publications may be obtained free from the Divisions' nearest office. A listing of offices is on pp. 13 and 14.

OPY AVAILABLE

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THE FLSA AND THE 1966 AMENDMENTS

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, establishes minimum wage, maximum hours, overtime pay, equal pay, and child labor standards for covered employment, unless a specific exemption applies.

Effective February 1, 1967, the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 extended the act's coverage to more workers and increased the minimum wage for employment already subject to the law. Before the amendments, the act applied, as it still applies, to employees individually engaged in interstate or foreign commerce or in the production of goods for such commerce, and to employees in certain large enterprises (referred to in this Guide as "previously covered" employment, discussed on pp. 2 and 3).

The 1966 amendments' extension of coverage was achieved through the broadening of the definition of a covered enterprise. Also, some exemptions were revised or eliminated.

Among other changes, more retail and service enterprises were brought under the act. For the first time, the law's standards were extended, in whole or in part, to employees in certain hotels, motels, and restaurants, in hospitals and nursing homes, and in schools. Certain farmworkers were made subject to the minimum wage requirements. For a fuller discussion of "newly covered" employment see pp. 3 and 4.

The minimum wage and overtime standards for "newly covered" employment differ, for the limited periods prescribed in the law, from the corresponding standards which apply to work subject to the act before February 1, 1967.

BASIC WAGE AND HOUR STANDARDS

Unless specifically exempt, employees engaged in previously covered employment must be paid at least as follows:

Minimum wage.—$1.40 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967; $1.60 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968.

Overtime.—One and one-half times the employee's regular rate of pay for all hours worked in excess of 40 in a workweek.

WAGE AND HOUR STANDARDS FOR NEWLY COVERED EMPLOYMENT

Unless specifically exempt, employees engaged in work made subject to the act by the 1966 amendments must be paid at least as follows:

Minimum wage for non-farm work.—$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967; $1.15 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968;

$1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969; $1.45 an hour, beginning February 1, 1970; $1.60 an hour, beginning February 1, 1971.

Overtime pay for non-farm work.—One and one-half times the employee's regular rate of pay is required for all hours worked over the following: 44 hours in a workweek, beginning February 1, 1967; 42 hours in a workweek, beginning February 1, 1968; 40 hours in a workweek, beginning February 1, 1969.

Employees of nursing homes, rest homes, and bowling alleys must receive 1½ times their regular rate for hours over 48 in any workweek.

A special provision permits hospitals to adopt a 14-day period in lieu of the usual 7-day workweek, provided at least time and one-half the employee's regular rate is paid for hours in excess of 8 in any workday and in excess of 80 in the 14-day period.

Minimum wage for farm work.—$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967; $1.15 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968; $1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969.

The overtime provisions do NOT apply to farm work.

PREVIOUSLY COVERED EMPLOYMENT

Employees covered prior to the 1966 amendments remain covered under the amended act. They include (a) employees individually engaged in interstate or foreign commerce, (b) employees individually engaged in the production of goods for interstate or foreign commerce, and (c) all employees in certain large enterprises.

(a) Employees engaged in interstate or foreign commerce: These include workers in the telephone, telegraph, radio, television, and transportation industries; those who build, maintain and repair highways, railroads, and airfields, or service vehicles or equipment used in interstate commerce; employees in distributing industries, such as wholesaling, who handle goods moving in interstate commerce as well as workers who order, receive or keep records of such goods; clerical and other workers who regularly use the mails, telephone or telegraph for interstate communication; employees of businesses such as banks, insurance companies, and advertising agencies, that regularly utilize the channels of interstate commerce in the course of operations; and employees who regularly travel across State lines while working.

(b) Employees engaged in the production of goods for interstate or foreign commerce: Included are employees who work in manufacturing, processing, and distributing establishments, and in mines, oilfields, and quarries that produce goods for interstate or foreign commerce. This means everyone, including office, management, sales, and shipping personnel, and maintenance, custodial, and protective

employees, whether they are employed by the producer or an intermediary. Employees may be covered even if their firm does not ship its goods directly in such commerce. The goods may leave the State through another firm. The workers may produce goods which become a part or ingredient of goods shipped in interstate or foreign commerce by another firm. Also covered are workers who are engaged in a closely related process or occupation directly essential to the production of such goods. Their employers may supply such items as machinery, fuel or utilities to firms for producing goods for, or engaging in, such commerce.

(c) Employees employed in the following enterprises, if—

(1) there are, in the activities of the enterprise, employees engaged in interstate or foreign commerce or in the production of goods for interstate or foreign commerce, including employees handling, selling, or otherwise working on goods that have been moved in or produced for such commerce by any person, and if—

(2) such enterprise is one which—

(i) has one or more retail or service establishments and an annual gross sales volume of $1 million* or more, and procures at least $250,000 annually of goods for resale that move across State lines, or

(ii) is engaged in the business of construction or reconstruction and has an annual gross volume of $350,000 or more from such business, or

(iii) is a gasoline service establishment which has an annual gross sales volume of $250,000* or more, or

(iv) is engaged in urban or interurban transit operations and has an annual gross sales volume of $1 million* or more, or

(v) is an establishment of any other such enterprise, where the establishment has some employees engaged in interstate or foreign commerce or in the production of goods for such commerce and the enterprise has an annual gross sales volume of $1 million or more.

The act provides that none of the above enterprises will include any establishment which has as its only employees, the owner, his spouse, parents, or children.

NEWLY COVERED EMPLOYMENT—AS OF FEBRUARY 1, 1967

The 1966 amendments increased the coverage of the act by including employees of additional enterprises and made the act applicable to other employees by repealing or revising specific exemptions. Employment thus made subject to the minimum wage provisions by these amendments is "newly covered." Thus, for purposes of deciding

*Exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated.

whether an employee is "newly covered," the act as it read before the 1966 amendments must be considered in the light of the changes made by the 1966 amendments.

(a) Employees employed in the enterprises indicated below are covered on and after February 1, 1967, under the 1966 amendments, if—

(1) there are, in the activities of the enterprise, employees engaged in interstate or foreign commerce or in the production of goods for interstate or foreign commerce, including employees handling, selling, or otherwise working on goods that have been moved in or produced for such commerce by any person, and if—

(2) such enterprise is one which—

(i) has an annual gross volume of sales made or business done, exclusive of certain excise taxes, of at least $500,000 ($250,000 beginning Feb. 1, 1969), or

(ii) is engaged in the business of construction or reconstruction (regardless of dollar volume), or

(iii) is engaged in laundering, cleaning, or repairing clothing or fabrics (regardless of dollar volume), or

(iv) is engaged in the operation of a hospital (except a Federal Government hospital), nursing home, or school (whether public, private, or nonprofit and regardless of dollar volume).

The act provides that none of the above enterprises will include any establishment which has as its only regular employees, the owner, his spouse, parents or children, or other member of the owner's immediate family.

(b) As the result of the elimination or revision of various exemptions, employees of certain hotels, motels, and restaurants and other retail or service establishments have had their exemption status changed. Also, employees of taxicab companies and of additional transit companies have become subject to the minimum wage.

The minimum wage provisions have been extended to certain farm workers, to employees of country elevators in the "area of production," to cotton ginning employees, and to certain fruit and vegetable transportation employees. The minimum wage and overtime pay exemption for employees handling and processing agricultural products in the "area of production" has been repealed. Overtime pay exemptions applicable to certain other agricultural processing employees have been eliminated or revised. More logging crew employees are now subject to the minimum wage and overtime requirements. The number of hours beyond which overtime pay is required in "seasonal" industries has been reduced.

PREVIOUSLY AND NEWLY COVERED EMPLOYMENT IN THE SAME ENTERPRISE

It is possible for previously covered employees and workers newly covered by the 1966 amendments to be employed in the same enterprise. For example, employees in the central warehouse and central office of a retail chain having an annual gross volume of sales between $500,000 and $1 million were previously covered and must be paid not less than $1.40 an hour, effective February 1, 1967, and $1.60 an hour, effective February 1, 1968, with overtime after 40 hours a week. However, employees of an individual store with an annual dollar volume of at least $250,000 in such a chain are to be paid according to the schedule for newly covered employment shown on pp. 1 and 2, beginning with a minimum of $1.00 an hour and overtime after 44 hours, effective February 1, 1967.

ENTERPRISE

An enterprise is defined in the act to mean the related activities performed, either through unified operation or common control, by any person or persons for a common business purpose. The enterprise includes all such activities whether performed in one or more establishments or by one or more corporate or other organizational units. Thus, where there is unified operation or common control of related activities performed for a common business purpose in departments of an establishment operated through leasing arrangements, the activities performed in the leased departments are included in the enterprise. On the other hand, the related activities performed for the enterprise by an independent contractor are not so included.

Where an enterprise may be considered to consist only of the activities of a particular retail or service establishment, the act provides some special rules. If such an establishment is under independent ownership, it will not be considered to be so operated or controlled as to be other than a separate and distinct enterprise merely because its place of business and the separate premises occupied by other retail or service establishments are leased from the same lessor. Nor will such a result follow merely because of an arrangement to sell, or sell only, goods specified by a particular manufacturer, distributor, or advertiser, or to join with other such establishments in the same industry for the purpose of collective purchasing, or to have an exclusive right to sell the goods or use the brand name of a manufacturer, distributor or advertiser within a specified area.

The 1966 amendments revised the definition of "enterprise" to make it clear that activities in connection with the operation of the following are "for a business purpose" within the meaning of the act: Hospitals (excluding Federal Government hospitals) and institutions primarily engaged in the care of the aged, the mentally ill or defective

who reside on the premises; elementary and secondary schools, schools for mentally gifted or handicapped children, and institutions of higher education; also street, suburban or interurban electric railways, and local trolley or motorbus carriers, if the rates and services of such systems are subject to regulation by a State or local agency. Coverage of such enterprises does not depend on whether they are public or private, or operated for profit or not for profit.

EXEMPTIONS

Some employees who would otherwise be entitled to the benefits of the act are excluded from the minimum wage or overtime provisions, or both, by specific exemptions. These exemptions apply only in those cases where their terms and conditions are specifically met. Employers should check carefully the terms and conditions of any exemption which they seek to use. The list below merely indicates some types of exemptions contained in the act and does not spell out their conditions. Information on specific exemptions may be obtained from the Divisions' nearest office.

EXEMPTIONS FROM THE MINIMUM WAGE AND OVERTIME PROVISIONS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

Executive, administrative, and professional employees (including teachers and academic administrative personnel in elementary or secondary schools), and outside salesmen, as defined in regulations of the Administrator;

Employees of a retail or service establishment that makes most of its sales within the State and is not in a covered enterprise *or* has less than $250,000 in annual sales (exclusive of specified taxes). Covered hospitals, nursing homes, laundries, drycleaners, and schools do not qualify for this exemption;

Employees of certain seasonal amusement or recreational establishments, of motion picture theaters, of certain small newspapers; switchboard operators of telephone companies which have fewer than 750 telephones; seamen employed on vessels other than American vessels; fish farmers and fishermen;

Certain farm workers employed by an employer who did not use more than 500 man-days of farm labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding calendar year; employees engaged in certain operations relating to specified agricultural or horticultural commodities; and employees in small forestry and logging operations.

EXEMPTIONS FROM ONLY THE OVERTIME REQUIREMENTS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

Employees of hotels, motels, restaurants; employees of retail or service establishments who are employed primarily in connection with certain food or beverage services;

Certain higher paid commission employees of retail or service estab-

lishments; salesmen, mechanics, and partsmen primarily engaged in selling or servicing automobiles, trucks, trailers, farm implements, or aircraft, employed by nonmanufacturing establishments primarily engaged in the business of selling such vehicles to ultimate purchasers;

Employees of railroads, pipelines, and carriers by air covered by specified statutes; operating employees of urban and interurban transit systems; drivers of taxicabs; seamen on American vessels; certain employees of motor carriers; and local delivery drivers paid on a trip rate basis or other delivery payment plan meeting prescribed conditions;

Employees employed in canning, processing, storing, marketing, and distributing aquatic products;

Announcers, news editors, and chief engineers of certain nonmetropolitan broadcasting stations.

PARTIAL EXEMPTIONS FROM THE OVERTIME REQUIREMENTS

Partial exemptions from the overtime requirements for certain periods are provided for employees in industries determined to be seasonal by the Administrator; for certain operations on agricultural commodities; and for employees of certain wholesale or bulk petroleum distributors whose annual gross sales (exclusive of certain taxes) are less than $1 million. Also there is a limited overtime pay exemption for employees of institutions primarily engaged in the care of the sick, aged, and mentally ill residing on the premises; and bowling establishments.

HOW TO COMPUTE OVERTIME PAY

Premium pay for overtime work must be paid for each hour worked in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to the type of employment in which the employee is engaged. Overtime pay must be paid at a rate of not less than 1½ times the employee's regular rate of pay.

The "regular rate" may be more than the minimum wage; it cannot be less. Except for certain types of payments specified in section 7(e) of the act, an employee's regular rate includes all payments made by the employer to or on behalf of that employee. Assuming that the employee receives no compensation other than that stated, here are some typical cases based, for example only, on a maximum workweek of 40 hours:

1. **Hourly rate.**—The regular rate of pay for an employee paid by the hour is his hourly rate. When he works more than 40 hours in a workweek, he is due at least 1½ times his regular rate for each hour over 40.

   Example: An employee gets paid $1.60 an hour; this is his regular rate. If he worked a 44-hour workweek, he would be entitled to at least 1½ times $1.60, or $2.40, for each hour over 40. His pay

for the week would be $64 for the first 40 hours plus $9.60 for the 4 hours overtime, or a total of $73.60.

2. **Piece rate.**—The regular rate for an employee paid on a piece-rate basis is obtained by dividing the total weekly earnings by the total number of hours worked in the same week. The employee is entitled to payment of one-half this regular rate for each hour over the 40th in addition to the full piecework earnings.

   Example: An employee is paid on a piecework basis. When he worked 45 hours in a week, his earnings came to $81. His regular rate of pay for that week was $1.80 ($81 divided by 45). In addition to his regular rate the employee is entitled to 90 cents (one-half his regular rate) for each hour over 40, or 5 times 90 cents for the 5 overtime hours. This $4.50 overtime premium brought his total earnings to $85.50.

   Another way to compensate pieceworkers for overtime, where agreed upon in advance of performance of the work, is to pay 1½ times the piece rate for each piece produced during overtime hours. The piece rate must be the one actually paid during non-overtime hours and it must be enough to yield at least the minimum wage per hour.

   Example: An employee is paid 8 cents for each piece. In a week in which he worked 43 hours, he earned $68.40 for the first 40 hours at this rate. The employee's pay was piece and one-half, or 12 cents per piece produced in the overtime hours. Assuming he produced 65 pieces during the overtime, he was entitled to be paid $7.80 (65 times 12 cents) as overtime pay. Thus, he earned a total of $76.20 for the week.

3. **Salaries.**—The regular rate for an employee who is paid a salary for a regular or specified number of hours a week is obtained by dividing the weekly salary by the hours.

   Example: An employee is paid a salary of $80 for a 40-hour workweek. His regular rate of pay is $80 divided by 40 hours, or $2 an hour. When he works overtime, he will be entitled to get 1½ times the $2, or $3 for each hour over the 40th.

   If under the employment agreement a salary sufficient to meet the minimum wage requirements in every workweek is paid as straight time pay for whatever number of hours are worked in a workweek, the regular rate is obtained by dividing the salary by the hours worked each week. An employee's hours of work vary each week. But the agreement with his employer is that he will be paid $100 a week for whatever number of hours of work are required. The longest workweek ever worked by him is 62 hours. Under this pay agreement, his regular rate will vary when he works overtime. If he works 50 hours, his regular rate is $2 an hour ($100 divided by 50 hours). In addition to his salary, he

is due one-half the regular rate or $1 for each of the 10 overtime hours, or a total of $110 for the week. If he works 55 hours, his regular rate will be $1.82 an hour ($100 divided by 55). In that case, he will be due an additional 91 cents for each of the 15 overtime hours ($13.65 or a total of $113.65 for the week).

If a salary is paid on other than a weekly basis, the weekly pay must be determined in order to compute the regular rate and overtime. If the salary is for a half-month, it must be multiplied by 24 and the product divided by 52 weeks to get the weekly equivalent. A monthly salary should be multiplied by 12 and the product divided by 52.

The law provides some alternative methods of computing overtime pay. These methods are given in Interpretative Bulletin, Part 778, entitled "Overtime Compensation," and Regulations, Part 548, on "Authorization of Established Basic Rates for Computing Overtime Pay."

WHAT THE "WORKWEEK" IS

A workweek is a regularly recurring period of 168 hours in the form of seven consecutive 24-hour periods. The workweek need not coincide with the calendar week—it may begin any day of the week and any hour of the day. Each workweek stands alone. Employment for two or more workweeks cannot be averaged out for the sake of figuring overtime or minimum wages except under prescribed conditions in the case of seamen on American vessels and employees of hospitals. The minimum wage must be paid for every hour worked in each workweek and overtime must be paid for all hours worked in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to the type of employment in which the employee is engaged. Coverage and application of most exemptions are also determined on a workweek basis.

WHAT "HOURS WORKED" MEANS

An employee subject to the act in any workweek must be paid in accordance with its provision for all hours worked in that workweek. In general, "hours worked" includes all the time an employee is required to be on duty or on the employer's premises or at a prescribed workplace, and all time during which he is suffered or permitted to work for the employer.

TIPS AND EMPLOYER-FURNISHED FACILITIES

Tips received by a tipped employee may be considered wages for purpose of the act in such amount, not more than 50 percent of the applicable minimum rate, as the employer may determine. A "tipped employee" is a worker engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives more than $20 a month in tips.

Wages also include the reasonable cost or fair value, as determined by the Divisions' Administrator, of board, lodging, and other facilities

customarily provided by the employer to his employees. However, such costs are not included in wages to the extent they are excluded under an applicable bona fide collective bargaining agreement.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS

Unless specifically exempt, all covered employees must be paid at least the applicable minimum wage, regardless of whether the employees are paid on a time, piece, job, incentive, or any other basis. However, learners, apprentices, messengers, handicapped workers, and full-time students employed in retail or service establishments or in agriculture under certain circumstances, may be paid special lower minimum wage rates provided that special certificates are first obtained from the Divisions' Administrator. Also, for employees in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, industry wage orders may set minimum rates below the statutory minimum.

EQUAL PAY PROVISIONS

The Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended by the Equal Pay Act of 1963, prohibits employers from discriminating on the basis of sex in the payment of wages for equal work. The equal pay amendment has been generally in effect since June 11, 1964, with deferment in the case of certain collective bargaining agreements. On June 11, 1965, the amendment became effective with respect to all employees subject to its terms.

Under the equal pay provisions, the employer may not discriminate on the basis of sex by paying employees of one sex at rates lower than he pays employees of the opposite sex, in the same establishment, for doing equal work on jobs requiring equal skill, effort and responsibility which are performed under similar working conditions. The equal pay provisions apply only to employees who are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act and are subject to a minimum wage under the act; they apply in every establishment where the employer has such employees. They do not apply with respect to any employee who is specifically exempt from the minimum wage requirements.

The act provides an exception from the prohibition against payment of wages at lower rates to one sex than the other for equal work where it can be shown that the wage differential is based on a seniority system, a merit system, a system measuring earnings by quantity or quality of production, or on any other factor other than sex.

An employer who is paying a wage differential in violation of the equal pay provisions of the act may not reduce the wage rate of any employee in order to comply with these provisions. Wages withheld in violation of the equal pay provisions have the status of unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation under the act, and back wages due under the equal pay provisions are subject to the same methods of recovery as any other wages due under the act.

The law prohibits any labor organization, or its agents, representing employees of an employer having employees subject to the minimum wage provisions of the act, from causing or attempting to cause the employer to discriminate against an employee in violation of the equal pay provisions.

CHILD LABOR PROVISIONS

Sixteen years is the minimum age for most employment covered by the act. This includes employment in agriculture during school hours or in any occupation in agriculture declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor.

Eighteen years is the minimum age for employment in a nonagricultural occupation declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor.

Fourteen years is the minimum age for employment specified in the Secretary's regulations, which is permitted outside school hours in a variety of nonmanufacturing and nonmining occupations for a limited number of hours under specified conditions of work.

Employers can protect themselves from unintentional violation of the child labor provisions by keeping on file an employment or age certificate for each young person employed, to show he is at least the minimum age for his job. State age or employment certificates are accepted as proof of age in 45 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. In Idaho, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas, Federal certificates are issued. Special arrangements have been made in Alaska.

RECORDS

Certain records must be kept. Employers are required to keep records on wages, hours, and other items listed in the recordkeeping regulations, 29 CFR Part 516. Most of this required information is the kind employers usually keep in ordinary business practices and in complying with other laws and regulations. No particular form of records is required.

Records required for exempt employees differ from those for nonexempt workers. Special information is required on employees under uncommon pay arrangements or to whom board, lodging, or other facilities are furnished. Employers who have homeworkers must make entries in handbooks supplied by the Divisions. Record of the required information must be preserved for 3 years. Some supplementary items like timecards, piecework tickets, and order and shipping records need be kept only 2 years. Microfilm copies of records are generally acceptable.

SOME REMARKS

The law applies equally to men and women, to homeworkers as well as factory and office workers (certificates issued by the Divisions are

necessary for homeworkers in certain industries) and (except with respect to occupations applicable to small logging operations and small country elevators) regardless of the number of employees of an employer, and whether they work full or part time.

The law does *not* require extra pay for Saturday, Sunday, or holiday work, as such, or vacation, holiday, or severance pay or a discharge notice; nor does it set any limit on the number of hours of work for persons 16 years of age or over.

The act does not apply to employees of the United States, or any State or political subdivision of a State, unless employed in a hospital, institution, school, or carrier operations specifically covered by its provisions.

ENFORCEMENT

Authorized representatives of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions may investigate and gather data regarding the wages, hours, and other conditions and practices of employment. They may enter establishments and inspect the premises and records, transcribe records and interview employees. They may investigate whatever facts, conditions, practices, or matters are considered necessary to find out whether any person has violated any provisions of the act. Wage-Hour investigators generally will make suggestions regarding any changes necessary or desirable regarding payroll, recordkeeping, and other practices which will aid in achieving and maintaining compliance with the law. Complaints, records, and other information obtained from employers and employees are treated confidentially.

The act provides these methods of recovering unpaid minimum and/or overtime wages: (1) The Divisions' Administrator may supervise payment of back wages, and in certain circumstances (2) the Secretary of Labor may bring suit for back pay upon the written request of the employee. (3) An employee may sue for back wages and an additional sum, up to the amount of back pay, as liquidated damages, plus attorney's fees and court costs. (An employee may not bring suit if he has been paid back wages under supervision of the Administrator, or if the Secretary has filed suit to enjoin the employer from retaining the wages due him.) (4) The Secretary of Labor may also obtain a court injunction to restrain any person from violating the law, including the unlawful withholding of proper minimum wage and overtime compensation.

It is a violation of the law to discharge an employee for filing a complaint or participating in a proceeding under the law.

Willful violations may be prosecuted criminally and the violator fined up to $10,000. A second conviction for such a violation may result in imprisonment.

A 2-year statute of limitations applies to the recovery of back wages except in the case of willful violations, for which there is a 3-year statute of limitations.

ASSISTANCE IS AVAILABLE

Whether any employee is covered or exempt under the Fair Labor Standards Act depends on the facts in each case. If you want to know about the application of the law to any worker, write to the Divisions' nearest office. Give information on the kind of firm and what it does, with whom it does business, the job involved, the method of pay, the hours of work, and any other details you think will be needed for an adequate reply to your question.

WHERE INFORMATION CAN BE OBTAINED

Inquiries about the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, the McNamara-O'Hara Service Contract Act, and their application, will be answered by mail, telephone, or personal interview at any regional or field office of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the U.S. Department of Labor. These offices also supply publications free of charge.

State	Regional Office	Field Offices
Alabama	Birmingham	Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery.
Alaska	San Francisco, Calif	Anchorage.*
Arizona	San Francisco, Calif	Phoenix.
Arkansas	Birmingham, Ala	Little Rock.
California	San Francisco	Hollywood, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Francisco, Whittier.
Colorado	Kansas City, Mo	Denver.
Connecticut	Boston, Mass	Hartford.
Delaware	Chambersburg, Pa	Philadelphia, Pa.
District of Columbia	Chambersburg, Pa	College Park, Md.
Florida	Atlanta, Ga	Jacksonville, Miami, North Miami, Tampa.
Georgia	Atlanta	Atlanta, Columbus, Hapeville, Savannah.
Hawaii	San Francisco, Calif	Honolulu.
Idaho	San Francisco, Calif	Portland, Oreg.
Illinois	Chicago	Chicago, Springfield.
Indiana	Chicago, Ill	Indianapolis, South Bend.
Iowa	Kansas City, Mo	Des Moines.
Kansas	Kansas City, Mo	Wichita.
Kentucky	Nashville, Tenn	Lexington, Louisville.
Louisiana	Birmingham, Ala	Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Shreveport.
Maine	Boston, Mass	Portland.

See footnote at end of table.

State	Regional Office	Field Offices
Maryland	Chambersburg, Pa	Baltimore, College Park.
Massachusetts	Boston	Boston, Springfield.
Michigan	Chicago, Ill	Detroit, Grand Rapids.
Minnesota	Chicago, Ill	Minneapolis.
Mississippi	Birmingham, Ala	Jackson.
Missouri	Kansas City	Kansas City, St. Louis.
Montana	Kansas City, Mo	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Nebraska	Kansas City, Mo	Omaha.
Nevada	San Francisco, Calif	Sacramento, Calif.
New Hampshire	Boston, Mass	Manchester.
New Jersey	New York, N.Y	Newark, Paterson, Trenton.
New Mexico	Dallas, Tex	Albuquerque.
New York	New York	Bronx, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Hempstead, New York, Syracuse.
North Carolina	Atlanta, Ga	Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh.
North Dakota	Kansas City, Mo	Sioux Falls, S. Dak.
Ohio	Chicago, Ill	Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus.
Oklahoma	Dallas, Tex	Oklahoma City, Tulsa.
Oregon	San Francisco, Calif	Portland.
Pennsylvania	Chambersburg	Harrisburg, McKeesport, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wilkes-Barre.
Rhode Island	Boston, Mass	Providence.
South Carolina	Atlanta, Ga	Columbia.
South Dakota	Kansas City, Mo	Sioux Falls.
Tennessee	Nashville	Knoxville, Memphis, Nashville.
Texas	Dallas	Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, Waco.
Utah	Kansas City, Mo	Salt Lake City.
Vermont	Boston, Mass	Springfield, Mass.
Virginia	Nashville, Tenn	Richmond, Roanoke.
Washington	San Francisco, Calif	Seattle.
West Virginia	Nashville, Tenn	Charleston, Clarksburg.
Wisconsin	Chicago, Ill	Madison, Milwaukee.
Wyoming	Kansas City, Mo	Salt Lake City, Utah.

Canal Zone	Santurce, P.R	
Puerto Rico	Santurce	Santurce, Mayaguez.
Virgin Islands	Santurce, P.R	
Guam	San Francisco, Calif	Honolulu, Hawaii.
Wake Island	San Francisco, Calif	Honolulu, Hawaii.
American Samoa	San Francisco, Calif	

*Field Station.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20402 Price 15 cents

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1967 O - 240-657

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE ON REQUEST

Nontechnical Pamphlets

Handy Reference Guide to the Fair Labor Standards Act
Information on the Equal Pay Act of 1963
Services to the Public
"Our Town"
Retail and Service Enterprises and Establishments
"White Collar" Exemptions
Agriculture and Related Exemptions
Highlights on Computing Overtime Pay
A Quick Look at Hours Worked
How To Keep Time and Pay Records
A Guide to Child-Labor Provisions (Child Labor Bulletin No. 101)
Agriculture and the Child Labor Requirements (Child Labor Bulletin No. 102)
What Crew Leaders and Contractors of Farm Workers Should Know About Child Labor in Agriculture
A Message to Young Workers
Handy Guide to the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act
Guide to the McNamara-O'Hara Service Contract Act of 1965

The above are nontechnical pamphlets. Copies of acts, regulations, and interpretative bulletins are also available.

Y AVAILABLE

REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

The Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the United States Department of Labor administers the Fair Labor Standards Act. The services of the Divisions are available to the public, employers and employees alike.

Those who receive this pamphlet may desire further information concerning the requirements of the Act. This form is enclosed to provide a ready means of securing additional information. For example, an employee or former employee may, after reading this pamphlet, feel that his employment or the employment of others is not or was not in accordance with the requirements of the Act. If so, the first box below can be checked and the Divisions will forward a confidential Employment Information Form to be used by the employee in furnishing additional details. If an employer or an employee would like to be sent any of the publications listed under "Publications Available on Request", the second box should be checked and the names of the publications entered on the lines below the box.

If you desire further information as explained above, complete the appropriate entries on the form, affix proper postage, and either: (1) tear off along the perforated line and mail the lower portion; or (2) fold over so that the address side is out, fasten with tape or staple, and mail. The requested materials will be sent promptly.

MATERIALS REQUESTED

☐ Please send me a copy of the Employment Information Form.

☐ Please send me a copy of the following:

_____

_____

_____

SEND TO: print Mrs. Miss Mr. _____

(first name) (initial) (last name)

ADDRESS: _____

(Street and Number)

_____

(city) (state) (ZIP code)

Form WH-4 (Rev. 7/66)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

NEWS ABOUT THE REVISED FEDERAL WAGE-HOUR LAW AND YOUR NEW WAGE-HOUR POSTER WHICH MUST BE DISPLAYED

D.C.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. WILLARD WIRTZ, *Secretary*

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
CLARENCE T. LUNDQUIST, *Administrator*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

DEAR MR. EMPLOYER:

The purpose of this folder is to advise employers of the 1966 amendments (P.L. 89–601) to the Fair Labor Standards Act, which become effective February 1, 1967, and to transmit the new official NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES. Employers who have workers subject to the minimum wage requirements of the Act must post this notice where it can readily be seen by their employees.

This folder containing the highlights of the amended Act is being sent to you for information and appropriate action; *the fact that you have received a copy does not mean that your employees are subject to this Act.* You should examine the contents of this folder carefully and if you have questions as to how or whether the law applies to your business or to particular employees, you are urged to contact the nearest Wage-Hour office listed on the NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES or in your local telephone directory.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence T. Lundquist
ADMINISTRATOR

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR • WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION • WASHINGTON, D.C.

notice to employees

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT (FEDERAL WAGE-HOUR LAW) REQUIRES

For employees in all employments subject to minimum wage requirements of the Act before February 1, 1967

A MINIMUM WAGE

$1.40

of at least an hour

Effective February 1, 1967 ($1.60 an hour February 1, 1968)

For employees in all employments subject to overtime pay requirements of the Act before February 1, 1967

OVERTIME PAY

after **40** hours a week

not less than **1 1/2** times

the employee's regular rate of pay

THESE RATES MUST BE PAID

to all employees, not specifically exempt, whose employment would, under the Act's definitions before February 1, 1967, constitute engaging in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or employment in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and to whom no exemption from such requirements was applicable prior to such date.

For employees in all employments brought under minimum wage requirements of the Act on February 1, 1967

A MINIMUM WAGE

$1.00

of at least an hour

For employees in all employments brought under overtime pay requirements of the Act on February 1, 1967

OVERTIME PAY

after **44** hours a week

1 1/2

Notice to Employees

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT (FEDERAL WAGE-HOUR LAW) REQUIRES

For employees in all employments subject to minimum wage requirements of the Act before February 1, 1967

A MINIMUM WAGE

of at least **$1.40** an hour

Effective February 1, 1967 ($1.60 an hour February 1, 1968)

For employees in all employments subject to overtime pay requirements of the Act before February 1, 1967

OVERTIME PAY

after **40** hours a week

not less than **1 1/2** times

the employee's regular rate of pay

THESE RATES MUST BE PAID to all employees, not specifically exempt, whose employment would, under the Act's definitions before February 1, 1967, constitute engaging in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or employment in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and to whom no exemption from such requirements was applicable prior to such date.

For employees in all employments brought under minimum wage requirements of the Act on February 1, 1967

A MINIMUM WAGE

of at least **$1.00** an hour

Effective February 1, 1967

$1.15 an hour effective February 1, 1968
$1.30 an hour effective February 1, 1969
$1.45 an hour effective February 1, 1970
$1.60 an hour effective February 1, 1971

For employees in all employments brought under overtime pay requirements of the Act on February 1, 1967

OVERTIME PAY

after **44** hours a week

not less than **1 1/2** times

the employee's regular rate of pay

Effective February 1, 1967

Maximum workweek becomes:
42 hours a week effective February 1, 1968
40 hours a week effective February 1, 1969

THESE RATES MUST BE PAID to all nonagricultural employees, not specifically exempt, whose employment was made subject to such requirements on February 1, 1967, by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 (P.L. 89–601), either through elimination of a prior exemption or by addition of the enterprise in which such employees are employed to the enterprises engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce which are covered by the Act.

NOTE: *Specific exemptions from the minimum wage, overtime pay, and equal pay provisions of the Act are provided for employees in certain types of employment.*

THE EQUAL PAY PROVISIONS OF THE ACT PROHIBIT wage discrimination on the basis of sex within any establishment; when subject to the minimum wage, employees of one sex must not be paid wages at rates lower than are paid employees of the other sex for equal work on jobs REQUIRING EQUAL SKILL, EFFORT, AND RESPONSIBILITY which are performed under similar working conditions.

THE CHILD LABOR PROVISIONS in general prohibit the employment in covered jobs of boys and girls under 16 years of age. For occupations declared particularly hazardous or detrimental to the health of children, the minimum is 18 years. Minors 14 and 15 years old may be employed outside school hours in certain occupations and under specified conditions.

NOTE: *Compliance with this law does not excuse noncompliance with State or local laws.*

ENFORCEMENT—The Government may bring civil or criminal action against employers in violation of any provision of the Act.

The Act prohibits discharging or discriminating against an employee because he filed a complaint or started or participated in a proceeding under the Act.

The Federal courts are authorized to order the payment of back wages found due in certain court actions.

Back wages may also be recovered by one of the following methods:

1. Payment of an employee's back wages may be supervised by the Administrator. When an employee agrees to accept and such wages are paid in full, he gives up his right to sue for such back wages and liquidated damages.
2. An employee may make written request to the Secretary of Labor to bring suit for back wages due the employee. If he does so, he gives up his individual right to sue for such back wages and liquidated damages.
3. An employee may bring suit against his employer to recover wages withheld, together with liquidated damages equal to the back wages due, plus a reasonable fee for the attorney, and court costs.

STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS—There is a 2-year statute of limitations for the recovery of back wages.

IF YOU have any questions about the law, you have a right to contact the nearest Federal Wage and Hour Office (listed below) where MORE INFORMATION may be obtained.

ATLANTA, GA.; BIRMINGHAM, ALA.; BOSTON, MASS.; CHAMBERSBURG, PA.; CHICAGO, ILL.; CLEVELAND, OHIO.; DALLAS, TEX.; DETROIT, MICH.; KANSAS CITY, MO.; LOS ANGELES, CALIF.; NASHVILLE, TENN.; NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.; SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.; NATIONAL OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Other offices, located in more than 100 principal cities, are listed in the telephone directory as the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions, under the U.S. Department of Labor in the U.S. Government listing.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

WAGE AND HOUR AND PUBLIC CONTRACTS DIVISIONS
Clarence T. Lundquist, *Administrator*

☆ U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1966—O-233-917

highlights of the fair labor standards act, as amended in 1966

I. EMPLOYMENT COVERED PRIOR TO FEBRUARY 1, 1967

Employees engaged in or producing goods for interstate or foreign commerce or employed in certain large enterprises were generally covered before the 1966 amendments and remain covered, except where specifically exempted.

The 1966 amendments (P.L. 89–601) increased the minimum wage for such employment to $1.60 an hour. The increase will be accomplished in two steps. As of February 1, 1967, the minimum wage shall be $1.40 an hour; on February 1, 1968, it becomes $1.60 per hour.

The 40-hour workweek standard for such employment remains the same as before the 1966 amendments. All hours worked over 40 in a workweek are compensable at a rate of not less than one and one-half times the employee's regular rate of pay unless an overtime exemption applies.

II. EMPLOYMENT BROUGHT UNDER THE ACT (EFFECTIVE FEBRUARY 1, 1967)

The 1966 amendments extended the Act's coverage to additional enterprises and revised or eliminated certain exemptions.

Employment in additional retail and service enterprises, for example, was made subject to minimum wage and overtime pay requirements. For the first time, the law's standards have been extended, in whole or in part, to certain hotels, motels, and restaurants, to hospitals, nursing homes and other institutions for the care of resident patients, and to schools. These are some—not all—of the changes made.

For such employment, the new minimum wage will be as follows:

$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967
$1.15 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968
$1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969
$1.45 an hour, beginning February 1, 1970
$1.60 an hour, beginning February 1, 1971.

The amendments also establish the following general workweek standards for such employment, beyond which all hours worked are to be compensated at a rate of not less than one and one-half times the employee's regular rate of pay:

44 hours, beginning February 1, 1967
42 hours, beginning February 1, 1968
40 hours, beginning February 1, 1969.

III. ENTERPRISE COVERAGE— ANNUAL GROSS VOLUME OF SALES

Before the 1966 amendments, all employment in certain large enterprises was subject to the Act. One of the tests for enterprise coverage was the enterprise's annual gross volume of sales. With certain exceptions, this test was met if the enterprise's gross volume of sales was $1,000,000 or more a year. The exceptions were for construction enterprises, whose test was $350,000, and gasoline service stations, with a test of $250,000.

As already indicated, enterprises which were covered prior to the 1966 amendments remain covered and employment in them is subject to the minimum wage and overtime standards for employment covered prior to February 1, 1967.

Additional enterprises have been brought under the Act through the 1966 amendments' extension of coverage to enterprises with an annual gross volume of sales or business done of not less than $500,000, effective February 1, 1967, and $250,000, effective February 1, 1969; among these are retail enterprises, hotels, motels, and restaurants. Furthermore, the amendments provide for coverage of the following enterprises, regardless of any business volume test: construction, laundries and dry cleaners, hospitals, nursing homes, primary and secondary schools, and institutions of higher education.

Unless a specific exemption applies, employees in newly covered enterprises are subject to the minimum wage and overtime pay standards for employment brought under the Act as of February 1, 1967.

IV. EXEMPTIONS

Some covered employees need not be paid in accordance with the minimum wage or overtime provisions, or both, due to specific exemptions.

For instance, there is a minimum wage and overtime pay exemption for employees of retail or service establishments, even though in a covered enterprise, if the establishment has an annual gross volume of sales less than $250,000 and mostly from sales made within the State. This exemption does not apply to employees of hospitals, nursing homes, laundries and dry cleaners, or schools, regardless of the volume of business. The previous minimum wage and overtime pay exemption for automobile and farm implement sales establishments has been repealed, but there is a new overtime exemption for certain employees in such establishments. Employees of gasoline service stations with an annual gross volume of sales of at least $250,000 are no longer exempt from the overtime requirements.

There is an overtime pay exemption for hotels, motels, and restaurants. Food service employees of retail establishments are newly subject to the minimum wage provisions but remain exempt from overtime.

Executive, administrative, and professional employees (including teachers and academic administrative personnel of elementary or secondary schools) are exempt from the minimum wage and overtime requirements of the Act if they meet specific requirements of regulations issued by the Secretary of Labor.

Certain exemptions for agricultural processing have been changed or eliminated.

The Act contains other minimum wage and full or partial overtime pay exemptions. The Divisions' nearest office can give you information about them.

V. EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

The equal pay provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act also apply to every employer having employees subject to the minimum wage provisions of the Act. This standard provides that the employer must not discriminate on the basis of sex within the establishment by paying employees of one sex wages at rates lower than he pays employees of the opposite sex for doing equal work on jobs requiring equal skill, effort, and responsibility which are performed under similar working conditions. Additionally, an employer may not reduce the wage rate of any employee to eliminate a prohibited wage differential based on sex.

VI. CHILD LABOR STANDARDS

Sixteen years is the minimum age for most employment covered by the Act. This includes employment in agriculture during school hours. Fourteen years is the minimum age for employment outside school hours in a variety of nonmanufacturing and nonmining occupations for a limited number of hours under specified conditions of work. The Act provides different age standards for employment in occupations declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor: 16 years on farms, 18 years otherwise.

VII. NEWLY COVERED FARM EMPLOYMENT (EFFECTIVE FEBRUARY 1, 1967)

The amendments of 1966 also brought certain employees of large farms under the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. These agricultural workers are entitled to a minimum wage as follows:

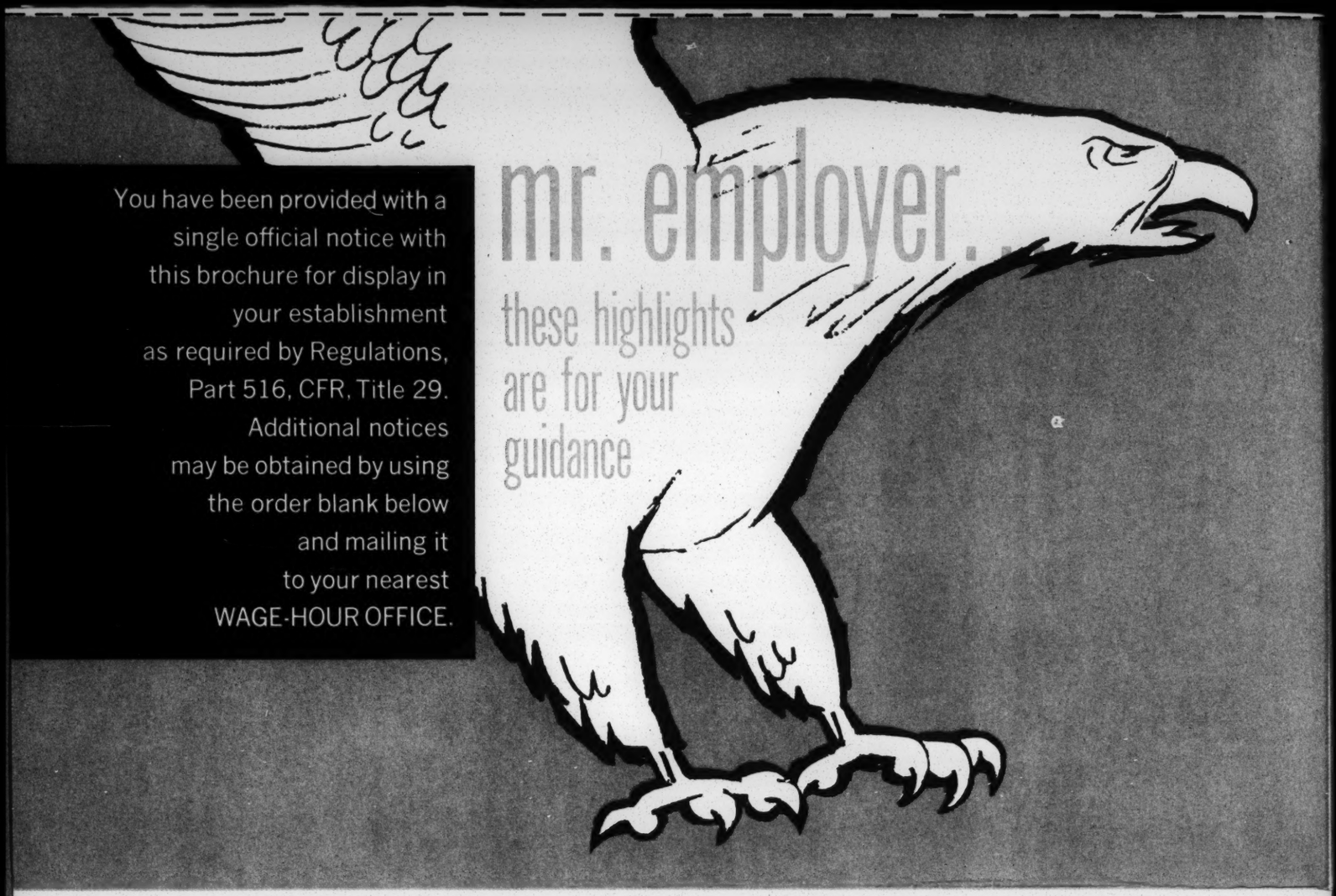
$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967
$1.15 an hour, beginning February 1, 1968
$1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969.
The overtime provisions do not apply.

VIII. RECORDS

Employers are required to keep records on wages, hours, and other items in accord with regulations issued by the Secretary of Labor.

IX. ENFORCEMENT

Failure to pay the statutory minimum wage and overtime compensation results in cumulative back wage liabilities. Unpaid wages may be restored under the supervision of the Secretary of Labor or recovered through court action brought by the Secretary or the employees. Serious violations of the law may result in civil or criminal action. Records required by the law must be available for inspection by representatives of the Divisions.



You have been provided with a single official notice with this brochure for display in your establishment as required by Regulations, Part 516, CFR, Title 29. Additional notices may be obtained by using the order blank below and mailing it to your nearest WAGE-HOUR OFFICE.

mr. employer...

these highlights are for your guidance

remember.....

- February 1, 1967, is the effective date.
- Records must be kept.
- THE OFFICIAL POSTER MUST BE DISPLAYED WHERE EMPLOYEES CAN READILY SEE IT.
- The Annual-Gross-Volume of Sales Test for Enterprise Coverage has been changed.
- If you would like additional posters or a copy of the Act, or a Handy Reference Guide, or
- If you have any questions concerning the application of the law to your business,

CALL or WRITE your nearest WAGE-HOUR OFFICE for additional information.

☐ Send me ..... official posters.

☐ Send me a copy of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

☐ Send me a Handy Reference Guide of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

☐ Other .....

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... ZIP .....

YOU ARE REQUIRED BY LAW TO DISPLAY THIS OFFICIAL POSTER
WHERE YOUR EMPLOYEES MAY READILY OBSERVE IT.

HOW TO USE THIS KIT

1. Read "What is in This Kit" (the blue sheets) and use it as a guide to the other materials.

2. It is suggested that you then read the following materials in order:

   a. A Minimum Wage Campaign for Local Groups

   b. Some Simple Facts About the Fair Labor Standards Act

   c. More Money for You? (intended for distribution to workers).

3. Look at the government materials in the left hand pocket of the kit.

4. For technical assistance or to secure an investigation, call or write to the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor. See the white sheets for the nearest office.

THE MATERIALS IN THIS KIT HAVE BEEN CHECKED FOR ACCURACY. HOWEVER, THERE ARE TECHNICALITIES IN APPLYING THE LAW. THESE MATERIALS ARE USEFUL AS AN INTRODUCTION. WHEN YOU HAVE A QUESTION BE SURE TO CONTACT THE WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION OFFICE CLOSEST TO YOU.

WHAT IS IN THIS KIT

1. A MINIMUM WAGE CAMPAIGN FOR LOCAL GROUPS
   Yellow leaflet telling how your group can help enforce the law--hints on how to proceed, suggestions of things to do.

2. SOME SIMPLE FACTS ABOUT THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
   Pink leaflet explaining the new Wage and Hour Act--regulations, coverage, enforcement procedures.

3. MORE MONEY FOR YOU? YOUR RIGHTS UNDER THE MINIMUM WAGE LAW
   Illustrated pamphlet explaining minimum wage regulations in simple terms--for distribution to employees and others--it should be imprinted with name and address of your group and the closest office of the U. S. Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division.

4. LIST OF FIELD OFFICES OF THE WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION
   White mimeographed sheets complete with addresses and phone numbers.

5. SAMPLE FORM OF INFORMATION USEFUL IN DEVELOPING A COMPLAINT
   White mimeographed sheet to serve as a guide in getting information.

6. THE EXTENT OF WAGE-HOUR VIOLATIONS
   A green sheet, reprinted from the American Federationist--demonstrates the importance of minimum wage enforcement.

(over)

Minimum Wage Campaign Kit, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303. February, 1967.

THE FOLLOWING ARE PUBLICATIONS OF THE WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

(Look in the left hand pocket)

7. NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES

Brown and white official U.S. Department of Labor printed poster listing new minimum wage regulations--for posting in enterprises, offices, public buildings, churches, clubrooms.

8. LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Printed leaflet listing free publications from the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor.

9. HANDY REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The Wage and Hour Division's own useful guide to the law's provisions.

10. FIVE LEAFLETS ON THE APPLICATION OF THE LAW TO SPECIFIC GROUPS

There is a separate Wage and Hour Division leaflet for each of the following: Construction Industry, Hired Farm Workers, Schools, Laundries and Dry Cleaning Establishments, and Hospitals and Nursing Homes.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Complete "Minimum Wage Campaign Kit," $1.00 per kit.

B. Extra copies of pamphlet "More Money for You?" for distribution-Single copies, 15¢, 10-50 copies, 10¢ each, over 50 copies, 8¢ each.

C. "New 1966 Minimum Wage Law, With Explanation," prepared by the Commerce Clearing House, Inc. (64 pp., retails for $1.50) available from the Southern Regional Council for 55¢.

FOR THE ABOVE MATERIALS (A,B,C,) ORDER FROM

Labor Program, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Copies of the Wage and Hour Division's publications, other information, and forms can be had from the nearest office (see the list) of the Division. A post card is included for your convenience.

A MINIMUM WAGE CAMPAIGN

FOR LOCAL GROUPS

A new weapon in the war on poverty was introduced into your community in February, 1967, and your local organization can play a big role in using the weapon. It is the newly amended federal Fair Labor Standards Act which is frequently called the Minimum Wage Law.

Some 32 million American wage earners are entitled to new, higher minimum wages; over 9 million are being covered by minimum wage regulations for the first time. This means that some of the poorest, most underpaid workers in your community are now entitled to a federally established minimum wage with, for many of them, time-and-a-half for overtime.

While most employers will obey the law, others, through ignorance or evasion, will probably not at first pay their employees the federally required minimum or time-and-one-half for overtime. And many of these underpaid employees, through ignorance or timidity, will not take the very simple steps needed to make the employer pay legal wages.

Your local organization can very easily do an important educational job that will (1) protect employers from the consequences of breaking the law, (2) put more dollars in circulation in your community, and (3) help the people in your community--Negro and white--who most need help, by making sure that they receive the wages that they are entitled to by law.

In putting on a minimum wage campaign you will be cooperating with the United States Department of Labor, which wants help from the community in enforcing the law. And at the same time you will be extending your influence among many groups in the community, most especially among low-

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paid wage earners. A group that energetically extends itself to wage earners in the community will undoubtedly increase its prestige and membership.

Some Suggestions on How to Proceed

First read the leaflet "Some Simple Facts About The Fair Labor Standards Act," which explains the background of the Act, the minimum wage regulations in general, and the way to report possible violations. This leaflet is written for laymen, not lawyers or economists, and can be understood by everyone in your organization.

Then go through the rest of the material in the kit, using the table of contents as a guide. Some of the material offers further explanations and information for you, some can be used in your campaign.

Then at a meeting of your group have two or three people who have studied the kit explain the law and a possible campaign to the entire membership.

Here are some things individuals can do to help publicize the law.

Be certain that everybody in your family or among your friends who is an employer understands how the law affects him. Look in the list of publications and send for leaflets explaining the law in relation to specific industries.

Look for the brown-and-white poster, of which there is a sample in this kit, in all places of employment that you enter as a customer. Covered establishments are supposed to display it. If it is not displayed and you think it ought to be, speak to the employer.

Carry copies of the poster to your church, club, union or fraternal organization to publicize the law. Additional copies are available from your nearest office of the Wage and Hour Division of the U. S. Department of Labor.

Ask individual wage earners whom you know about wages and hours in their places of employment, and tell them about the law's new regulations.

Here are some things your organization can do to help publicize the law and inform people about how they can secure enforcement.

Become familiar with the kit and with the basic provisions of the minimum wage law.

Form a committee--it need not be large --of people especially interested in wage-hour enforcement.

Look at your community with new eyes. Where are low wage earners working? Is there some chance that they are covered by the law? What other groups or individuals can give assistance in reaching low wage earners?

Issue a news release to announce your committee's interest in minimum wage enforcement and your willingness to help all workers.

Co-sponsor with such organizations as unions, civil rights groups, human relations councils, neighborhood centers a general meeting of wage earners or of wage earners in a particular industry. You may call upon the nearest field office of the Wage and Hour Division for a speaker if your meeting is large enough. Even if you have an expert at a meeting, make sure you have a general understanding of the law so that you can explain it to the people in your community in a way that they will understand.

Arrange for distribution of the leaflet "You Should Know About Minimum Wages" through schools. The booklet can be read by any schoolchild from about the fourth grade. The leaflet would make a good basis for an elementary school civics or history lesson. It should be sent home to parents. The longer leaflet, "Some Simple Facts About the Fair Labor Standards Act," is suitable for high school classroom use.

Ask for time to explain about the law at church meetings, club meetings, etc. Concentrate on those organizations which tend to have contact with low income persons. Even if you can get only five or ten minutes to talk at the meeting you can do a lot.

Distribute appropriate leaflets or posters to all members of the meeting. Make sure to tell them where they can go for more information or more material.

Interview complainants or workers with whom you have made contact where it is convenient for them. Get as much of the information suggested in the sample information form as possible--in some cases this will not be much. If you have reason to believe or if the worker feels he has a legal complaint report the information to the nearest Wage and Hour Division. The workers, any individual, or a group may make the report.

Keep records. Names, addresses, phone numbers, places of employment, to whom did you talk in the Wage and Hour office, what action did Wage and Hour take.

Follow up with the Wage and Hour office if you filed the complaint--with the worker if he filed it. Be understanding, but request as speedy action as possible.

Where back wages are involved, urge the Wage and Hour Division to get a full settlement.

Remember, throughout, not to mislead workers or give them false hope. Offer information, assistance and follow-through--not promises. Remember that technicalities will have to be ironed out by the Wage and Hour Division.

The work you do in publicizing minimum wages will help your organization in other activities by earning you the trust of people you may not have been in contact with before. If you are successful in helping the employees of even one establishment to get the wages they are entitled to, you can go back to them and talk with greater effect about problems of interest to you such as school desegregation, community relations, or organizing a union.

Here is a chance to cooperate with the federal government, with employers, and with white and Negro wage earners in an enterprise from which everyone will benefit. Success in such an undertaking can be a source of pride to the individuals and organizations that brought it about.

SOME SIMPLE FACTS
ABOUT THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
(MINIMUM WAGE LAW)

Although the federal minimum wage law, like many laws, is somewhat complex, there are a few simple facts about it that everyone can and should understand. This leaflet explains these facts, the background of the law, its regulations in general, how it is enforced.

You can get additional information about the law, how it applies to a particular industry or a particular job, by sending for the free publications of the United States Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division. Or you can visit the Division's nearest field office or ask questions by telephone or letter. A list of addresses and phone numbers of field offices is included in this kit. Also included is a list of publications.

HOW FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGES BEGAN

The first Fair Labor Standards Act, sometimes called the Minimum Wage Law or the Wage and Hour Law, was passed in 1938, during the New Deal period. It put a "floor" under wages of 25¢ an hour for the first year, rising gradually to 40¢ an hour seven years later. Only 12 to 13 million of the nation's then 55 million workers were covered by this very low minimum. Among the other 40-odd million, employers could legally pay less than 25¢ an hour.

Over the years the minimum wage has been revised upward several times. Also the Act has been amended to include new classes of enterprises and employees, so that many kinds of employment which were not at first covered by the law are covered now.

The latest revision, passed in 1966, took effect in February, 1967. On that date the minimum hourly rate for

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about 32 million already covered employees was raised from $1.25 to $1.40. Also, over 9 million employees who had not previously been covered had a floor put under their wages of $1.00 per hour. Among these 9 million newly covered employees are many who have been among the lowest paid employees in the nation, and probably also in your community. The floor for both groups will continue to rise. Previously covered employees will be entitled to at least $1.60 in 1968. By 1971 newly covered employees will reach the $1.60 per hour level. Agricultural workers now covered are scheduled to go to a legal minimum of $1.30 per hour in 1969.

COVERAGE AND MINIMUM HOURLY RATES AS OF FEBRUARY 1967

Every job falls into one of three categories: (1) it was already covered by the Wage and Hour Law before February, 1967; (2) it was not covered by the Act before February, 1967, but it is covered by the Act after February, 1967; (3) it was not covered by the Act before, and it is still not covered.

Industries and Enterprises Covered before February 1967. Many industries and enterprises have been covered for some time. But since February there is a higher minimum wage for these enterprises.

Beginning in February, 1967, the minimum wage for previously covered jobs is $1.40 an hour. Beginning February, 1968, it will be $1.60 an hour. Also, one and a half times the hourly rate must be paid for all hours over 40 in one week; the time-and-a half provision applies even if the employee is earning more than the minimum. (There are some exceptions to the time-and-a-half provision; consult the closest Wage and Hour Division field office if you need to know them.)

If an enterprise is covered, that means that supporting personnel like porters, watchmen, maids, elevator operators, and so on are all covered. Here are some examples of previously covered enterprises. (This is not the full

list of all enterprises covered; there are many more.)

Most companies in communications industries:
telephone, telegraph, radio, television

Most companies in these transportation industries:
highway building and repair; railroads; airlines ;
interstate bus; interstate trucking

Almost all factories

Almost all wholesale enterprises

Almost all mining enterprises

Large lumbering enterprises

Large retail stores or smaller stores (doing over $250,000 of business annually) in a chain

Large construction companies

Large gasoline service stations

Most city bus companies

Banks, insurance companies, and most advertising companies.

Industries and Enterprises Covered beginning February, 1967. Beginning in February, 1967, many industries that were never covered before will be covered, and in some industries where previously only large enterprises were covered, now many smaller enterprises will be covered also. But the newly covered jobs will begin by having a lower minimum wage and a longer basic work week than the previously covered jobs.

The minimum wage for newly covered jobs is $1.00 an hour beginning February, 1967. It will go up to $1.15 an hour beginning February, 1968. One and a half times the hourly rate must be paid beginning February, 1967 for all hours over 44 in a week, and beginning February, 1968, for all hours over 42 in a week. The time-and-a-half provision applies even if the employee is earning more than the minimum. But it does not apply to certain exempted jobs and industries, of which farming is one.

Here are some examples of newly covered industries and enterprises. Again if an enterprise is covered, unskilled maintenance employees are included. This is not a full list of all newly covered jobs; there are others.

Industries That Were Never Covered Before

Hospitals and nursing homes
All schools and colleges, public and private
Laundries and dry-cleaning establishments
Farms that employed more than 500 man-days of hired labor in a calendar quarter (about seven full time employees) last year
Large motels, hotels, restaurants
Large automobile, trailer, and farm-implement dealers.

Smaller Enterprises in Previously Covered Industries

Some smaller retail stores (doing more than $250,000 business annually)
All smaller construction companies (that is, all construction companies not previously covered)
Many smaller city bus companies
Many large taxicab companies (drivers are exempt from overtime).

Industries and Jobs Not Previously Covered and Still Not Covered. The Fair Labor Standards Act does not cover employment of the following.

Professional, administrative, and executive employees
Outside Salesmen
Domestic workers
Members of an employer's immediate family
Employees of motion-picture theaters
Fishermen

There are others that are not covered.

SOME SPECIAL PROVISIONS

Equal Pay. All employers covered by the Act, whether before or since February, 1967, must pay women workers the same rate as men workers for the same job, and they may not reduce the men's pay to make it equal to the women's. This applies even if the employees are receiving more than the minimum rate.

Child Labor. All employers covered by the Act are prohibited from employing children under certain conditions. No children under 14 years of age may be employed at all, except in agriculture and then only outside of school hours. Children between 14 and 16 may be employed only outside of school hours, except in agriculture. And children under 18 may not work in certain dangerous occupations. (In addition, many states have special state regulations regarding child labor which occasionally may be stricter than the federal regulations. You also should consult your state department of labor if you believe children are being employed illegally.)

Students and Handicapped Persons. There are special, lower minimums for learners, students and handicapped persons if the employer has a certificate from the Wage and Hour Division.

Contract Services to the Federal Government. Employers who provide goods or services to any branch or agency of the federal government must pay at least the higher minimum for previously covered employees in nearly all cases.

Determining the Hourly Rate. Some workers are paid by the day, the week, the month, or by a piece rate. The hourly rate can be determined by dividing a week's wages before any overtime is added by the number of hours worked. This gives the basic or regular rate. The employee is then entitled to half again as much for each hour worked over 40, or over 44 if he is newly covered. Remember to make this calculation using the employee's gross pay before deductions, not his take-home pay. The employee has a right to know from his employer what his gross pay is.

WARNING: The regulations have been explained in a very general way here. There are many refinements and exceptions. You can find out more specifically whether a particular job in a particular firm is covered by the law by consulting the various publications listed in the booklet or by inquiring at your nearest field office of the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor.

ENFORCEMENT

The Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor is responsible for enforcing the law. It acts on its own in uncovering intentional or unintentional violations. It also responds to requests for investigation and complaints.

Who May Lodge a Complaint. Anyone may inform the Division that he believes a particular employee is not being paid in accordance with the law. Complaints are sometimes made by a firm's competitors, by labor unions or by individual employees. The Division never reveals to the employer the name of the individual or group making the complaint. It will also make an investigation on the basis of an anonymous complaint. But, of course, an individual who makes a complaint without revealing his name can't receive an answer from the Division. Besides the fact that the Division will not reveal the name of the person making the complaint, any employer who fires an employee for going to the Wage and Hour Division with an inquiry or complaint can be punished under the law.

Where and How to File a Complaint. If you think an employee is being underpaid according to the law's minimum or is not being paid overtime, or if you think a woman is being paid less than a man for doing the same work you should report the case to the nearest field office of the Wage and Hour Division. If you are not certain whether an employer or an employee is covered by the law, you can still ask the field office to investigate.

You can telephone, visit in person, or write. You should have as much information about the employer's business and about the employee's job as you can get. The white sample information sheet shows some of the kinds of information the Division needs in order to investigate. But do not fail to file just because you can't get all the information, the Division investigator will get it himself.

You may want to mail the postcard in your kit to

your nearest office asking for the "Employment Information Form" on which to file a request for an investigation.

What Happens after You File A Complaint. Your complaint should be acknowledged within a few days. After that, it may take several weeks to a few months, depending on how busy the office is, for an investigation to be made.

If the complaint is justified, that is, if the employee or employees are being underpaid according to the law, the Division will order the employer to make up the whole amount the employee lost during the entire time he was underpaid and to pay him in accordance with the law from that time on. In the rare case where the employer does not obey such an order, the Division may take him to court. The burden of enforcing the law is on the government, not on the employee. If the complaint is unjustified, that is if there is no violation of the law, the Division will make a report to the person who filed the complaint explaining why it holds that there is no violation.

If there is no response after a reasonable time or if the response seems unsatisfactory, you may ask the regional office of the Division to review the case.

Detailed reports are not given to organizations or outsiders. If your group wants to act on behalf of one or several employees and you want the Division's responses to come to your organization's address, file in the name of an individual employee, with his consent, with an address in care of your organization.

Problem Areas. The industries and firms that are being covered for the first time are those where there are most likely to be violations or misunderstandings. Therefore, you would do well to be especially sensitive to conditions in the following fields:

Agriculture--If last year a farmer employed six or seven employees more or less regularly, or regularly during the season, he may be covered this year. Many large farmers who have never been covered before will now have to pay at least $1 an hour, and the same piece rate to children as to adults.

Laundries, dry-cleaning establishments, hospitals, nursing homes, schools--These kinds of enterprises have traditionally paid their maintenance and kitchen personnel very low wages for very long hours. Almost all of them will now be covered by the law. The lowest-paid workers will now have to be paid at least $1.00 an hour for hours up to 44 and $1.50 for hours over 44. Most workers will have to be paid time-and-a-half for hours over 44.

Restaurants, motels, hotels--Many large hotels, motels, restaurants will be covered for the first time. Tips may be counted toward earnings, but only up to 50 percent; at least 50 percent must be paid in wages by the employer.

It would also be worthwhile to investigate the situation of any workers who were receiving $1.25 an hour before February, 1967. If they were covered by the law then, they should now receive $1.40 an hour.

The Extent of Wage-Hour Violations

Enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act is the key to its effectiveness and the fulfillment of the promise it holds for low-paid workers.

Actual minimum wage investigations by the Wage and Hour Division found more than 400,000 American workers underpaid nearly $90 million in minimum wage, overtime and equal pay violations in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966. It is estimated that actual investigations discover only half the violators. However, even where violations were found, nearly two-thirds of the money or $60 million in underpayments may never be recovered.

In the last year, employers caught by wage-hour inspectors in violations have agreed or have been ordered by federal judges to pay $27 million to underpaid workers. But the Wage and Hour Division has no power to compel payments to cover past violations where the employer refuses to pay. As a result, some $60 million in illegal underpayments remain uncollected for fiscal 1966 alone.

In these cases, the cheated workers must sue for reimbursement or ask the Secretary of Labor to do so on their behalf. Too often the collection suits are never brought, especially where the workers involved have no union representation and fear employer reprisals.

The Act provides these methods of recovering unpaid minimum and/or overtime wages:

1. The Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division may supervise payment of back wages.
2. In certain circumstances, the Secretary of Labor may bring suit for back pay upon the written request of the employe.
3. An employe may sue for back wages and an additional sum, up to the amount of back pay, as liquidated damages plus attorney's fees and court costs. (An employe may not bring suit if he has been paid back wages under supervision of the Administrator or if the Secretary has filed suit to enjoin the employer from retaining the wages due him.)
4. The Secretary of Labor may also obtain a court injunction to restrain any person from violating the law, including the unlawful withholding of proper minimum wage and overtime compensation.

According to a 1965 survey by the Labor Department on the extent of compliance with the Fair Labor Standards Act, it is estimated that 1,770,000 employes were underpaid at one time or another during the two-year period, 1964-5. Underpayments amounted to $310 million or an average of $172 per worker. Over 343,000 establishments were involved in violations of one or more of the monetary provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

The compliance survey of the Labor Department gives a fairly good picture of where the violations are and the enormity of the underpayments. During the two-year investigatory period, an estimated 700,000 workers failed to receive the proper minimum wage. Over $72 million was due workers not paid the statutory minimum.

Of the 700,000 employes paid less than the minimum, it is estimated that 38 percent were employed in manufacturing firms, with the worst violators in food processing and tobacco. Retail trade accounted for the largest single group of these underpaid workers. Over a quarter of the employes were in large establishments employing 100 or more workers. A majority of the workers were employed in firms or plants located in metropolitan areas. Nearly half the workers were in firms with more than one store.

The Labor Department survey also estimates that nearly a million and a half (1,463,000) employes were not paid in accordance with the overtime provisions of FLSA. Estimated back wages owed for overtime violations during the two-year period amounted to $236 million. Over two-thirds of the employes were engaged in non-manufacturing firms, with a large concentration of violations in construction and wholesale trade. Over one-fourth worked in establishments employing less than 10 people. Two-thirds of the employes worked in metropolitan areas and 41 percent worked for multi-plant firms.

The government survey estimates that over 8,000 employes were not paid in accordance with the equal pay provisions and nearly $2 million was owed for equal pay violations during the previous six to twelve-month investigatory period. Extensive violations were found in the chemical, petroleum, rubber, textile, apparel and leather industries.

The study of child labor violations showed that an estimated 72,400 minors were illegally employed by 48,000 establishments during the two-year period. The worst child labor violators were: lumber, furniture, paper, printing and publishing, construction and retail trade.

The South showed a significantly higher concentration of violating establishments than any other region of the country, according to the Labor Department's survey estimates.

SAMPLE INFORMATION FORM

For Developing a Minimum Wage Law Complaint

Fill in as completely as possible. You do not have to have all of this information in order to make a complaint to the nearest office of the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor. An official form (Employment Information Form) can be obtained from that office.

---

1. INFORMATION ABOUT ESTABLISHMENT
   (a) Name of establishment _____

   (b) Address _____
   (Number and Street) (City) (Zone) (State)

   (c) Does the firm have branches? _____ Where? _____

   (d) Nature of business _____
   (Example: manufacturing stoves, construction, wholesale shoes, etc.)

   (e) Does establishment ship out of state? _____ Does establishment receive goods from out of state? _____

   (f) Does the establishment sell to or perform services for the following types of business? (Check):

   _____ Private consumers
   _____ Hotels, restaurants, etc.
   _____ Retail dealers
   _____ Wholesale dealers
   _____ Transportation companie
   _____ Other public utilities
   _____ Mining companies
   _____ Manufacturers

   (g) Has establishment worked on a U.S. GOVERNMENT contract recently? _____
   What articles? _____

2. INFORMATION REGARDING WORKING CONDITIONS
   (a) Person furnishing information is _____
   (Example: present employee, former employee, competitor, union, etc.)

   (b) In what respect do you think that the establishment has failed to comply with the Federal Wage and Hour Law or the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act:

   Minimum Wage _____ Overtime _____ Oppressive Child Labor _____ Record Keeping _____ Illegal Home Work _____ Other _____.

   Describe: (If additional space is needed, please use reverse side)

   (c) What is basis of pay of employee(s) involved $ _____ per _____
   (Examples: Hour, day, week, month, piece, etc.)

   (d) Period of employment from _____ to _____
   (month, year) (month, year)

   (e) Occupation of employee(s)-describe exact work in detail _____
   _____
   (continue on reverse side, if necessary)

Name in full (Print): M _____ Telephone _____
(Mr., Mrs., Miss)

Signature _____ Date _____

Address (Print): _____
(Number) (Street) (City or Town) (Stat

Date of Birth (if under 21) _____

DIRECTORY OF OFFICES

WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

In most states there are Field Stations in addition to the Field Offices. The Regional or Field Office closest to you could tell you whether there is an even closer Field Station.

REGION IV

Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi

Sterling B. Williams, Regional Director
1931 9th Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama 35205
Phone: (205) 325-3301

ALABAMA

Hansel J. Hunter
Investigation Supervisor
McCauley Building
1917 Fifth Avenue, South
Birmingham, Alabama 35233
Phone: (205) 325-3352

Charles A. Roberts
Investigation Supervisor
Rooms 406-408
951 Government Street Bldg.
951 Government Street
Mobile, Alabama 36604
Phone: (205) 438-2552

Dalton O. Blake
Investigation Supervisor
413B Post Office and Court
House Building
Montgomery, Alabama 36103
(Mailing Address
Post Office Box 2269)
Phone: (205) 263-7346

ARKANSAS

Bill D. Guse
Investigation Supervisor
3527 Federal Office Building
700 West Capitol Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
Phone : (501) 372-5292

LOUISIANA

Donald E. Zimpfer
Investigation Supervisor
830 Commerce Building
333 Laurel Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70801
Phone: (504) 348-4239

John T. Radovich, Jr.
Investigation Supervisor
1015 Federal Building
600 South Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130
Phone: (504) 527-6171

Kenneth G. Swartz
Investigation Supervisor
90 Medical Arts Building
624 Travis Street
Shreveport, Louisiana 71101
Phone: (318) 425-6652

MISSISSIPPI

Joseph C. Massey
Investigation Supervisor
Milner Building
675 South Lamar Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201
(Mailing Address
Post Office Box 1202)
Phone: (601) 948-2349

REGION X

Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia

Patrick M. Meloan, Regional Director
U.S. Court House Building
801 Broad Street
Nashville, Tennessee 37203
Phone: (615) 242-8321

KENTUCKY

Lillard Trice
Investigation Supervisor
Fuller Building
190 North Upper Street
Lexington, Kentucky 40507
Phone: (606) 254-7080
Ext. 7575

Henry T. Chambers
Investigation Supervisor
1003 Republic Building
Fifth and Walnut Streets
Louisville, Kentucky 40202
Phone: (502) 582-5226

TENNESSEE

Osborne C. Dodd
Investigation Supervisor
101 Cumberland Building
301 Cumberland Avenue, S.W.
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902
Phone: (615) 524-4011
Ext. 3146

Robert L. Sawyer
Investigation Supervisor
486 Federal Office Building
167 North Main Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38103
Phone: (901) 534-3418

Claiborne W. Carden
Investigation Supervisor
638 U.S. Court House Building
801 Broad Street
Nashville, Tennessee 37203
Phone: (615) 242-8321
Ext. 5452

VIRGINIA

Robert F. Ferguson, Jr.
Investigation Supervisor
10-016 Federal Building
400 North 8th Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219
Phone: (703) 649-3611
Ext. 2485

David E. Pickard
Investigation Supervisor
609-13 Peoples Federal Bldg.
101 S. Jefferson Street
Roanoke, Virginia 24011
Phone: (703) 343-1581
Ext. 368

WEST VIRGINIA

Wesley Smith
Investigation Supervisor
Federal Office Building
and Court House
500 Quarrier Street
Charleston, West Virginia
25301
Phone: (304) 343-6181
Ext. 348

Robert E. Lamb
Investigation Supervisor
3rd Floor Schroath Building
229 Washington Avenue
Clarksburg, West Virginia
26301
Phone: (304) 623-3461
Ext. 311

REGION XI

Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina

Henry A. Huettner, Regional Director
Room 331, 1371 Peachtree St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Phone: (404) 526-5801

FLORIDA

C. Truman Losee
Investigation Supervisor
205 Post Office and Court House
311 West Monroe Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32201
(Mailing Address
Post Office Box 1170)
Phone: (904) 354-7111
Ext. 517

Clem J. Denicke
Investigation Supervisor
1527 Federal Office Bldg.
51 S.W. 1st Avenue
Miami, Florida 33130
Phone: (305) 350-5973

Rufus L. Stokes
Investigation Supervisor
219 Carlaine Bldg.
12490 N.E. 7th Avenue
North Miami, Florida 33161
Phone: (305) 758-4797

Delbert L. Coleman
Investigation Supervisor
505 New Federal Bldg.
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A STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 6, 1968

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once again reveals the psychosis of violence and the cancer of racism in American society. Once again, America is stained with the blood of a courageous and noble leader, with the tragedy of a husband and father senselessly destroyed. His murder violates the ideals for which he stood, ideals which express the great tradition of America.

This is not the time for bitter and unrestrained recriminations against the society which killed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., but rather the time for all of us to pay heed at last to all that has already been said to the conscience of the nation in the grim, ghastly past — at the murders of John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, of the four little children in a Birmingham Sunday School, and so many others.

This is the time for white America to forego lecturing black Americans against violating the non-violent philosophy to which Dr. King's life will stand as a memorial for all time. Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment. Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need.

The life of Dr. King transcends the violence done throughout his career to the American ideals for which he stood and the final obscene violence to him. His leadership during his life and the pangs of conscience white America feels in his death give all Americans the chance — and perhaps the last chance — to make the choice between the kind of society for which Dr. King lived and died, and the kind of society which denies equal opportunity and relies on force above justice and equity. If America cannot produce leadership toward the society that Dr. King saw in his dream for America, then America is finished.

Let white America look into its own heart.

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(*denotes Executive Committee)

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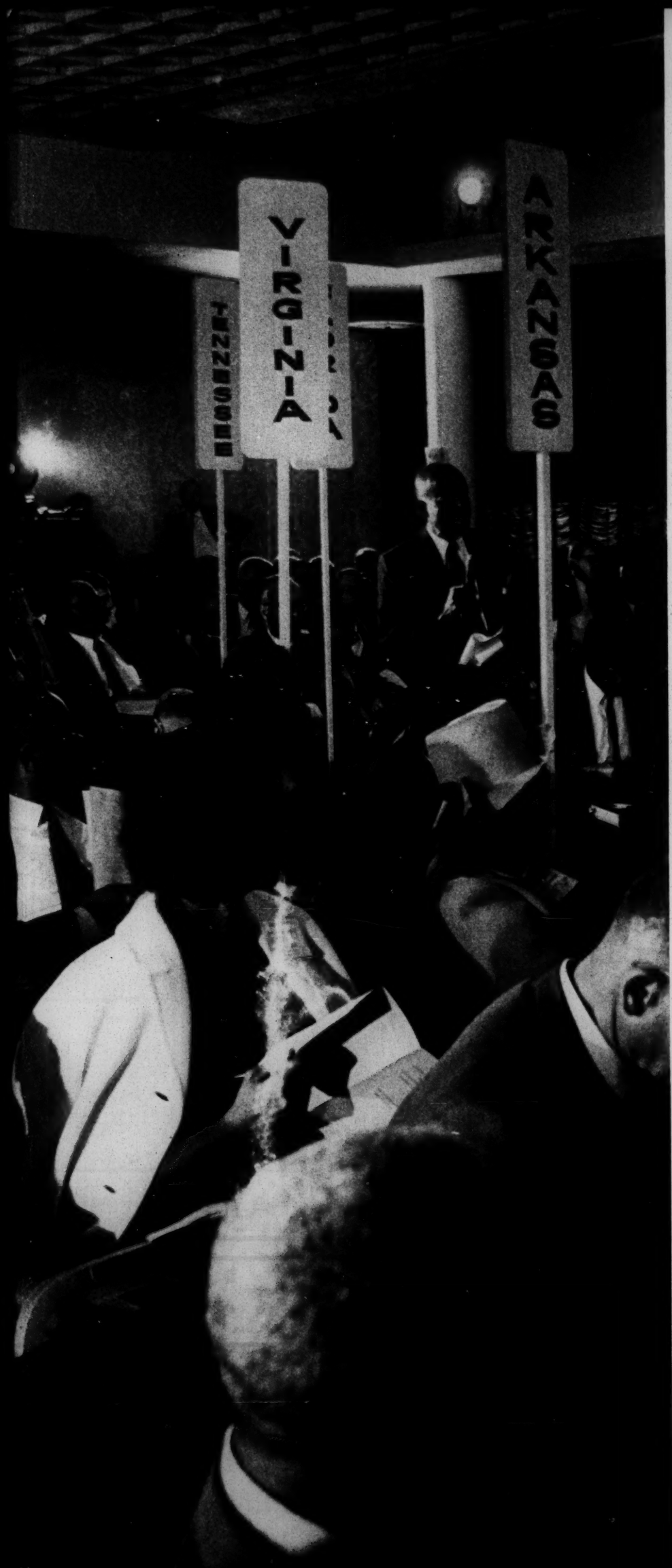


CONFERENCE
PROCEEDINGS

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DEC. 11-14, 1968

DINKLER HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Sponsored by
The Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

PREFACE

Late in 1967 and early in 1968, as it became apparent that the number of black elected officials in the South was growing rapidly and would continue to do so in the months ahead, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council conceived the idea of a southwide conference for these officials. Most—indeed, almost all—had been elected in the middle '60s as black voter registration advanced markedly.

Being closely associated with the dramatic registration increases of the '60s, VEP felt an obligation to the officials who had been elected largely as a result of these voter gains. Most of the officials had little political experience—or, indeed, previous contact with the political process—and giving assistance to these officials is an important part of VEP's broad goal of extending political participation. Moveover, it was felt that a regional meeting would be a means of bolstering the spirits of black officials, many of whom serve in extremely trying circumstances, and motivating prospective black officials throughout the South.

A number of foundations were approached with requests to supply special funds for such a conference. Almost all responded not only with approval, but also with enthusiasm. Arrangements then went forward to bring all the black elected officials to Atlanta for a four-day conference, with all expenses to be paid by VEP. The Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, was employed to coordinate the conference.

It was decided that a variety of workshops would be held for the elected officials, in addition to general sessions (see conference agenda, Page 2). A date subsequent to the November 5 general election was picked so that officials then elected could be invited to the conference. (It was determined that only *elected* officials would be invited, since the list of appointed black officials is even larger and more varied than the list of elected officials.)

Of approximately 385 Negroes holding elected positions in the South in late 1968, nearly 200 attended the conference, which was the first of its kind ever held in the South. The Voter Education Project is grateful to the foundations and to the individuals who contributed in countless ways to the success of the conference. The results of the program planning described above are presented in these conference proceedings.

MARVIN WALL
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

AGENDA

SOUTHWIDE CONFERENCE OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS

DECEMBER 11-14, 1968, DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11

2:00 p.m.—REGISTRATION—Lobby
7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—Dinkler A
COURTESY OF THE COCA-COLA COMPANY ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—OPENING DINNER—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Welcome:
Q. V. Williamson
Board of Aldermen, Atlanta

Leroy Johnson
State Senate, Georgia

Introduction of Speaker:
Benjamin Brown
House of Representatives, Georgia

Keynote Address:
Julian Bond
House of Representatives, Georgia

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12

7:30-8:30 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—DINKLER ROOF

Presiding:
William H. Alexander
House of Representatives, Georgia

Address:
"From Subject and Victim to Citizen and Public Official: An Historical Overview of the Negro and the Southern Political Process."
Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Professor of Political Science
Duke University

Panelists:
- Lawrence T. Guyot, Jr.
  Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
- Dr. C. G. Gomillion
  Board of Education
  Tuskegee, Alabama
- Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
  City Council
  Norfolk, Virginia

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Actuary, Atlanta Life Insurance Company

Address:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta

2:00-5:00 p.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

I—School Board Members—Plaza B, Lobby Floor
Convener: Miss Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense Fund
Recorder: Mrs. Susan Morgan
Southern Regional Council

II—City Officials—Roof, 14th Floor
Convener: John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors
Recorder: Lee J. Price
American Jewish Committee

III—County Officials—Panel Room, Mezzanine Floor
Convener: James Gibson
United Presbyterian Church
Potomac Institute
Recorder: Warren Pritchard
Southern Regional Council

IV—Law Enforcement Officials—Sky Room, 14th Floor
Convener: Julius Chambers
Attorney-at-Law
Recorder: Mrs. Taunya Banks

V—State Legislators—Room 370
Convener: Horace T. Ward
State Senate, Georgia
Recorder: Rev. J. Oscar McCloud

6:00 p.m.—DINNER—PLAZA B
7:15 p.m.—Buses Depart
8:00 p.m.—PUBLIC FORUM
Davage Auditorium, Clark College

Presiding:
Dr. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College

Welcome:
James Mays
President
Clark College Student Government Association

Address:
Richard Gordon Hatcher
Mayor
Gary, Indiana

Panelists:
- Robert G. Clark
  Mississippi House of Representatives
- Henry L. Marsh, III
  City Council, Richmond, Virginia
- John McCown
  County Commissioner
  Hancock County, Georgia

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13

7:30-8:00 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

8:00 a.m.—GENERAL SESSION—
DINKLER ROOF

"Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official"

Presiding:

John S. Stewart
City Council, Durham, North Carolina

Panelists:

- Alfred M. Pelham
  Chairman of the Board
  Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company
  Former Controller of the City of Detroit
- Gerald A. Lamb
  Treasurer
  State of Connecticut
- Theodore A. Jones
  Director
  Department of Revenue
  State of Illinois

11:30 a.m.—"Everyman's Guide to Federal Programs"

Richard Boone
Executive Director
Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

12:30 p.m.—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Donald L. Hollowell
Regional Director
Equal Employment Opportunities Commission

Special Guests:

- Maynard Jackson, Georgia
- A. W. Willis, Tennessee
- Reginald A. Hawkins, North Carolina
- Mrs. Eva Clayton, North Carolina

2:00-5:00 p.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

7:00 p.m.—RECEPTION—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

COURTESY OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER AND H. J. RUSSELL & CO., ATLANTA

8:00 p.m.—BANQUET—AMERICAN MOTOR HOTEL

Welcome:

Sam Massell, Jr.
Vice-Mayor of Atlanta

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Address:

Ramsey Clark
Attorney General of
The United States

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14

7:30-8:30 a.m.—Breakfast—Dinkler B

9:00 a.m.—CONCURRENT WORKSHOPS

12:00 Noon—LUNCHEON—DINKLER B

Presiding:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

Adoption of Conference Statement

Introduction of Speaker:

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
House of Representatives, Georgia

Address:

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm
Congresswoman
12th Congressional District
New York

ADJOURNMENT

WORKSHOP CONSULTANTS

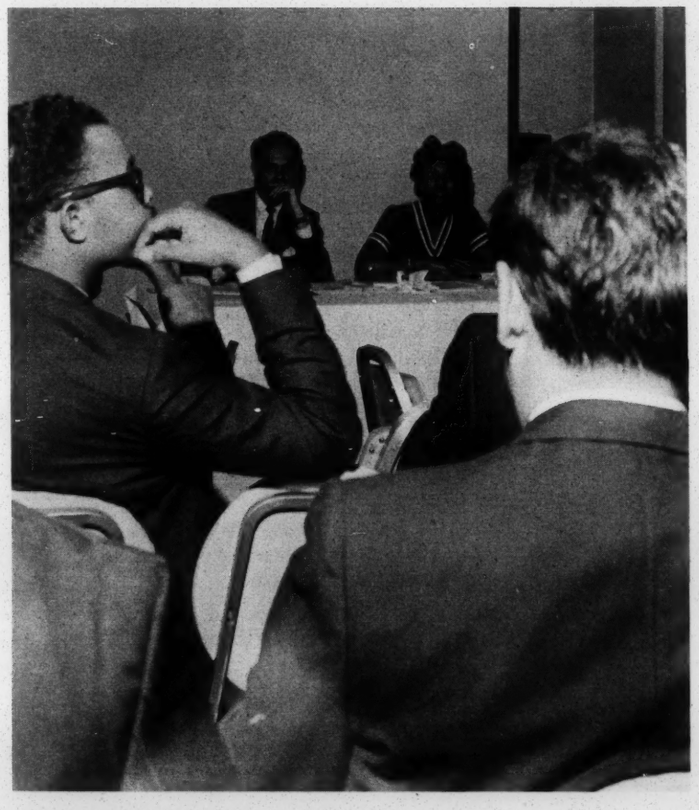
I. School Board Members
- Mrs. Sara Mitchell, member, Atlanta Board of Education
- T. E. Patterson, member, Little Rock Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Arkansas Teachers Association
- Paul Rilling, Regional Civil Rights Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Horace E. Tate, member, Atlanta Board of Education; Executive Secretary, Georgia Teachers Education Association
- William Turner, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Dr. Samuel Trusty, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

II. City Officials
- William Allison, Deputy Administrator, Economic Opportunity Atlanta
- William Page, Regional Director, Department of Health, Education and Welfare
- Moreland Smith, Director, Urban Planning, Southern Regional Council
- Michael Janis, Model Cities, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Donald Webster, Intergroup Relations Advisor, Department of Housing and Urban Development
- Robert Smith, Executive Director, Low Income Housing Corporation, Durham, North Carolina

III. County Officials
- Richard Boone, Executive Director, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
- Clarence Coleman, Southern Regional Director, National Urban League
- George Esser, Executive Director, North Carolina Fund
- Dr. Mack Jones, Department of Political Science, Atlanta University
- John Lewis, Director, Community Organization, Southern Regional Council
- Hugh Saussy
  Southeastern Regional Office, Office of Economic Opportunity

IV. Law Enforcement Officials
- Fred Banks, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
- Mrs. Taunya Banks, Director, Tougaloo College Service Center for Elected Officials
- John Boone, Director, Project on the Administration of Justice, Southern Regional Council

V. State Legislators
- Dr. J. David Paletz, Professor of Political Science, Duke University
- Mervyn M. Dymally, State Senator, California Legal Defense Fund
- Bill Greene, Assemblyman, California
- Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP
- Dr. Jewel Prestage, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Southern University
- Emory Via, Director, Labor Education, Southern Regional Council



LOUISIANA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
VIRGINIA
FLORIDA
ARKANSAS
MISS.
ALABAMA
TEXAS

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'...A More Just Society...'

The Rev. John Morris, *coordinator of the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials and an Episcopal priest, delivered the invocation at the opening dinner Dec. 11. The Rev. Mr. Morris was in charge of planning the program and making arrangements for the conference. He is a founder and former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.*

ALMIGHTY GOD, Who hast given us this good land for our heritage and helped us to begin to turn back the forces of oppression and injustice;

BEHOLD NOW Thy people who have gathered here in the pursuit of greater service of their fellow man. Grant that these days may be both profitable in helping us build a more just society and a witness to the spirit of free men.

THOU WHO are Lord of Lords and King of Kings, hidden and yet on every side, preserve from self-serving ambition those to whom the authority of government is entrusted; but, rather, give them an untiring zeal to see that Thy will is done and all men are free before they rest.

AS WE MEET we also honor the memory of thy servant, Martin, whose vision of a beloved community still beckons, and whose death reminds us of the sacrifice of many who have gone before.

FOR his love and for Thine we are grateful; and for our fellowship here and the food of which we are about to partake.

BLESSED ART THOU, Lord of the harvest, who bringest forth bread from the wheat fields and wine from the vineyard. Keep us in Thy love for ever and ever.

AMEN.

'...A Rapidly Growing List...'

Text of opening remarks by **Vernon E. Jordan Jr.,** *director of the Voter Education Project, Dec. 11.*

Three years ago, just after passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Southern Regional Council compiled a list of elected Negro officeholders in the South. The list totaled just over 70 names.

Today, counting some 80 black candidates elected for the first time in the Nov. 5 general election, the list totals over 380 names. The roster thus is more than five times as large today as it was just three years ago.

This dramatic increase is one of the more significant developments in Southern politics today. Not even the fact that five Southern states gave George Wallace his only electoral votes can overshadow the deepening involvement of black Southerners in the region's political process.

It is true, of course, that most of these officials were elected by predominantly black voting lists and are a result of heavy increases in Negro registration. Indeed, many represent all-black districts—as do, for example, the mayors and councilmen in all-black towns. Nevertheless there are some black officeholders—notably several of the legislators—who represent districts in which large numbers of white voters live. In any event, the list of black officeholders is growing very rapidly and will continue to do so in the months ahead.

This rapid growth in the number of Negro officeholders poses a new issue for Negroes in the South—a welcome issue, but an issue nevertheless. That issue is how to make these new officeholders as effective as possible in filling their offices. Like politicians of all races, black officeholders must be able to produce in behalf of their constituents. But Negro officeholders face several additional problems.

Black voters often feel that officeholders should produce instantly, almost magically, all those benefits and services that had been denied down through the years by callous white officials. Usually—almost always—this is impossible.

In many cases the Negro officeholder finds himself serving Negroes who live outside his district but have no spokesman. Thus a Negro legislator—to use that office as an example—might find himself speaking on some issues for all the Negroes in the state.

The Negro officeholder is being observed closely by both races. Some of the watching eyes are friendly, but many are hostile. Often the new Negro officeholder will be measured by yardsticks far more exacting than those applied to his white predecessors. The difficulty that Julian Bond had in claiming his seat in the Georgia Legislature stands as an example of the sort of roadblocks that can be thrown in the way of black elected officials.

Finally, most of the newly elected black officials carry a heavy burden of political inexperience. Historically, the white political structure of the South has deliberately and systematically denied blacks the opportunity to gain experience in the political process.

This is the sort of practical problems we will be dealing with these four days at the first Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials. We will not solve all the problems at one conference. But we hope to establish, at this conference, some machinery for dealing with the problems on a continuing basis in the future, as the number of black elected officials continues to grow.

'...An Attack on All of Us...'

Rep. Julian Bond *of Atlanta opened the four-day Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials with a keynote speech Dec. 11 at a dinner. Rep. Bond, refused his seat by the Georgia House of Representatives because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam, was elected three times before he was seated by order of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1967. The 28-year-old legislator's name was placed before the 1968 Democratic National Convention as a nominee for vice president.*

It is difficult to know what to say to an audience like this one. We come from so many different backgrounds, we hold so many different jobs, we have so many different ambitions. All that we have in common is the fact that we are politicians, we are black, and we are very largely elected by black constituencies.

Those last two facts are the most important—our race and the race of people whom we represent, the people who have chosen us to make important decisions for them.

Without knowing what kinds of people have selected you, let me tell you something about the people I am proud and privileged to represent in the Georgia General Assembly—the citizens of the 111th House district of Fulton County.

They are almost all black—nearly 85 per cent of them. They are nearly all poor—their average yearly income per family is $2,500. They have trouble finding work—unemployment in my district runs between 30 and 40 per cent. They are poorly educated—on the average they completed only the sixth grade. Most of the men have trouble finding work, and so the labor force in my district is predominantly female. You all know the kind of work poorly educated black women do—day work, domestic service, cleaning someone else's kitchen, caring for someone else's children.

Incidentally, the white citizens of my district share the same condition; but unfortunately for them, most of them think that somehow the color of their skin makes their small amount of money go further, or that their whiteness makes their poor sixth grade education better than the one my black constituents have.

But the point of all these statistics is simply to demonstrate that my constituents are probably very much like yours—they are poor and black, and they depend on government, very largely—their city and county and state governments and their federal governments—to help them do the things they are unable to do themselves. That is why they have chosen you to represent them, because they still retain some faith in the power of the democratic process to solve people's problems.

I am very much afraid that for the next several years they are in for some disappointments.

If your constituents are like mine—and like most other black Americans—they voted very heavily for Vice President Humphrey. They wanted him to be President. They may have had some other first choice, but that was denied them by an assassin in Los Angeles. They may even, like I did, have had a second choice; but that was denied them by democracy in Chicago. So therefore they voted for Mr. Humphrey. He represented warmth, while one can only find coldness in the iciness we now hear described as the "new" Nixon.

So while we were voting one way, the rest of the country voted another. They chose a man who said he didn't expect to get black votes and therefore never sought them out; they chose a man who said he was publicly for open housing but privately against it, and they chose a man who says the federal government is enforcing the 1954 Supreme Court decision too swiftly.

They chose a man who has tremendous power to set a positive or a negative future for black Americans.

—He perhaps may choose five new Supreme Court justices and therefore may determine the nature of the decisions that Court makes in civil rights cases over the rest of this century.

—He will certainly choose a new attorney general and a new head of the civil rights division of the Department of Justice and will decide how vigorously—or whether at all—they enforce the legislation that affects us most vitally.

—He is going to name the staff and set the budget for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. He will determine how these agencies respond when they are asked to deal with our problems.

He will have a great deal to say about the nature of the 92nd Congress.

Now those are not the kinds of decisions one wants to leave to a man whose closest advisers include Strom Thurmond.

But we are faced, now that the election has passed, with being ruled by a man who was not the choice of 90 per cent of us, with being ruled by a man who has

yet to demonstrate that he has any concern for the poor or the black. We will be ruled by a man who says he wants to rebuild our slums with black capitalism, which can only mean exchanging the race of the people who have been exploiting us. Faced with that kind of government over the next four years, the way that all of us act from now until 1972 is going to be very important.

We face these next four years a Congress that is more conservative than the last one, and we face a nation that has grown tired of the demands of the black and the poor. We are in a position worse off, relatively speaking, than our position has been over the past several years.

You all know the statistics that show more black people working, more living in decent homes, more getting an education, more earning more money. There is another set of figures that shows we make less money now—more in comparison with what we used to make, but less in comparison with white people. We are moving out of poverty, but while white poverty in America has decreased 27 per cent, black poverty has decreased only 3 per cent.

The most frightening figure is this one. The infant mortality rate for blacks—compared with whites—in 1940, 28 years ago, was 70 per cent higher. In other words, our babies died 70 per cent faster 28 years ago than white babies did. There has been some change, however—in 1962, just six short years ago, the figure was 90 per cent.

Now in addition to these kinds of problems, we face involvement in a problem of national proportions, a problem that affects every American, black and white. That problem is America's imperial war in Vietnam. The difference, black and white, is that it affects us more.

It feeds on our community. It takes our sons and fathers and brothers and uncles to fight and die in it in greater proportion than it takes any other group of Americans. Is that because we are braver, or because we love fighting more than anyone else, or because we are greater patriots? I think not. I think it is because young black men find the Army uniform and three square meals a day more attractive than they find life in Harlem, or Watts, or the Delta of Mississippi or the bayous of Louisiana. And so the war takes them. It sends them 8,000 miles away from their homes, telling them they are defending freedom, the kind of freedom they often find lacking in the communities they leave behind.

The war places many of them in an integrated situation for the first time—a front-line foxhole, next to some white boy. America has not yet discovered how to get that kind of integration at home.

Most of us are spectators to the war. We watch the young black man and the white boy on television, often in living color, as they burn down the huts of some poor Vietnamese village, and realize the two of them could not live on the same block in most American villages. We may realize further that if the young black boy is lucky enough to survive the war without being killed, he may come home and may become so frustrated at the discrimination and racism he meets in the land of his birth that he may burn down some American village—using, of course, the skills and the techniques he learned while defending America's freedom overseas.

Now I have heard some black politicians say that the war didn't affect them, that it was a foreign policy matter, and that we ought not say anything about it, that it wasn't our business. Well, let me say that any time you live in a country that is willing to pay $500,000 for every enemy soldier it kills, and only $50.75 for every poor person in the war on poverty, then that is your business.

Every time you find yourself living in a country that tells you violence is all right when it results in death and destruction for some little brown people 8,000 miles away but not when it is done by black people here at home, then it is your business.

Every time your government tells you that the trouble in Vietnam is caused by outside agitators from the North, think back to George Wallace and Marvin Griffin telling you that you would be happy and satisfied if it wasn't for the outside agitators from the American North.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is everyone's business.

So we have to make it our business to tackle some of the evils of 20th Century Americanism—racism and militarism. We could begin to do that by making our own communities strong and by controlling the goods and services and the institutions of our communities. For a long time we've only had the church. That was the only thing that was ours and ours alone. But I hope in the future that we'll begin to widen our sights and say to ourselves that if it operates in a community of black people, black people have got to control it. That means the businesses and it means the schools and it may mean the police as well.

I was in New York City on Monday, and I went to Intermediate School No. 201, one of the Harlem schools that is controlled and run by the people of Harlem. I spoke to a class of eighth graders, and in my speech, I mentioned some great people who have come from Georgia; and with Roy Hamilton and Ray Charles and James Brown and Otis Redding and Gladys Knight and the Pips, I mentioned the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. Now you may not think that eighth graders ought to be taught about Ray Charles or James Brown, and I'd agree with you; and you might think that Elijah Muhammad might not be a proper subject for an eighth grade class either, but they knew who he was. One eighth-grader told me, "Elijah Muhammed taught racist doctrines, and that's why Malcolm X left the Muslims." Another told me, "The Honorable Elijah Muhammad is the leader of the Nation of Islam and the Messenger of Allah."

Now I submit to you, that's a wonderful thing. Not that one child agrees with Mr. Muhammad and another does not, but that both know about him, and both know he is a part of our peculiar history in the United States. That, I think, is what it means when black people control their community.

Additionally, I think we've got to be aware of and suspicious of attempts to turn us against our own interests. Take Mr. Nixon's Black Capitalism, for instance. (Now before any one of you begins to think I'm against capitalism, let me correct you. But I think we'd all admit that if it had not been for white capitalism, none of us would ever have been sold into slavery.) As Mr. Nixon explains it, Black Capitalism means that General

Motors will be given tax credits to come into my community to set up a factory that will hire and train black people. Now that is wonderful, but it's not Black Capitalism by any stretch of the imagination. That is white capitalism once again coming into the black community and taking the only thing we have to offer, which is our labor.

Instead, we ought to become interested in—now here's a terrible, dirty word—community socialism. We ought to be interested in the kind of economic development in our communities that will not only give us jobs but will give the community the profit as well. A minister in Philadelphia, the Rev. Leon Sullivan, the man who began the idea that became Operation Breadbasket, has a project like that working now. Mr. Nixon has seen it, and we ought to hope that he gets the message.

We are additionally going to have to look around us for the kinds of people we can join forces with. It would be nice if we could go it alone. I am sure there is not a single person here who hasn't said to himself, at one time or another, I wish I could just get away from all this. But we can't, and our numbers are so small nationally that we have got to find the kinds of people who can help us. Those we used to depend on have deserted us.

Organized labor used to call itself our friend, but you saw where labor was in the 1968 presidential election.

White liberals and moderates used to help us, but this terrible war has attracted nearly all their attention.

So we have got to try to find new friends, while we hope the old ones will come home. We naturally ought to look to the other colored minorities—the Mexican-Americans and the Puerto Ricans and the American Indians. If we could get some kind, any kind of response from the heavy shield of racism that blinds poor white people, they would be our natural allies too.

In the future, we will have to beware of the kinds of coalitions like the one that has existed in this city for so long. That coalition put all of us together with some of the white people—the moderates and the liberals. It worked out fine while it was intended to maintain order; but since the blacks began to demand justice, the coalition is beginning to show some signs of wear. And now they want to expand the city limits to cut our numbers down.

So we have to always be on the lookout for any other forces in American political society that can help us. We ought not to turn anyone down. If your house is on fire, and a man runs up with a bucket of water, don't ask him where he got it or who he is. Just make sure it's not gasoline and then pour it on.

Finally, although we need fast action, we have to move with care. We are living in strange times. For the first time in the last eight years, the forces of conservatism have won a national election. For the first time since 1948, we have had a presidential candidate who appealed to racism. This year the hillbilly Hitler from Alabama won nine million votes. In 1972 he will be back again, and we must be ready for him.

We live in an era in which the next Vice-President of the United States makes jokes about Polacks and Japs—you know that any man who does that will also joke about Wops and Spics and Niggers. We live in an era in which a committee of the U.S. House of Representatives has said we ought to reopen the concentra-

tion camps that the Japanese were put in during the Second World War; but this time they don't want to put the Japanese in them, they intend them for us.

In an era like that, we ought to consider that an attack on one of us is really an attack on all of us.

We ought to remember what a German minister had to say when someone asked him what he did to stop Hitler from coming to power. He said: "When they came for the Jews, I did not cry out because I was not a Jew. When they came for the Catholics, I did not cry out because I was not a Catholic. When they came for the union leaders, I did not cry out because I was not a union leader. But when they knocked on my door, then and only then did I think of screaming; but there was no one around to hear my screams."

In closing, let me say one final thing. I have believed that we are and will be a great people because we come from a great people. We have great heroes. But a people with a limited view of their own past will have a limited future. So let me close by reading to you two short pieces that come from our past. One comes from a man who was, I believe, our greatest hero, Frederick Douglass. His words of 100 years ago ought still apply to us today. One comes from a man like us, a black politician, who was thrown out of the Georgia House of Representatives 100 years ago.

Frederick Douglass:

> "He who would be free must strike the first blow. You know that liberty given is never so precious as liberty sought for and fought for. The man who is outraged is the man who must make the first outcry. Depend on it: men will not care much for a people who do not care for themselves. Men will organize to prevent cruelty to animals, for they are dumb creatures and cannot speak for themselves; but we are men, and men must speak for themselves or we shall not be spoken for at all. We hold it self-evident that no class or color should be the exclusive ruler of this country. If

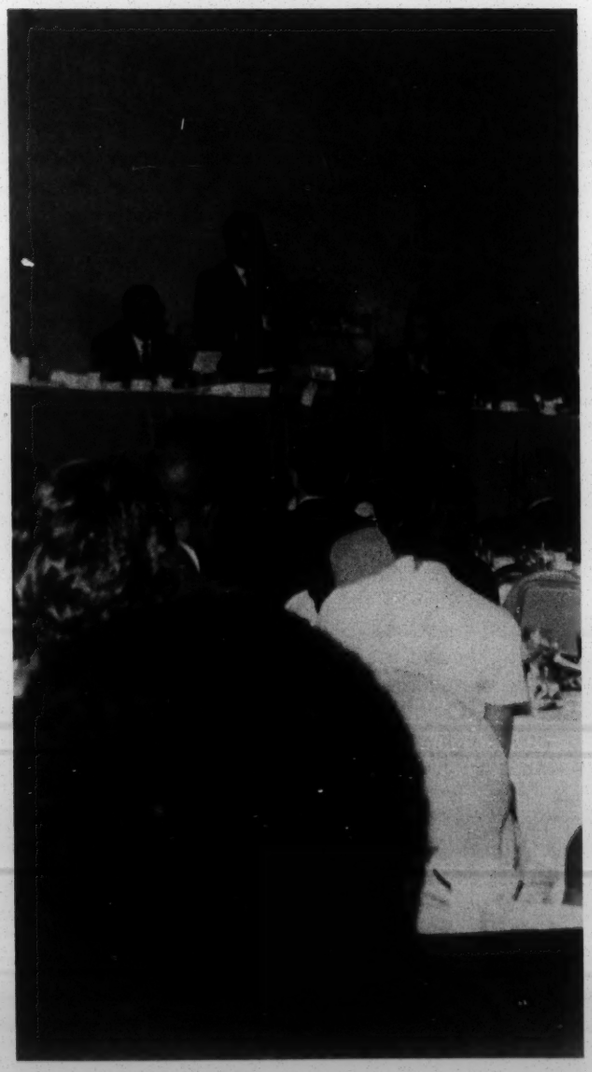
there is such a ruling class, there must, of course, be a subject class; and when that condition is established, the government of the people, by the people and for the people shall perish from the earth."

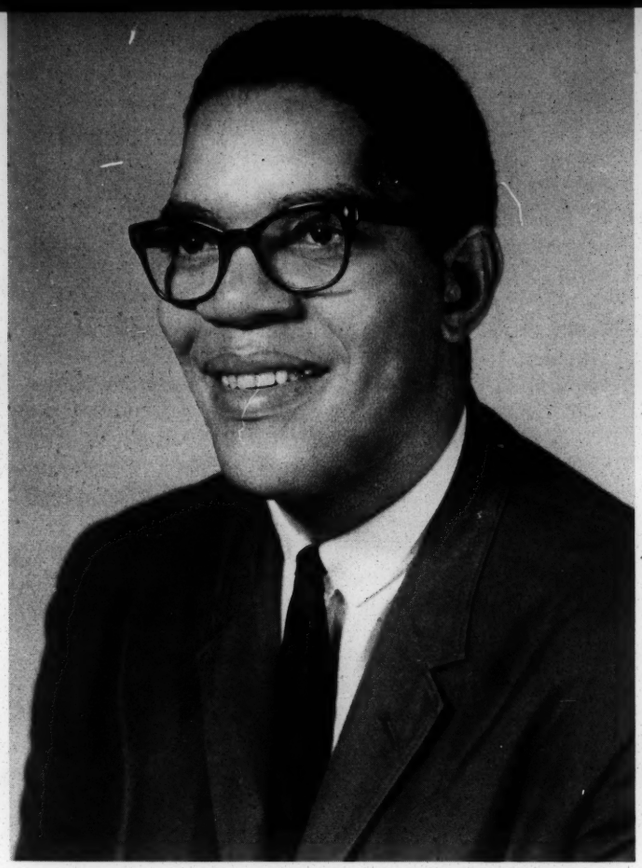
Henry McNeill Turner.

"Even though we are not white, we have accomplished much. We have pioneered a civilization. We have built up your country. We have worked in your field and have garnered your harvest for 250 years. Do we ask for compensation for the sweat our fathers bore for you—for the tears you have caused, the hearts you have broken and the blood you have spilled? Do we ask retaliation? We ask it not. We are willing to let the dead past bury the dead. But we ask you now for our rights. You have all the elements of superiority on your side—you have our money and your own, you have our education and your own. You have our land and your own. We are strangers in the land of our birth; without money, without education, without aid, without a rook to cover us while we live, nor clay to cover us when we die. It is extraordinary that a race such as yours, professing gallantry and chivalry and education and superiority, living in a land where Bibles are read and where Gospel truths are spoken and where courts of justice are presumed to exist—it is extraordinary that with all these advantages on your side, you can still make war on the defenseless black man.

"The great question is this: Am I a man? If I am such, I claim the rights of man. You may expel us, but I believe firmly that one day you will repent it. The black man cannot protect a country if the country cannot protect him, and if tomorrow, a war would arise, I would not raise a musket to defend a country where my manhood is denied. The fashionable way in Georgia is for the white man to sit at ease while the black man does the work, but I will say this much to the colored men of Georgia: never lift a finger or raise a hand in defense of Georgia unless Georgia acknowledges that you are men and invests you with the rights pertaining to manhood. You may expel us by your votes today; but while you do it, remember that there is a just God in Heaven, whose all-seeing eye beholds alike the acts of the oppressor and the oppressed, and who despite the machinations of the wicked, never fails to vindicate the cause of justice and the sanctity of his own handiwork."

Let me suggest that those two men were men, real men. Their words are 100 years old, but their thoughts and ideas are as fresh as tomorrow. If each of us can approach his job with one half the fire and fervor that those two men did, then we will have vindicated the trust our constituents put in us.





'... The Key to Southern Liberation ...'

Dr. Samuel D. Cook, *professor of political science at Duke University, gave "an historical sketch of the Negro in the Southern political process" at the opening session Dec. 12. His talk was followed by a panel-audience discussion. Dr. Cook is chairman of the Voter Education Project's Advisory Committee.*

Just as politics "makes strange bedfellows," it begets baffling meanings, events, and experiences. It sometimes makes realities of illusions and illusions of realities. Politics can enslave "the high and the mighty" even as they celebrate the delights of power and privilege. There is a politics of deception, but there are also deceptions of politics, including brutal self-deceptions. The history of Southern politics is a grim reminder and prophetic warning of the perils of politics of fear, negativism, memory, separation, and brutally irrational collective egoism and pride.

The historic position of the Negro in the Southern political system is an awfully strange phenomenon, full of paradox and irony, simplicity and complexity, mystery and meaning, public injustice and poetic justice. Strange as it may seem, the black man's influence on Southern political systems, structures, events, and public policies has been profound, central, and universal. Somehow, the harsh and startling truth is that the Negro is the key to Southern politics. Take him out of the equation and the politics of Southern history does not, in substance, make sense; it is, clearly, beyond the realm of rational intelligibility. Put him in the key role and the tawdry pieces, like a symphony, fall into their proper places and perspectives.

Though, in essence, powerless, helpless, and victimized, the black man, because of the tyranny of racism over the mind of the white South, has been able, without intention or knowledge, to dominate Southern political and governmental life. Essentially outside the political arena, his presence in Dixie largely determined the content, style, rhetoric, direction, and issues inside the Southern political process. How paradoxical and ironic!

Driven by a paranoic fear of black control or "domination," the political thought and practices of the South produced by way of the back door (how symbolic!) that very "black domination" it most feared and sought so desperately to avoid. Slaves tyrannized masters; subjects tyrannized citizens; those who monopolized the structure and process of power fell victim to the very men against whom, above all, their terrible power was directed. Whites fell into the trap they had so cleverly and determinedly made for blacks: absolute dominion.

The very presence of the Negro exercised a dominating influence on the public philosophy and life of the South. The heart of Southern history has been informed and inspired by memories and anticipations, hopes and fears, beliefs and doubts, cocksure complacency and blinding restlessness issuing from the troubling and universal presence of Negroes. Unwittingly, the Negro has exercised tyrannical power over the Southern political process. Just as he was victimized by the albatross of racism, so was the white man. With all his awesome and unlimited power, the white man of the South was powerless—psychologically, emotionally, intellectually, spiritually, culturally, economically, and politically—to shake off the tyrannical influence of the black man. The black man has been the Southern white man's "hang-up." The Negro, like a fearsome ghost, has haunted and driven the white man. The white South's actions and reactions, plans and counter-plans, contemplative flights and manipulative processes were, in large measure, simply echoes and reflections of the agonized, agonizing, and fearsome presence of politically alienated and powerless black men. Deep and irrational fears can enslave even the most powerful. The Southern white man's genius—political and otherwise—has been exhausted in "the race problem." Southern politics is, at bottom, the politics of fear, and the object of fear is the black man.

The changes that have occurred on the Southern political scene—symbolized by your election to positions of power and responsibility—are indeed radical, but the most radical ones are yet to come. The key to Southern liberation is black liberation—liberation from the cancer of racism. When black men are fully free,

the South will be fully free. It will overcome its legacy of national alienation, poverty, illiteracy, economic colonialism, cultural and ideological isolation, and tragic and self-defeating enslavement to the tyranny of the past and the seething despair of a collective existence born of entrapment to the paralysis of memory. Freed from the heavy yoke of racism, the South—and, on a deeper level, the nation as well—will take wings.

I. The Nature of Politics

Politics, shorn of its non-essentials, is a struggle for power and for the values associated with, and derived from, the possession of power. Politics, said Max Weber, "means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state."[1] Political institutions and activities are, essentially, power relations. Power is the ability to get things done, to influence others, to create the desired consequences or conditions.[2] It is the capacity to manipulate and control the world of men as well as the realm of nature in accordance with one's interests and desires.

"Political power is social power focused on the state. It involves control of other men for the purpose of influencing the behavior of the state, its legislative, administrative and judicial activities."[3] Political power determines the authoritative allocation or distribution of public benefits. It involves public decision-making in terms of form and substance, personnel and policy, input and output, privileges and privations, punishment and reward, protection and exploitation, enrichment and impoverishment. Accordingly, the stakes of politics are indeed high and precious. The political system determines who gets what, when, and how. The fruits of political power are many and varied. Public services—from physical protection to street lighting, sewage and garbage disposal—taxation, opportunities for education, enjoyment, employment and other life chances, and related bread-and-butter decisions are largely political matters. Ultimately, politics has profound bearing on the quality and destiny of human life and culture.

Politics is, therefore, a high and honorable calling. It is no better and no worse than other honorable professions. Because of the nature of their office and responsibilities, what political leaders do, in terms of virtues and defects, successes and failures, devotion to public good and pursuit of self-serving ends, is more glaring, visible, and dramatic than that of most men and women. The public properly expects high standards from politicians. After all, they are supposed to be the servants and guardians of the public interest.

The political system and the people who manage its operations have great responsibilities and opportunities for public service. Conflict and disagreement, owing both to human nature and to the scarcity of goods or objects of satisfaction, are an inherent part of the human scene. Politics is peculiarly the arena of conflict, tension, clash, and competitive pursuit for the satisfaction of desires and the achievement of advantage and privilege. It is an eternal battleground of pressure and counter-pressure, demand and counter-demand, pushing and shoving.

As Miller asserts,

> Politics . . . is about disagreement or conflict; and political activity is that which is intended to bring about or resist change, in the face of possible resistance . . . . Political activity . . . arises out of disagreement, and it is concerned with the use of government to resolve conflict in the direction of change or in the prevention of change. It is about policy and position.[4]

Conflict is at the heart of politics. Herein lies perhaps the most creative power and responsibility of political life. Politics is concerned with the adjustment, regulation, accommodation, management, and resolution of conflict growing out of competitive desires, needs, interests, and preferences. It has been well said that "politics is the most inclusive process by which social conflict is regulated in a community."[5] The quality of the political system and the character of political leaders are best determined by how they deal with conflict. The response of the political system to the stubborn reality, power, and persistence of conflict discloses its viability, character, and worth. A political system is creative or destructive in accordance with the pattern and quality of its response to the basic problems and dimensions of human conflict.

Race, in its many manifestations, has been the chief source and expression of conflict and tension in Southern political life. The response of the political system has been destructive and sterile rather than creative and imaginative. Radically absent were creative encounters and responsible responses. The fundamental dimensions and human realities of the situation were never faced; indeed, a premium was placed on not facing them. Methods of political sidestepping were endlessly elaborated and faithfully implemented. Exclusion, oppression, suppression, and victimization of blacks were the chief methods and techniques of the South in dealing with racial conflict and tension. They prevailed.

Regulation, adjustment, accommodation, and resolution of conflicting interest were accomplished by the ruthless mobilization and brutal application of "White Power." The idea of shared power and mutuality of political respect was totally lacking. Conflict communication, participation, and representation were not only irrelevant; they were viewed as dangerous subversion of law, order, justice, and the common good. Issues, therefore, were never confronted, and hence their resolution was made an obvious impossibility. The system not only fostered but celebrated and glorified collective hypocrisy, conceit, egoism, and dishonesty. Majestic principles were invoked to justify the reduction of black men to the status of subject and victim of the political process. Lip-service was dutifully paid to democracy even as Negroes were systematically excluded from the experience of every element of citizenship.

II. Southern Politics and the Tyranny of Racism

A. Black Men As Subject, Issue, and Victim

To understand the depth and power of racism over the Southern political process, it first is necessary to grasp what politics has meant to the South. In a way unique to America, politics has been dear to the heart of Southerners; they have loved it with a passion. It has been a source of profound meaning, attachment, value and fulfillment. If racism was the South's first love, politics was its second. The Southern love of

politics, Cash insisted, is inseparable from its love of rhetoric and oratory.[6]

He went on to say that,

> Thus the politics of the Old South was a theater for the play of the purely personal, the purely romantic, and the purely hedonistic. It was an arena wherein one great champion confronted another or a dozen, and sought to outdo them in rhetoric and splendid gesturing. It swept back the loneliness of the land, it brought men together under torches, it filled them with the contagious power of the crowd, it unleashed emotion and set it leaping and dancing, it caught the very meanest man up out of his own tiny legend into the gorgeous fabric of the legend of this or that great hero.[7]

Besides, politics in the South has been a form of entertainment, relaxation, and escape from the painful burdens of life. All this must be understood in terms of the region's legacy of poverty, misery, illiteracy, disease, national alienation, and tragedy. Politics has been precious to the Southern collective experience.

Politics provided a psychological and emotional outlet from the soil, which was both a prison and a shrine, a curse and a blessing.

Atlanta Constitution columnist Celestine Sibley perceived the heart of matter:

> If there had been anywhere else to go, any other form of public entertainment, it's possible the rural Southerner wouldn't have developed such a marked taste for oratory and barbecue. Having little enough to divert them, however, at 'lay-by time,' when there was nothing to do in the fields except let the crops grow, and the summer protracted meeting had run its course, a political rally at the county seat was a welcome event. Men of all ages from bearded grandpas to shirt-tail boys saddled up horses, hitched the mule to the wagon or set out afoot to hear such spellbinders as fiery Bob Toombs, Little Alec Stephens, Tom Watson and, in later years, Ol' Gene Talmadge . . . . You have but to read some of the old speeches to realize that politics . . . was better than any road show.[8]

No wonder the South produced so many colorful political figures. One thinks of "Kingfish" Huey Long—"Every Man a King"; "Ma" Ferguson—elected governor to serve as proxy for her husband, barred from office by an earlier impeachment and indictment; Ol' Gene Talmadge—displaying his red galluses, appealing to the "wool-hat" boys, and insisting that he didn't want any votes from any county big enough to have street car tracks; "Kissing Big Jim" Folsom; Georgia's two or three governors at the same time; Cotton Ed Smith discoursing with great eloquence on the virtues of Southern womanhood; Lester Maddox, in the early days of his campaign for the governorship, proclaiming his opposition to school consolidation on the ground that it would prevent some nice little girl from being chosen school queen; George Wallace standing in the "schoolhouse door" in symbolic defiance of the whole majesty and power of the United States government. Behind all the comedy was a serious commitment to political life. It satisfied deep needs.

"The South has always been a great land for politicians. This isn't mere happen-so. It results from the character of the people and the nature of their life."[9] Politics in the Old South was something sacred, some-

thing of a religion, perhaps a substitute for, or an extension of, religious experience, rituals, and symbols. The South, according to Dabbs, "tended to replace religion with politics, and to make politics, religion, and the moral life one."[10] He goes on to speak of the "Southern tendency to keep questions in the political realm and to prevent them from becoming moral and religious."[11]

Accordingly, the oppressed status of the Negro in Southern political life represented his victimization and exploitation by something precious and sacred to white Southerners. Deep beliefs and commitments were involved. The region's first and second loves were united in political and governmental institutions and processes to the detriment of black humanity. Politics was, "so to speak," said Cash, "the temple wherein men entered to participate in the mysteries of the common brotherhood of white men, to partake of the holy sacrament of Southern loyalty and hate."[12] Thus racist demagogues, with all their oratory and manipulative skill and power, provided to whites not only enjoyment and entertainment but enrichment, satisfaction, meaning, and fulfillment at the heavy expense of black men. Negroes were excluded from, and victimized by, the Southern political process with a passion that partook of the "sacred."

The raping of Negroes by the Southern political process was, therefore, born of and nurtured by the search for meaning as well as the will-to-power. There was, in fact, a marriage of the will-to-meaning and the will-to-power. Psychological and spiritual components combined. The domination and control of black men satisfied not only the egoistic ambitions, imperialistic aims, and aggressive inclinations of whites; they also satisfied certain spiritual and moral impulses as well. It may sound strange, but the white South gave the political process a moral, spiritual, and religious interpretation. It was also viewed as a commanding agency of organic social cohesion and unity. The Negro was caught up in the throes of a variety of convergent forces and values. A racist public order issued from, and pointed to, more fundamental concerns of the moral, social and religious sphere. The intensity, persistence, and evangelical character of the political persecution of black Southerners is beyond rational comprehension unless linked to perception of certain ultimate concerns.

A broad perspective is essential in order to understand the constant preoccupation with the presence of the Negro and the expenditure of endless energy as well as moral, rational, and political resources to keep him in a state of oppression. The South felt it necessary to make the alienation and domination of Negroes ab-

solute and total—and even that did not produce satisfaction. The desire for security against a weak and black minority was insatiable; the hunger and thirst were beyond satisfaction. It was not enough to make black men powerless; they had to be humiliated and consistently and brutally reminded, in the public forum and in the boondocks, of the contempt and scorn in which they were held. They were easy targets and victims of political evangelism, and the peril of their presence had to be denounced with fervor and earnest dedication.

What's more, the white South could never shake off the feeling of the mysterious and perilous presence of the Negro. Serious threat of "black domination" was always lurking in the background. Negro strength would, according to the perceptions and fears of whites, somehow break through the stone walls and steel barriers of oppressive laws, caste, and custom. Danger was omnipresent; black invasion of sacred white temples was always an immediate possibility. Watching had to be constant; new walls of protection had to be built; new devices for the detection of rebellion had to be invented.

There was, on the ultimate level, a feeling of the powerlessness of power to prevent attempts at social and political change. Prevalent was the paranoic syndrome of a secret but powerful conspiracy against the Southern "way of life." The white man never felt secure. He was haunted by an inner doubt and fear that he had not done enough to maintain the political enslavement of the black man. Complete disfranchisement of blacks did not bring serenity and confidence to whites. Doubt still lurked. Black men were still viewed as a threat, a problem, a nightmare.

Perhaps subconsciously, the feeling that the Negro would rise was substituted for the sorry myth that the Confederate South would rise again. It is strange, but power does not necessarily produce security, and absolute power, if it were possible, would not inevitably bring about absolute security. Ironically, black men, in their powerlessness, exercised tremendous power over whites, who monopolized the process and substance of power; relegated to subjects, black men informed and inspired the basic political philosophy and practices of white citizens. There is an element of mystery in all this, but there is also a core of meaning.

Southern politics has been primarily the politics of race. Racism has presided over perhaps every major aspect of the political life of the region, if the situation is viewed in large terms—in the pre-Civil War era, the Civil War itself, the Confederacy, the Democratic split in 1860, Reconstruction, the Redemption, the establishment of various restrictive voting laws, the Black Codes, the rise and perpetuation of the one-party system,[13] the birth and death of Populism,[14] the Dixiecrat movement, the numerous independent electors exercises, the Wallace movement, and so forth. Alexander Heard asserts, "Southern concern over the Negro is the most deeply rooted source of political contention in American politics."[15]

In his classic study, *Southern Politics,* V. O. Key observed:

> In its grand outlines the politics of the South revolves around the position of the Negro. It is at times interpreted as a politics of cotton, a politics of free trade, as a politics of agrarian poverty, or as a politics of planter, and plutocrat. Although such interpretations have a superficial validity, in the last analysis the major peculiarities of Southern politics go back to the Negro. Whatever phase of the Southern political process one seeks to understand, sooner or later the trail of inquiry leads to the Negro.[16]

The "Southern bloc" in the Congress exists only in reference to the race issue. After analyzing Southern voting behavior in the Senate, Key concluded that "on the race question, and on that question alone, does a genuine Southern solidarity exist. On other questions Southern Democrats split and Southern solidarity becomes a matter of degree." [17] After examining Southern voting behavior in the House, Key concluded: "Thus the inference to be drawn from House behavior is similar to that deductible from Senate voting: Southern attitude toward the Negro provides the bedrock of Southern sectionalism."[18] The celebrated Southern doctrine of states' rights—from its initial formulation to the present—is, at bottom, an ideological weapon, political imperative, and respectable camouflage for a free hand in the management of race relations. It has no consistent and meaningful application elsewhere. The South "has not stood consistently for states-rights, except on issues associated with slavery and the Negro question."[19]

Somehow, then, the Negro has, unwittingly, exercised a curious tyranny over the mind of the white South. Of the centrality and universality of Negro influence, it has been well said that the

> fundamental determinant of Southernism has been the presence of the Negro in large numbers relative to the whites, and resulting white supremacy doctrines and patterns of behavior. A South divorced from the problem of race would not have been a Solid South; a South preoccupied with race problems became a Solid South.[20]

It is of timely relevance to note that racism, fearing that, in a system of competitive party politics Negroes would hold the balance of power, is chiefly responsible for the historic one-party system in the South. "The South is a one-party area," commented Rossiter nearly a decade ago, "primarily because of the Negro."[21] Perhaps the crowning irony of Southern political history and process is that the party of Lincoln—which, owing to its image of association with the rights and aspirations of Negroes, was for nearly a century reduced to impotence in the South—must attribute a large part, though, of course, not all, of its modern rebirth and success to racism.[22]

Significantly, the pervasive influence of the Negro on the political process of the South has not been as a political agent and participant but as a political issue and object.[23] It has been, in other words, his function as a subject, not citizen. Essentially outside the political process and system, the Negro has been the chief source of animation, dynamism, inspiration, strategy, style, issues, and direction.[24] Southern politicization and political socialization issued from, in large measure, the very presence of the black man. The heart of Southern political socialization is the proposition that the governing process is the business of whites only. The Negro, in this view, is only subject—not citizen; a tool to be manipulated, not a political agent to be reckoned with and whose demands are to be responded to. "A democratic citizen," it has been well said, "speaks the language of demands."[25]

B. Consequences of the Tyranny of Racism on Southern Politics

Owing to the tyranny of racism, the Southern political system and process have been built on exclusivist rather than inclusivist principles and ideals. Interpretations of democracy, equality, justice, progress, and other moral ideals that inspire and inform the Southern political process were provincial and made in a manner to deny that very exclusiveness. The principles of democracy, in this framework, were not violated but, on the contrary, affirmed and institutionalized with religious fidelity. As Louis Hartz observed, "One of the crucial factors in the solidarity of the South was a democratic spirit enhanced by the slavery on which it rested."[26]

Some spokesmen of the Old South saw in Greek democracy their model and inspiration. Democracy for whites only was idealized. "The dominance of all white men over the Negro created a sense of brotherhood not unlike the Greek concept of democracy."[27] But even as Athens was invoked, fidelity to the American Creed was proclaimed. "The proslavery argument was so cleverly combined with American ideals that servitude appeared the very condition of democracy."[28] The very slavery of blacks was viewed as a basis of the freedom, equality , citizenship, culture, civilization, and humanity of whites.[29]

Ante-bellum political philosophy, attitudes, public policy, and vision have been continuous and productive of some awesome fruits. The Old South mothered the legacy that whites are born to rule and Negroes to obey, that the governing process is the business alone of whites. Because of slavery, said Tocqueville, "the citizen of the Southern states becomes a sort of domestic dictator from infancy; the first notion he acquires in life is that he is born to command, and the first habit which he contracts is that of ruling without resistance."[30] The operation of the particularistic version of democracy spawned an institutionalized negation of the ideal of the universality of participation inherent in the democratic process. It has meant not only the total alienation of Negroes from, but, even worse, their victimization and exploitation by, the Southern political process.

Down through the years, Southern public life has adhered to the principle of racist exclusivity. Even progressive and reform movements, weak at best, have espoused the ideology of racism. In his monumental *Origins of the New South,* C. Vann Woodward has a chapter whose title is: "Progressivism—For Whites Only." He maintains, "Southern progressivism generally was progressivism for white men only," and notes the "paradoxical combination of white supremacy and pregressivism."[31]

Self-defeating for whites have been the consequences of the centrality of racism in the total political culture. If it emasculated blacks, it produced the sterility of whites. Low electoral and other forms of citizen participation, a one-party system, (or, rather, a no-party system), a primitive political culture, diversion of energies and imagination from the real and vital issues of regional growth and development, alienation from the mainstream of the public life of the nation, vast restrictions on freedom of choice, archaic political, governmental, and constitutional structures, fertile soil for demagogues, tragic illusions, romance with negativism, and wild-eyed and futile adventures, and an inability to perceive the ultimate dignity, vitality and creative and higher possibilities of political life are all, in great measure, the product of racist-dominated politics. Great visions have been vitiated and buried because of racism. There is deep pathos here. The "tragedy of the South," says Dean Acheson, "has been that racism has corrupted an otherwise respectable strain of protest and experimentation in the search for economic equality, dating back to Jefferson, Mason, Randolph, and Jackson."[32]

Worthy of emphasis is the low level of electoral participation. Voting is only one aspect of political consciousness and involvement, but it is crucial. The record of the whole country is a terrible commentary on our public life,[33] but the South's record is the most depressing.[34] "By any standard," said Key, "precious few Southerners exercise the rights of citizens in a democracy."[35] Many reasons may be adduced, but they are all related, in the end, perhaps, to the "Negro problem."[36] Restrictions on Negro suffrage were vast and constituted "the most impressive systems of obstacles between the voter and the ballot box known to the democratic world."[37]

But restrictions on Negro suffrage took their toll on whites as well, both directly and indirectly, resulting in a small segment of the white population monopolizing the governing process. Indirect limitations on white voters flowed from the quality of the whole political system—the lack of competitive politics, the absence of issues and choices beyond personalities and self-serving factions, the hegemony of routine, and the sheer weight of the cumbersome mechanics of registration and voting. Direct restrictions on whites proceeded from laws aimed at Negroes but also militated against whites of low socio-economic and educational background and status. Laws directed against Negroes almost invariably affected some white voters.[38] The poll tax, for example, Key held, "insofar as it has deterred voting, has operated primarily to keep whites away from the polls,"[39] because Negroes could be kept from the polls by other means. Besides, the landed aristocrats and Bourbons held no special love for "poor whites." Thus, ironically, in the Southern political system certain whites have been victimized by the mythology and practice of the politics of white supremacy. In fact, "in sheer quantity nonvoting whites outnumber the voteless Negroes of the South as a whole."[40] In terms of substantive pub-

lic policy, the region's legacy of poverty, low per capita income, disease, illiteracy, and undevelopment of resources—human and natural—is a pathetic reminder of the depth and persistence of human folly. In every major crisis of the South, its leadership has defaulted. It has misled.

III. The Day and Night of Reconstruction

With legal emancipation and ratification of the Civil War amendments, the hope and expectation prevailed that former slaves would become, in reality as well as in theory, citizens and therefore full and equal participants in the Southern political process. Hopes, among the four million freedmen and their friends and allies, soared. Expectations and aspirations took wing. Reconstruction got under way.

Obviously, the new freedmen had no political experience or civic education. What is less well-known—and this tells us much about the character of the whole American political tradition as regards black men—is that even free Negroes, before the Civil War, had been, on the whole systematically excluded from the processes of politics. "Prior to the Civil War, Negroes had the right to vote in only four Northern states—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont. One Southern state, North Carolina, for a period allowed freed slaves to vote."[40] The voting laws of New York had discriminated against free Negroes.[41] When the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, Negroes could vote in only seven Northern states.[42] "During the period between the Philadelphia conventions of 1787 and 1865, only Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts permitted Negroes to vote on equal terms with whites. All others, at some time, have barred Negro Americans from the suffrage."[43]

Despite the tragically scarred legacy of slavery, Southern resentment and hostility, political chaos, and partisan wrangling for the advantages of power and privilege, Negroes plunged deeply into the muddy waters of Southern politics. They registered and voted in large numbers. They filled significant elective and appointive offices. They were familiar figures at state constitutional conventions, in state legislatures, and in local positions of responsibility. Between 1869 and 1880, 16 black men served in Congress from the South—two of whom, Hiram R. Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, represented Mississippi in the Senate. By 1895, 21 Negroes, representing eight states, had served in the House of Representatives.

Many myths have been created and perpetuated about "Negro domination" during Reconstruction—powerful myths that have been used to justify the political oppression and degradation of black men. The facts, however, are quite different. As John Hope Franklin observed,

> No group has attracted more attention or has had its role more misrepresented by contemporaries and by posterity than Southern Negroes during Radical Reconstruction. The period has been described as one of Negro rule, as one of gross perfidy with the Negro as the central figure, since the reins of misgovernment were supposedly held by black militiamen. Negroes were not in control of the state governments at any time anywhere in the South. They held public office and, at times, played important parts in the public life of their respective states. But it would be stretching a point to say that their roles were dominant, and it would be hopelessly distorting the picture to suggest that they ruled the South. It was in South Carolina that they had the greatest numerical strength. In the first legislature there were eighty-seven Negroes and forty whites. From the outset, however, whites controlled the state senate and in 1874 the lower house as well. At all times the governor was white. There were two Negro lieutenant governors. . . .[44]

Negro public officials, during Reconstruction, were neither better nor worse than their white counterparts. Both virtues and defects, both successes and failures were shared. Black men made real contributions.[45] A major contribution was to the establishment of public education for both races. "It is fair to say," asserted DuBois, "that the Negro carpetbag governments established the public schools of the South."[46]

The hopes of Reconstruction were dashed for a variety of reasons. The failure of the national government to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, partisan calculations, Southern determination to make the political process the exclusive prerogative of whites, the low economic, social, and educational status of blacks and other forces conspired to end the experiment in shared power and responsibility. With the withdrawal of federal troops, the Negro was abandoned to his enemies. White power was restored with vengeance. Force, violence, economic pressure, psychological coercion, and various "legal" devices were employed to reduce black men, once more, to the status of subject and victim. Virtual slavery returned.

IV. Conclusion: Citizen at Last?

"The citizen, unlike the subject, is an active partici-

pant in the political input process—the process by which political decisions are made."[47] Is the Negro, at long last, a free, equal participant in the Southern political process? The answer is clearly in the negative. The input must be increased; the output even more so. Changes in public philosophy and policy must come.

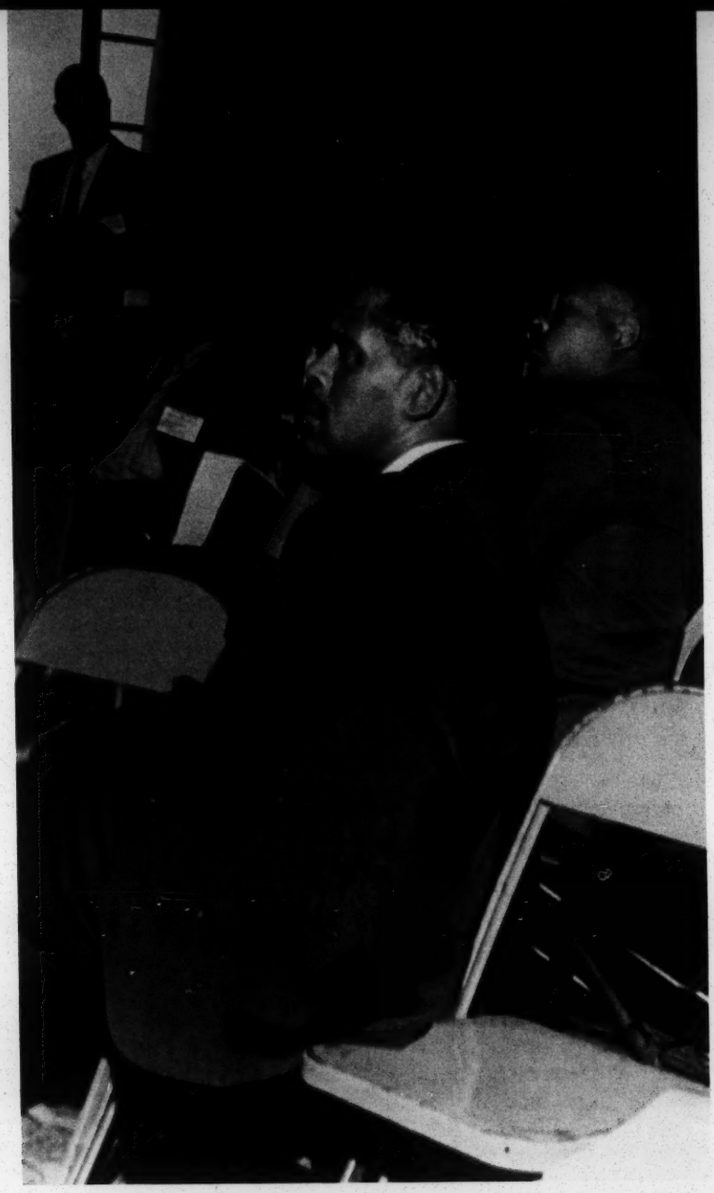
While it is true that the Negro still is part subject, it is also true that, because of numerous changes in the political landscape, he is much nearer the shore of political equality than at any previous time. He now has a toehold in the Southern political process. He can, on the whole, vote. Negroes are, in increasing numbers, elected to public office. A handful hold appointive positions in state and local governments. Black men are beginning to participate in the conduct of party affairs. A new day has dawned in the political and governmental life of the region. Because of pressure, barriers continue to fall. Because of increased participation, black men are developing a fund of public experience and increasing their political confidence and skill.

Negroes can help redeem the past of the Southern political process. They can be liberating and redemptive agents. Just as the Negro was the key to Southern political enslavement, he is the key to Southern political emancipation. The Southern genius has been exhausted in the "race problem." Black men, working with whites of reason, good will, and a sense of justice, can largely free the South from the chains and illusions of the past. The chief problem is racism.

Freed from the prison of racism, the South will be freed from the heavy yoke of deceit, hypocrisy, negativism, obstructionism, and provincialism. It will be freed from the vain illusion of the possibility of the restoration of a public order "gone with the wind." It will be freed of the exhausting and painful efforts to maintain a closed corporation. It will be freed from enslavement to the past and to memory. Freed of the Atlas burden of racism, the Southern political process will be able to say, ironically, with Martin Luther King: "Free at last."

FOOTNOTES

1. "Politics as a Vocation," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), p. 78.
2. See Bertrand Russell, *Power: A New Social Analysis* (London, 1938), p. 35.
3. Franz Neumann, *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State* (Glencoe, 1957), p. 3.
4. J. B. D. Miller, *The Nature of Politics* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 14, 16.
5. Dan Nimmo and Thomas D. Ungs, *American Political Patterns* (Boston, 1967), p. 11.
6. W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South*, Vintage ed. (New York, 1941), pp. 53-54.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
8. *Peachtree Street, U.S.A.* (Garden City, New York, 1963), pp. 75-76.
9. James M. Dabbs, *Who Speaks for the South?* (New York, 1964), p. 189.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
12. *Cash, op. cit.*, p. 81.
13. Alexander Heard, *A Two-Party South?* (Chapel Hill, 1952), pp. 9, 145-46; J. B. Shannon, *Toward a New Politics in the South* (Knoxville, 1949). pp. 8-9, and Harry Ashmore, *An Epitaph for Dixie* (New York, 1957), p. 15.
14. See, for example, Tom Watson's tragic and bitter comment in T. Harry Williams. *Romance and Realism in Southern Politics* (Athens, Georgia, 1960), p. 55.
15. Heard, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
16. *Southern Politics* (New York, 1949), p. 5. Also see ch. 31.
17. *Ibid.*. pp. 359-60. For additional evidence, see Key's *Public Opinion and American Democracy* (New York, 1961), pp. 100-04.
18. *Southern Politics*, op. cit., p. 372.
19. Francis M. Coker. "Are There Distinctive Political Traditions for the South?" *Journal of Politics*, II (1940), 15.
20. Allan P. Sindler, "The Unsolid South: A Challenge to the Democratic Party," in Alan F. Westin, ed., *The Uses of Power* (New York, 1962), pp. 236-37.
21. Clinton Rossiter, *Parties and Politics in America* (Ithica, 1960), p. 139.
22. Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President*, 1960 (New York, 1962), p. 360, and Samuel Lubbell, *Revolt of the Moderates* (New York, 1956), pp. 179-81. In Lubell's more recent books, however, the racial element in modern Southern Republicanism is not emphasized.
23. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944), pp. 429-32, 1310.
24. The literature on the subject is vast. See, for example, Frank E. Smith, *Congressman From Mississippi* (New York, 1964), and his *Look Away From Dixie* (Baton Rouge, 1965); Marian D. Irish, "The Southern One-Party System and National Politics," *Journal of Politics* IV (1942), 80-94; William G. Carleton, "The Southern Politician," *Journal of Politics*, XIII (1951), 215-31, and James W. Silver, *Mississippi: The Closed Society*, (New York, 1964).
25. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston, 1965), p. 138.
26. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York, 1955), p. 168.
27. Francis B. Simkins, *The Everlasting South* (Baton Rouge, 1963), p. 39.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
29. Cf. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-43.
30. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Henry Reeve text as revised by Francis Bowen and corrected and edited with an Introduction by Phillips Bradley and Foreword by Harold J. Laski (New York, 1945), I, 394.
31. *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), p. 373.
32. *A Democrat Looks at His Party* (New York, 1955), p. 44.
33. Kay Lawson, *Political Parties and Democracy in the United States* (New York, 1968), p. 81; report of *President's Commission on Registration and Voting* (Washington, 1963), esp. ch. 1, and pp. 66-67; Robert E. Lane, *Political Life* (New York, 1959), pp. 45-52; Semour Lipset, *Political Man* (Garden City, 1960), ch. 11, and Nimmo and Ungs, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.
34. Key, *Southern Politics*, chs. 23-30, and his *Public Opinion and American Democracy*, p. 104; Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 455-56, 474-75, 483; report of *President's Commission on Registration and Voting, op. cit.*, pp. 7, 66-67; Lester M. Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 58, 63, and Frank J. Sorauf, *Political Parties in the American System* (Boston, 1964), pp. 23-25, 36.
35. Key, *Southern Politics, op. cit.*, p. 491.
36. Myrdal, *op. cit*, pp. 475-76.
37. Key, *Southern Politics, op. cit.*, p. 555.
38. *Ibid*, pp. 542, 550.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 598; also see p. 618.
40. Howard Penniman, *The American Political Process* (New York, 1962), p. 14. Myrdal and Green, however, say that Negroes could vote in five Northern states. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 430, and Fletcher M. Green, "Democracy in the Old South," in George B. Tindall, ed., *The Pursuit of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1964), p. 187.
41. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 430.
42. Penniman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
43. G. James Fleming, "The Negro in American Politics: The Past," in John P. Davis, ed., *The American Negro Reference Book* (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), p. 418.
44. *Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1961), p. 133.
45. See, for example, Fleming, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-22.
46. W. E. B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1888*, Meredian ed. (New York, 1964), p. 664.
47. Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*, p. 117.



'...Real Kind of Revolution...'

Dr. Vivian Henderson, *president of Clark College in Atlanta, was luncheon speaker Dec. 12th. Dr. Henderson is author of a Southern Regional Council study on "The Economic Status of Negroes" and is co-author of several books, including "The Advancing South: Manpower Prospects and Problems" and "Jobs and Color: Negro Employment in Tennessee State Government." He is a member of the VEP Advisory Committee and the SRC executive committee.*

I am interested in discussing with you what I believe to be a very important set of background phenomena in terms of the South. This audience, by virtue of its structure and the structure of its agenda and its program, obviously is interested in the South. Subsequently I'd like to try to pinpoint some kind of strategy for black elected officials.

Now I won't be too successful here, because I'm not a political scientist and I'm not a political figure. But I've had some experience in the practical field of trying to arouse a community and particularly to help organize Negro political groups for the purpose of effecting a sophisticated kind of strategy (I use the word sophistication without apology here.)—a sophisticated kind of strategy that would enable us to know something about what we ought to do under a variety of conditions involving political participation.

We hear a lot of talk about the revolutions of today. And, of course, to me, when we talk in terms of revolution, we think in terms of violence, physical upheaval—and of course there is some of that. But I think the politics of the South and certainly the representation here today manifests the real kind of revolution that is going on in this country and particularly in the South.

Any person with minimum intelligence would sense the fact that what is here today would not have been here three years ago. Any person with minimum intelligence would recognize the fact that what we have here is a conglomeration of personalities from varying black groups representing different kinds of interests but all currently having one thing in common—and that is, being black and, at the same time, trying to pursue, like a people, the best life and the good life within the framework of a democratic society. It is this kind of a revolution that doesn't get enough attention in the public press and in the media. It is usually the soapbox orator who gets the attention.

The issues facing the South today emerged from traditional and persistent problems. This is so with regard to race relations, and it is also the case with regard to the broader of politics—of economics, education and leadership. On the other hand, I do think that the forces which condition and shape these issues are of recent vintage. The forces of urbanization, the forces of technological change, mobility of labor and capital and the swiftness with which such forces play havoc with the lives of many people—this is certainly of a new origin.

As Southerners and as people interested in working in Southern politics, it is important for us to recognize the two faces of the South. The concept of the old order —the only face the South exhibited—was that of a rural and backward South. Now I see that there are at least two faces today. One is the face of Southern cities and metropolitan areas, smaller towns with an urban mentality—plagued, to be sure, with the systems and traditional problems and images, but trying to carry the South into the mainstream of American and rural life, and yet encumbered with problems ushered in by the forces of urbanization and technological change. This is the face that we recognize. This is the face that is represented here in this conference—a face of black men and women struggling to emancipate the region from its traditional backwardness and its traditional images. One gentleman from Portsmouth, Va., last night said to me that the South will rise again, but it will be rising with the leadership of black people and rising with a new kind of image and not in terms of the old kind of image.

But we can not suggest that with all the progress that apparently is being made that there is a continuance of that second face. And that is of the old order—the face of racism, segregation, discrimination, anti-unionism, down with the federal government, preservation of the status quo, agrarianism, and a Communist under every rock and stone. It is the face of rural-dominated legislatures, ultra-conservative representatives in the U. S. Congress, low-wage industry, the faces of George Wallace and Lester Maddox, and the faces of hungry children and poverty as established by recent reports. These are the forces or the issues that black elected officials must recognize.

At the same time I recognize the fact that many of America's problems today are not regional in character.

Certainly they do not carry the regional thrust of a few years ago.

We know, for example, that the South's problems, like the nation's problems, are basically urban problems. Only a few years ago the South's problems were mostly rural, and those of the rest of the nation were basically urban. Race relations problems were a few years ago confined to the South because overwhelming proportions of black Americans lived in the South. But today the problems of Southern job-seekers, income recipients, housing tenants, school children, the problems of those who pursue welfare rights and quality education, the problems of those who seek health improvement and relief from hunger and malnutrition—they have only limited differences in the South than those Americans in other regions.

The solutions certainly have lost some of their regional character. Since World War II Southern progress economically, politically and socially and in race relations has been directly tied to national programs, national policy and national trends. It is for this reason that I question the whole concept of grants to states and the whole concept of the reversal to states' rights. Recent economic gains in the South and improvements in employment and so forth, these have been directly tied to the national force of economic and political power.

It may appear irrelevant for a conference of this sort to deal with problems of people in the South in a regional context at this point in our history. But the South does have problems peculiar to the region. Its politics, its economics, its race relations and its history—these are all peculiar to the region.

One of the great differences between the South and other regions today is what I believe to be a realistic kind of opportunity—an opportunity for the South, even at this late hour, to avoid the mistakes of the North in favor of building up in its society a generating force of participation by all its citizens. To me this is the great significance of the conference here today. One of the great challenges to black elected officials is recognition of a role that the Negro elected official must play in building up a society capitalizing upon the fact that there may be an opportunity here for the South not to make the mistake of the North and build into rigidity a housing segregation, etc. that the North is plagued with today.

While the South's history is laden with scars of demogogic politics—agrarianism, demeaning race relations and a history of the severest kinds of racial dualism and hate—it is also a history of black and white poverty existing side-by-side and a peculiarity of less-than-rigid distribution of population by race, within cities and within rural areas. Strange as it may seem, the data will suggest that urbanization, for example, has not developed in the South as it has in other regions. In spite of the farm mechanization and the displacement of many people from farms by farm mechanization, the technology is still relatively novel in its impact on Southern non-agricultural industry.

We began by talking about the region, the place that's being represented here. It has made several strides in the areas of unemployment, per capita income and the like. It has made great strides in the area of politics. (As I understand, there are 385 black elected officials in the states that represented the Old Confederacy, the highest degree of concentration of legally elected public officials than anywhere else in the nation. I would say we need more. The most important thing is for the black elected officials who are in office today to recognize this goal and help to get others to be a part of this participation.) There are several things that have influenced this kind of progress. One has been the development of national policy to promote full employment to combat poverty, and so forth. Two, the part of national policy to combat racial discrimination and segregation through schools and hospitals and employment and voter registration and voting.

It's on this second point that I am concerned. I have yet to see in the South, in spite of the positions of our black elected officials, the kind of initiation of public policy legislation which really brings the problem and the solution from the national level to some of our local and state levels. It seems to me that we have just about gotten what we are going to get from national policy; and if the Cabinet that was appointed last night is any criteria, then I'm quite sure that we have gotten just about all we are going to get for the next few years. It means, in other words, that rather than being passive as elected officials and responding and reacting to legislation introduced by others, the great challenge we have for the black elected officials today is to take the initiative and introduce this legislation formulating the public policy, pushing it, riding it, and making these policies known to their constituents.

Number three is the forces of the redistribution of the Negro population. Now these and other kinds of things and work will continue to influence public change and they will continue to influence public employment.

Now let me just mention one thing here which I think is extraordinarily important and which I think we live with every day and which I think is the kind of a thing which we can get our hands on pretty quickly in terms of effecting public policy for ourselves. I mentioned population redistribution. I also mentioned that the South has had what I call less-than-rigid distribution of the population by race, particularly when it comes to housing. Now I didn't say there was no segregation in housing—I didn't say that. I simply said it was less than rigid. This is a very serious problem. Local, regional political leadership must deal with it. Now cities like Houston with its third ward and fifth ward, Atlanta with its Southwest section—these have long had rather rigid housing segregation. But most Southern rural towns and rural areas and urban areas have not been rigid in this respect.

Through urban renewal and construction of new expressways, more and more citizens now in the South have built—have in fact planned and engineered development of—racial ghettos and race lines in terms of housing and citizenry. The negative aspects of this passage, in my judgment, will far outweigh any positive impact that has been proved. Consequently, whereas school desegregation could have been dealt with as easy to come by in many areas of the South, insofar as residential patterns were concerned, it is more and more repeated by concentration of public housing, housing developments and single-family dwellings in racial enclaves and racial ghettos. Any elected official who sits

up and watches this go by without trying to do something relative to it has missed the boat, and I believe this is only one example of the kind of problem we face in urban circles and in smaller rural farms. And to it black elected officials must address themselves.

Negroes are going to continue to move to the urban areas. It is projected that by 1975, 72 per cent of the Southern brothers and sisters will be in urban cities and towns.

The rise of racial ghettos in the Southern region should be a matter of concern to all of us. And yet I recognize that two parts of this most of us have been able to capitalize on on one hand—and how it hurts us on the other hand. For example, many of you here would not have been elected to public office had it not been for the racial ghetto. And I recognize the power of politics within the racial ghetto. This is an educated kind of opportunity. It presents a greater kind of opportunity for greater political participation. And indeed it represents perhaps a new kind of opportunity for political leadership in our cities, including mayors of cities and towns. But it also means on the positive side the things that black elected officials recognize as the cities become more concentrated with the brothers and sisters: that the problems of poverty and progress are mounting. We must understand that issues will become more important to the brothers and sisters than personality. This will become more important then to the black constituency as they feel the pressures that must accompany the higher degree of concentration of people in a small area.

In sum, at this point what I'm trying to say is that we in this region know the South has made a lot of gains, and they've made them on all sides. Then we know that civil rights gains have benefitted all black Americans one way or another. But despite these gains in the South and despite the gains and improvements among Negro Americans, there are several things I want to cite just to keep you reminded of the fact that we've got a long way to go before we reach the kind of parity with the larger part of the population that we ought to have.

The South continues to be the most depressed area in the economy. Per capita income, for example, in the region is less than three-fourths that of the rest of the nation. Eighty-five per cent of the 200 most poverty-stricken counties in the United States are located in the South. And I don't have to add that these are heavily populated by black people.

A recent report by the Citizens Board of Inquiry indicated that 242 of the 256 counties in the country which were in the hunger count were located in 13 Southern states. And these are the very states and counties, I might add, where congressmen and senators work most effectively to block policies designed to feed the hungry and to alleviate the poverty—while they also promote agriculture and other policies to lower the amount of production and drive people off the farms and out of rural areas to the cities so they can fill their pockets with $13,000 worth of payments from the taxpayers' pockets in Soil Bank and other kinds of payments designed to promote agricultural development. You know who I am talking about from the state of Mississippi, Sunflower County, who gets $13,000 a month not to produce while people are going starving right there in his county.

I'm saying here that these issues cannot be dealt with just on the basis of personality. We must come to grips with the hard issues that affect the people's stomachs, their lives, their schooling, their health and their liberties of life. The kind of thing I've just described, incidentally, is what some people call free enterprise for the poor and socialism for the rich. It was what was said about Mr. Nixon's Black Capitalism.

Negroes in the South—in Atlanta, Birmingham, places like Sunflower County, Issaquena County—on the average only earn 43 per cent of what Negroes in the North earn. Whites in the South, on the other hand, earn about 75 per cent of what whites in the North earn. The region continues to lag in education, and Negroes bear the brunt of that lag. Negroes in the South still constitute the largest and most depressed group of the nation's population.

Finally, many elements of traditional race relations persist in the South. And there are many industries and plants with all-white work forces, and these are the rule rather than the exception. We find it in our banks and our insurance companies and in communications and in radio, television and newspapers.

We've heard a great deal about the urban crisis—the crisis of our cities. One of the most obvious consequences of the concentration of black Americans in central cities is the increased difficulty in taking them out of poverty.

I would argue at this point that the thing that black elected officials must take seriously is the development of a carefully conceived body of political strategy for the Negro electorate in the South. Colleges and universities have failed miserably in providing that body of strategy, the framework of the strategy for black elected officials. But somebody is going to have to do that.

Political fortunes that have come to Negroes up to this point have come in spite of themselves more than because of political astuteness. Now, I don't mean to be indicting people—I am indicting myself as well. But I suspect that it is because of the terror of the racial ghetto, more than political astuteness, that we have been able to come by some of the political fortunes that are manifested by the group assembled here today. And while most of this strategy is applicable to all races, strategy in different situations can evolve from general principles.

For example, politics among Negroes in Atlanta is almost wholly—and I would say about 99.9 per cent—oriented toward personality. Now, a certain amount of politics is always going to play a role. In my view, Atlanta desperately needs issue-oriented politics. Anybody who knows the city of Atlanta knows what personalities do here.

The issues are clear. They are found in the poverty of our black people. They are found in our manpower inadequacies. They are found in the quality of our ghetto schools. They are found in the related services to the poor. The issues are found in the inadequacy of the grievance procedures, in the inability of people to reach certain aspects of the city government. The issues are found in the lack of consumer protection and programs. They are found in the nth degree. The issues are found in the destitution of families and children.

That brings us to the future.

We must re-examine the strategy of racial blocs. I'm not too sure but that in the near future we can rely upon racial solidarity. Now we may have a slight difference of view here, but we can rely on racial solidarity as a vehicle to accomplish our goals. This is particularly true as the two-party system in the South gains strength. That doesn't mean for a moment that I'm saying tomorrow we're going to come together when it comes to a political issue involving race. I don't think we can. But how about someone to enlighten us to the possibilities of the two-party structure and legitimate two-party structures to provide settings for the ways to proceed on racial issues? I think this strategy will have to work. I feel that the question of issues, personality politics and coalition politics also must deal with the question of the role of racial blocs. I'm simply citing this as a matter that has to be dealt with.

I was very interested in the Cabinet and the appointments made by President-elect Richard Nixon as I was visiting last night in Washington. It was said earlier that if these appointments are any criteria of what is to come, then Negroes really must come to grips with the question of strategy, because we may be in for a period of standstill in politics, insofar as national leadership is concerned. Mr. Nixon appointed a Cabinet with no Negroes, no members of the Jewish faith, no ethnic representation, and obviously pretty close to the white Anglo-Saxon principle.

The only appeal that I heard regarding the brothers and sisters by the incoming administration has been the call for black capitalism. I have studied Black Capitalism. I'm not really too sure what Mr. Nixon is asking with his Black Capitalism, but I can assure him and I can assure you and I can assure everybody else that even Black Capitalism would be of little use to the masses of New York who need help. For we want and I want all the black businesses, everybody I can get. I want all the black entrepreneurs. I want them in Harlem and I want them on Fifth Avenue in New York City, not just on Hunter and Auburn Streets in Atlanta, but at Five Points. It is an illusion to think that this approach (Black Capitalism) will transform the lives of the millions of black brothers and sisters whose lives need transforming and restitution to a reasonably normal standard of living.

I was very interested in the new representative from Mississippi, Mr. Robert Clark. He said what has happened is that Mr. Nixon did not go into the Negro community, he did not campaign, he did not seek the Negro vote, he made no effort to get it; he made it by his attitude. He said what this meant to him, if I read it correctly, is that Negroes are left out and they will be left out of what's going to happen.

Now I hope we're all wrong on this—and obviously we are not trying to prejudge completely. But the fact is that we're going to talk about political strategy on the national scene. The brothers and sisters have had to depend upon the national scene to effect the policies and the things by which we could get things done at the local scene. If we lose a hold on the national scene, if they sort of look at us as being on the periphery and not an integral part of the pursuit of the mainstream, then we've got to really re-think the strategy. And I don't think this can be done on an ad hoc basis. I don't think this can be done with people going in so many different ways. Perhaps it becomes incumbent on those who are assembled here to try to come up with the kind of things that might have meaning in this respect.

It seems to me that most political strategy—and the strategy that has caused the dynamics in urban and rural life contrary to where we thought we were just about five years ago—must continue to recognize the dynamics of race relations as a continuing and central factor in the life and order and growth and development of our people. Racial attitudes and practices continue to be factors conditioning one-third to one-half the population. Now, I say that because of the second point I want to make about this strategy: It seems to me that we must keep in mind that we are not at the point where we can abandon racial and color consciousness under the facade of color blindness. Even some of the black brothers and sisters who got elected to office right here say, I'm going to represent all of the people. That's fine. You just keep in mind that those who elected you 99 per cent of the time were black.

Secondly, you must keep in mind the fact that you must be responsive to and responsible to a color-conscious society. And it seems to me that for any black elected official to go around and say "I'm elected by all the people" without also adding "I'm going to give some special attention to the black brothers and sisters," he's going on the wrong track. I say this hoping at the same time we continue to pursue with all dignity a color-blind society.

Even the white elected officials now are always talking about, "I want to pursue this without regard to race, creed or color." Now you know that too many injustices have been heaped upon the black brothers and sisters under a color-conscious institution of racial segregation for us to expect the consequences of those injustices to be erased under a scheme of color blindness. And I've been so careful of telling you of color consciousness as a political strategy, and it must necessarily underride the strategy of Negro elected officials.

Now, I'm not a black nationalist. I'm not a Black Power advocate according to the rhetoric and slogans that you hear now. I want to be sure to be clear on that. But I am arguing here that for the forseeable future color consciousness must be part of our political strategy and our urban strategy.

What we have found in the last few years in the lives of black people appears to be a conflict in goals in race relations. And that conflict revolves around survival of racial separatism as a goal, as a philosophy and as a strategy vis-à-vis racial integration. Objectives concentrating on the development of economic and political power among black people are objectives that aren't new.

We started a group in Madison some years ago called Eagleton County Independent Political Party, and one of the first things we did back there was say it would be all Negro. That was in 1961. And we said to our white friends, we've got a role for you but not right now. The point is, there was nothing new about the building of economic and political power for the Negro. We developed a high sense of black self-respect. These were all verbal objectives.

But this does not mean building black racism. This does not mean that we have got to build hate. This does

not mean that we have got to go off trying to build, as a matter of strategy, separate societies. What it does say to me is that Negro life and institutions need to be strengthened, not for separatism but for the purpose of achieving intelligent integration and maximizing contributions to the total of our pluralistic and multi-racial and democratic society. Indeed, as W. E. B. DuBois said many years ago, only when black people and white people, and black institutions and white institutions, can accept one another and interact with one another and be interwoven as part of each other's operation, respecting each other for his worth as an individual and not on the basis of color, will democracy in this country be subjected to a true test and have its opportunity to be achieved.

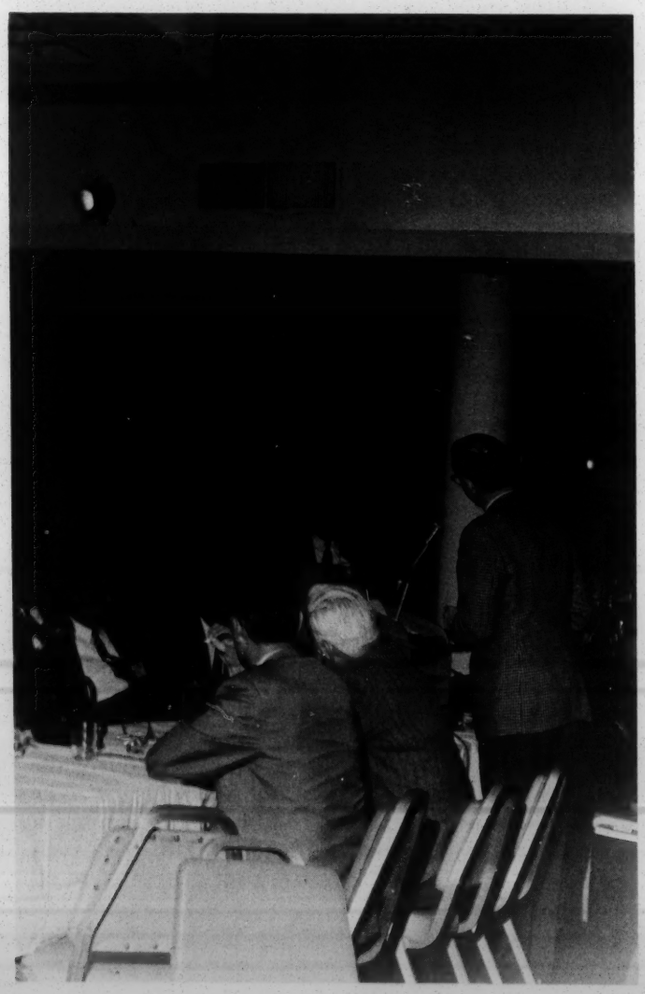
It is desirable that black institutions be strengthened, but not for the purpose of establishing some mystique called Black Power or for the purpose of creating black racism. They should be strengthened for the purpose of achieving a rightful place in a pluralistic society, a rightful place in a multi-racial society. You see, I'm going to have my cake and eat it too. Not only am I unwilling to abandon the goals associated with racial integration—at the same time, I reject the idea of apartheid. I also am not in favor of abandoning Negro institutions; because I believe pursuit of a democratic and interracial society is the only one that counts, and it will not be achieved without strong Negro institutions as part of that society.

I would caution those who call for even a limited separatism that this is a dangerous course. Yet somehow this still has a relevance in pursuit.

I am deeply disturbed as a president of a college over our failure to work effectively in servicing black elected officials. I have received in my office on several occasions requests from elected officials throughout the South asking for help in developing policy positions, examining the literature, examining bills, trying to help them get through to commissioners; and I have been at a loss as to how I could effectively do this within the amount of time that I have had. And yet for some reason or other I have been able to stay up at night and do some of these things to help the brothers and sisters.

We've started at Clark College what we call the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy. We received a grant the other day for almost $200,000 to develop this center, and it has several projects. The idea is to provide some services to the brothers and sisters. Hopefully that service center and the others that are going to be established in various places in the South will be able to provide a resource whereby the black elected officials and others might call to get the kind of help they need in order to be effective in the kinds of things I've been trying to describe.

I'm going to close by simply repeating a prayer Dr. Martin Luther King used to offer on many occasions, because I think it says much about what I've tried to say here. He said: "Lord, we ain't what we've got to be, we ain't what we want to be, we ain't what we are going to be; but thank God, we ain't what we used to be."



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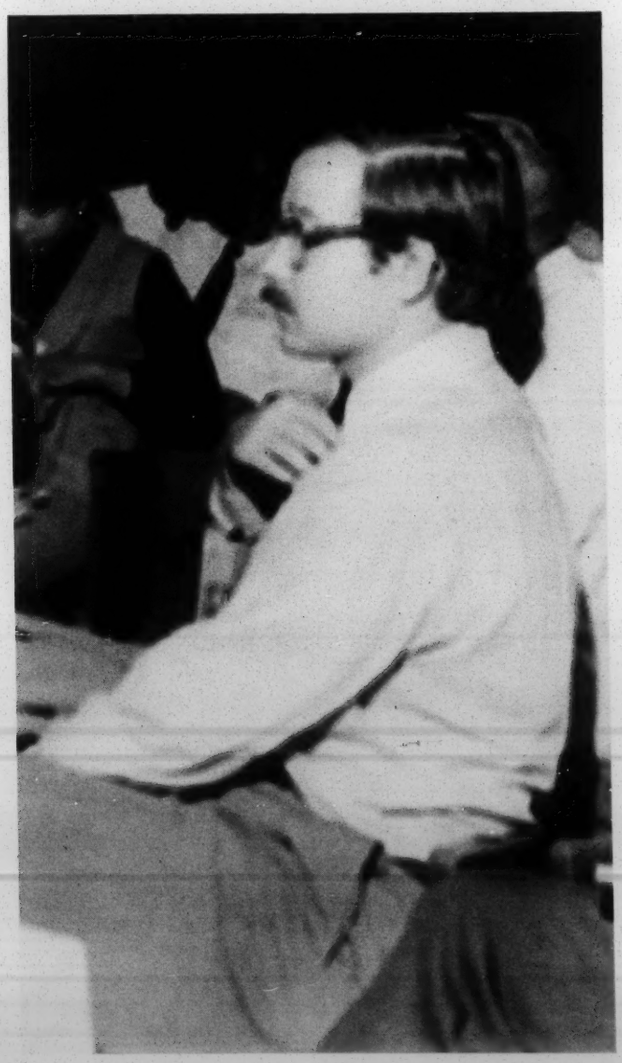
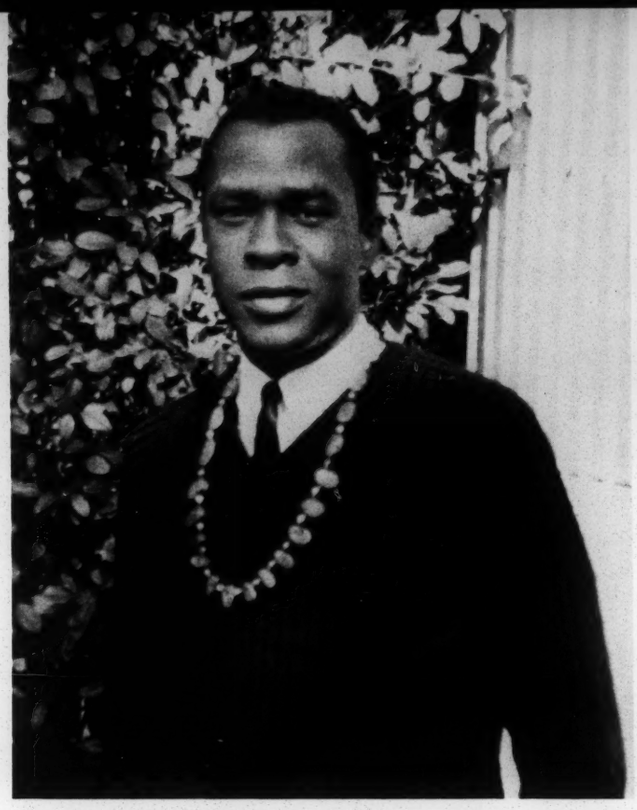




'...America's Last Hope...'

James Mays, *president of the student body at Clark College, welcomed Mayor Richard Hatcher to the college campus when he spoke at a public forum there Dec. 12. Hatcher is mayor of Mays' hometown, Gary, Ind.*

Perhaps one of the tragedies of the masses of black people in the United States today is the lack of information concerning the history of their black leaders. Going through a Negro history book recently, I was amazed at the things about black politicians during the Reconstruction following the Civil War that I had never heard of. For instance, how many of us knew that at one time a black man was governor of the state of Louisiana or that from 1870 to 1901, 22 Negroes served in the Congress of the United States or of the many, many black people who served in their respective state legislatures?

All of this occurred during what we call the "old" Reconstruction, but now we speak of the "new" Reconstruction in which we are currently involved. But the sad fact is that even though we are involved in a type of political reconstruction, some of us as black students (perhaps because we so seldom see the face of a black politician in the news) still do not seem to want to become involved in the world of politics. In fact, it now seems fashionable to be as anti-government as possible. If there is a new political reconstruction going on among black people, most black students don't seem to be aware of it, or if they are aware of it, they appear to want no part of it.

Being interested in law and politics myself, I have often tried to analyze this disinterest manifested by students I associate with. After a little discussion, the answer is quite apparent. The first question a student wants to ask when you ask him if he is aware of the "new" political reconstruction is: "What happened to the old one?" And when you answer this question for him, you begin to realize from where the roots of this political disenchantment have stemmed.

Checking the Negro history book again, we read:

> The downfall of the Negro-white governments of the South was inevitable since Negroes had few guns, little land, and less government protection. Organized violence was the main weapon of those who sought to restore the old order. Masked night riders such as the Ku Klux Klan sprang up everywhere to terrorize Negro voters and their white supporters. The main Klan targets were Negro officials, teachers, and successful farmers. In 1875, a tall, muscular Negro farmer had stood before Senator George Boutwell of Massachusetts and demanded that something be done about the continued murder of his people. He was considering killing the Klan leaders responsible, saying, "We could do it in a night." "No," answered the Senator, "We intend to protect you." The promise was never kept. For the black man and for the South the result was tragedy. The torch of democracy that had burned brightly for a short while was extinguished. And Southerners would live from that day until this in the darkness of tyranny, poverty, and ignorance.

This information was taken from a book called *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History.*

This little passage only tells part of the story of why, as I have learned, black students are disenchanted with the political system, per se.

Some of you are probably thinking: "Why don't you remind them that the Ku Klux Klan no longer carries on its reign of terror?" If I did, they would answer: "Maybe not, but there are so many more subtle ways of keeping the black man in his place that we still see politics executed from the black frame of reference as being futile." Then they would go on: "Witness what Georgia tried to do to Julian Bond, and look at what Congress did to Adam Clayton Powell—and to take it even closer to home, notice what they tried to do to your own Mayor Hatcher during his campaign."

The question, gentlemen, is this: Is this really a "new" reconstruction or is this the same *old* reconstruction with the same *old* ending, but with different variations? My fellow students have their doubts; and I don't blame them as I, too, to some degree, have my own doubts.

But if what is happening in the realm of politics for

black people today is not a fraud, then it is up to you as our spokesmen and leaders to make this crystal clear. There is no one, I repeat, no one, who can do this for you.

When Stokely Carmichael stood here where I'm standing yesterday and told an auditorium-packed audience that the only answer to our problem in this country is for us to get our guns, I wondered if it was already too late. For many students, it is. For others of us, we're saying: "O.K., America, we're willing to give you one last chance. We're foolish enough to believe that this time you may possibly allow us to grow into and of your political system." For almost all of us, this is America's last and final chance.

As we go into our new presidential administration, I can already feel the wheels of the "new" reconstruction grinding to a halt. No black man was appointed to the new Cabinet. Maybe this is nothing to become alarmed about, but many of us seem to hear Stokely's words more and more clearly each time we face this type of setback.

What this means, gentlemen, is that you have your hands full. From a student's point of view, you are America's last hope. I do not believe that I can overemphasize that point. What you accomplish while you are in office will inevitably determine the destiny of this country.

'...Power of the People...'

Richard Gordon Hatcher, *completing his first year as mayor of Gary, Ind., spoke Dec. 12 at a public forum at Clark College. The 34-year-old attorney and former city councilman is one of two black mayors of major U.S. cities. A native of Indiana and one of 13 children of a Michigan City factory worker, Hatcher was graduated from Indiana University and Valparaiso University School of Law.*

When Stokely Carmichael shouted "Black Power, Black Power" in that Mississippi schoolyard, he performed the mythic function that some poet must always perform at the proper moment in history. He gave voice, he gave a name to a development in the life of Black America which was happening anyway and which needed naming so we could talk about it and think about it. I say he named it, rather than created it, because the movement towards Black Power, under other names, has had a long and honorable past. If it has become the dominant tone of our emotions and thoughts in the last two or three years, that is only because, like the proverbial snowball, the accretion of time and frustration has turned incipience into actuality, has made of the snowball an avalanche. I want, today, to look at these two words, "black" and "power," from the vantage point of a man who has had some connection with both words.

It is beyond dispute that I am black—I am too abashed to add "and beautiful," though it is tempting—and it is also a fact that I have held, for a year now, a position of at least a modicum of power. It is a good time, then, as the first year of my administration as mayor of Gary draws to a close, to examine what black power has meant to me.

My blackness has been the dominant fact of life's experience, as it is the dominant fact of the life of every black man in America, and perhaps in the world. James Baldwin, with his usual brilliance and cogency, describes the condition in his famous essay, "Stranger in the Village," in which he discusses his experience as a black man in a little Swiss village:

> For this village, even were it incomparably more remote and incredibly more primitive, is the West, the West onto which I have been so strangely grafted. These people cannot be, from the point of view of power, strangers anywhere in the world; they have made the modern world, in effect, even if they do not know it. The most illiterate among them is related, in a way that I am not, to Dante, Shakespeare, Michelangelo, Aeschylus, Da Vinci, Rembrandt, and Racine; the Cathedral at Chartres says something to them which it cannot say to me, as indeed would the Empire State Building, should anyone here ever see it. Out of their hymns and dances come Beethoven and Bach. Go back a few centuries and they are in their full glory—but I am in Africa, watching the conquerors arrive.

Because of the white man's rape of Africa, because of the ignominy of slavery, because of the long and barbarous history of segregation and discrimination, I am a stranger in this, the American village. Because white Americans have developed the ideology of racism to justify the sociological and historical experiences I have mentioned, I am a stranger in this country, in this village. But from another point of view, because I am a man, because I have been reared on the words, though not the facts, of Christianity and democracy, I am also an inhabitant, and in a strange sort of way a citizen, of the village.

Much of the history of Black America is dominated precisely by this contradiction. We have been *told* one thing—democracy, freedom, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal." We have *lived* quite another—slavery, the Ku Klux Klan, white liberals so concerned with black people that they will tell them exactly what they ought to want, schools that don't teach us, promises from the Supreme Court which turn to ashes in strikes against Ocean Hill-Brownsville in New York. That is why we have been forced to fall back on our own resources. For you cannot be a stranger always. To be continuously strange is to pay a psychological price so great that no people can endure it forever. When Black America, then, turns to blackness, to what in Africa has for a long time been called "negritude," we have no apologies to make.

From the time I was a little child, before I ever heard of Othello, or, for that matter, Shakespeare—I knew I was black. No wonder, then, that as a grown man I must turn to the words of Leopold Senghor, the black African poet from Senegal, or to those of Langston Hughes or Arna Bontemps or Leroi Jones or Gwendolyn Brooks. From the time I was a little child—before I ever heard of Beethoven or Bach—I knew I was

black. No wonder, then, that I turn to Jimi Hendrix and Aretha Franklin, and that I recall with anger the black American symphony conductor Dean Dixon, who had to go abroad to practice his art. From the time I was a child—before I ever heard of Paul Bunyan or George Washington or Jaques Danton—I knew I was black. No wonder then, that as a grown man I turn to John Henry, Jomo Kenyatta and W. E. B. DuBois.

I will stop being a stranger, because I will recall that, though a stranger in this village, I have lived there nonetheless, and I have a history there, and elsewhere, as in Africa, and that history will make me less the stranger. We assert what we are, and we may wear a dashiky and look with favor on a "natural." Being ourselves will make us less the stranger. We tried being like the so-called natives, and were not allowed to be like them, and so we must turn to our own resources. Baldwin says,

> The black man insists, by whatever means he finds at his disposal, that the white man cease to regard him as an exotic rarity and recognize him as a human being.

So my experience with the word black is that of all black people. Being black has made me a stranger; being black has dominated my life. I cannot, nor would I wish to reject my blackness, and so I turn what the white world has attempted make a handicap precisely into its opposite. Black America is fortunate in that our history and culture are more than rich enough so we can find in blackness an advantage, a source of pride, a way to end our estrangement.

But there is another side to this. Even though I may find in negritude and in black culture a way not to be so strange any longer, especially strange to myself, that is not enough. For my estrangement has also included my powerlessness. I have not only been a stranger in the village, but I have also been a stranger without power. There are times in history when strangers have had sufficient power to keep themselves at least supplied with the necessaries for decent living. This has been true of many who came as strangers to American shores, as, after a generation or so, the Irish, the Italians, what have you. It has not been the case with black Americans. We have been kept strangers, in part at least, because our strangeness has provided the others, white Americans, I mean, with a cheap source for the sawing of wood and the drawing of water. Because black people have had no power, because the ideology of racism has permitted white Americans to think it natural, we have been exploited and used, deprived of the minimum wherewithal for a decent life, have provided the nation with back-breaking and menial labor, and sometimes with its best brains, all for the aggrandizement and enrichment of others.

That is why pride in being black is not enough for our survival. That is why we have increasingly had to turn our attention to a means of wresting from the majority not only a new perception of our humanity, but also a new place in the nation, so that we can enforce our demands for the satisfacion of our needs.

This is nothing new. The African chief Cinque sought power when he led a mutiny on the slave ship *Amisted* in 1839. Nat Turner is quite explicit when he says that the reason for his revolt is so that he can strike terror into the hearts of the planters and thus have the power to establish a black community in the Dismal Swamp. Toussaint L'Ouverture knew about the need for power, and so did, in more recent history, such often unheeded thinkers as W. E. B. DuBois and Paul Robeson, or, for that matter, Marcus Garvey. There is nothing new in the search for power by black Americans. What is new, perhaps, is that our search has been intensified because we have combined pride in being black with that search for power, and that we have found, in various stages of our experience, that power shared with the white majority doesn't seem to work.

Power means, quite simply, a force strong enough so you can get whatever it is you need. Let me recall that in the last two decades or so we have tried all sorts of ways of achieving power.

The Brown decision by the U.S. Supreme Court concerning equal education represented an effort to use the power of the courts to win needed improvements in the lives of black children. We won that skirmish, but we have discovered, almost 15 years later, that there was not enough strength in the power of the courts to guarantee any fundamental change in the education of black children. Legal power, which helped a little, did not help enough.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. tried another form of power. Beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, Dr. King tried with all of his skill and dedication—indeed, he gave his life for it—to use the nonviolent power of black masses to achieve their needs. An eloquent man, he said it much better than I can hope to do. Writing in *Liberation* in 1959, Dr. King said:

> There is more power in socially organized masses on the march than there is in guns in the hands of a few desperate men. . . . All American history teaches us that like a turbulent ocean beating great cliffs into fragments of rock, the determined movement of people incessantly demanding their rights always disintegrates the old order. . . . This is the social lever which will force open the door to freedom. Our powerful weapons are the voices, the feet, and the bodies of dedicated, united people, moving without rest toward a just goal.

This, too, was a form of black power, though we did not then call it such. But this form of power, in and of itself, we also found not adequate to our needs. Nine years after he had written those words, Dr. King had fallen to the white assassin's bullet. Nine years after he had written those words, though segregation was a little less blatant in the South, though more black people had found their way to the voting booth in the South, the bulk of Black America, living in the horror of the crowded, fire trap-haunted ghettos of the North, had not advanced two inches. This society, it would appear, was not prepared to yield easily to the needs of Black America, and so the search for a lever, for an effective means of achieving power, had to go on.

We learned something else at this point, taught by Malcolm X and Leroi Jones and H. Rap Brown and Eldridge Cleaver. We learned that when the stranger allies himself with the so-called natives, to return to Baldwin's metaphor, it is very hard for the stranger to play anything but a secondary role. In the many struggles black Americans carried on together with white

people, we found all too often that well-meaning whites nevertheless conceived of us as strangers, assigned to us the role of strangers in our own struggle. Thus, well-meaning white people knew what was good for us—better than we did. They knew what our feelings about things ought to be—better than we did. I say that many of these men and women were well-meaning white people, because history records that they worked very hard and often sacrificed a good deal for our causes. I cannot forget that it was a white Goodman and Schwerner who died along with black James Chaney in the red dirt of Mississippi. But it takes nothing away from their heroism or dedication to say that they were always, willingly or not, the natives, and we were always the strangers.

To stop being strangers, we had to find the road to power ourselves. Whether or not one fully accepts other aspects of the thought of Franz Fanon, it is clear that rising black consciousness requires that we be led by our own, determine our own destiny, recognize our own needs, and that white Americans have quite another task to perform—perhaps an impossible one—which is to work to cure the sickness of racism among their own people, to work on changes needed in the total society, which affect everyone who lives within it.

Efforts at achieving power in various forms, combined with the rising tide of black self-confidence, then, bring us to the heart of the problem faced by Black America today, and to the heart of the problem about which this conference is deliberating, and to the heart of my own problems as a man who has achieved some modicum, as I have said, of power. It is clear that pride in blackness, and all that this implies, from a revival of black history and other Afro-American studies, to a new appreciation of the beauty of our women, to being led on the road to a better life by black leaders, is an absolute necessity if we are to end our status as strangers. This we are beginning to do. We have not yet, however, solved the riddle as to what lever or levers can provide the power we need to wrest a better way of life from the power structure within the total society. We have a number of options, and I would like to discuss a few of these now, including the one about which I am most knowedgeable.

One option is, of course, to leave, to return not only spiritually but physically to the lands of our African heritage.

No doubt some will choose that solution, but it cannot be a solution for most of us. There are physical problems as to where such a massive migration would go, and cultural ones stemming from our distance from African cultures. But there are also other aspects. We own a good part of these United States—not physically, but morally. Our sweat has gone to make the railroads run and to make cotton king. Our brains helped building Washington, D.C., and made heart transplants possible. Our talents have helped enrich the music, the stage, the poetry of the nation. Our blood has been shed in too many wars—including the fiasco in which we are now engaged. So we have a great investment in this nation, one we ought not to be forced to give up. Our power ought to give us our rightful share in what we have wrought. Therefore, I for one choose not to leave.

There is another approach. We can demand a piece of the nation for ourselves. We can demand five or six states as the territory for a black nation, or we can carve out the old ghetto in each city as our own turf. This has possibilities, and it has been explored by many thinkers both black and white, including so thoughtful a man as W. H. Ferry, the vice-president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Ferry writes, in the Saurday Review of June 15, 1968:

> But what Blacktown *most* wants, Whitetown cannot confer. Blacktown wants independence and the authority to run its own affairs. It wants to recover its manhood, its self-love, and to develop its ability to conduct a self-reliant community. . . . A successful plan for coexistence (that is, between Blacktown and Whitetown, to use Ferry's terms —I continue to quote) will not bring Utopia into being in Blacktown. Autonomous, interdependent Blacktown will be no better and no worse than other parts of the urban scene. Blacks can be expected to exploit blacks, even as whites exploit whites. There will be quarrels and walkouts and demonstrations and the inevitable ambiguities about leaders and leadership. . . . Whitetown will be accused of parsimony and trying to control things even if it enters into the scheme of coexistence with the best possible intent. . . . So the vision of coexistence is not that of the New Jerusalem, nor is it that of a national community struggling with the untenable doctrines of integration. It is a vision of a new federalism that will give 10 per cent of our citizens the chance they are seeking to make whatever they want to make of themselves, their culture, and their community.

I do not reject this form of power either on moral grounds, or on grounds of feasibility. But I have not seen any evidence within this society that Black America can get such communities without first achieving the tremendous power necessary to force them into existence. The white power structure which pinches pennies from Model Cities plans and Headstart programs will not readily give up control of major sections of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. The slumlords who live in pretty suburbs on the profits they make from hellholes in the ghetto will not turn their hovels over to other owners for the asking. Blacktowns are intriguing, but they beg the question; for we must, should we decide we want them, first find the power to get them.

There is also the power of violence, in direct opposition to the kind of power Dr. King sought to use. I do not wish here to discuss this form of power—and that it certainly is—from an ethical point of view, though that is surely a matter for consideration. Rather I want to ask about the efficacy of the use of street violence, about its ability to achieve results.

Like it or not, violence cannot readily be dismissed as a source of power. It is true beyond dispute that the white section of the nation sat up and listened hard when it heard the fire engines race to Hough and Watts and Harlem and Chicago's West Side. But I am afraid that, to date, this form of power has also not paid off very much. White America *talks* better about what it ought to do, in the wake of one of these insurrections—but such talk has been around for a long time, and is hardly new. In fact, all that street violence has pro-

vided so far is more white talk and burned-over ghettos. The Kerner Report is a nice piece of rhetoric, which has not fed one black mouth. I do not reject violence out of hand then, but I have yet to see how it becomes a useful lever for power.

Let me turn finally to the kind of power I know the most about, that is, political power in cities of large black populations. I think it clear, in the first place, that my election as mayor of Gary has done something for Gary's black community in so far as its pride and sense of self is concerned. While we may still be strangers in our village, it surely makes us feel less strange that one of us has been chosen to head the village government. Furthermore, this fact guarantees that local efforts will be made so that we will not be exploited quite so mercilessly, that our people will get their share of whatever they have coming, to the extent that anything is available.

But right there is the rub. I may be mayor of Gary, but I cannot, by that token, guarantee that black people will share in the unbelievable profits of the U.S. Steel Corporation which dominates our city's economic life. I am mayor of Gary, but I cannot stop a war in Vietnam which drains the national treasury to such an extent that only very limited programs are available to the city for the reconstruction of its black community. I am mayor of Gary, and I was elected as a Democrat, but I am not able to sway the white Democratic Party so that it will reverse the present trend of national priorities and make the needs of black communities first on the list. I am mayor of Gary, but I cannot change the fact that our schools are too poorly funded, from state or nation or even local sources of revenue, to provide the catch-up educational process that the city needs in order to bring our black youngsters up to educational standards.

I want to confide a further problem to you. I am mayor of Gary, and thus I am mayor of all the people of the city, and I would like to do my best for all of them, black or white. But you know, what I cannot do for my black brothers, I cannot do for white people either, try as I might. Though the black community's needs are infinitely greater, the white community in our city is not without problems. But for the same reasons which prevent me from solving many black problems, I cannot solve many white ones, either—and neither could my white predecessors. Though I have some local political power, it becomes clearer to me that this is not enough, and that the power structure of this society is not prepared to give up enough of its profits to solve the problems of city living—for whites or blacks. Though black kids in Gary are badly educated, white ones are not getting nearly what they should, either. Though black communities are devoid of parks and play spaces, white communities do not have adequate park facilities either.

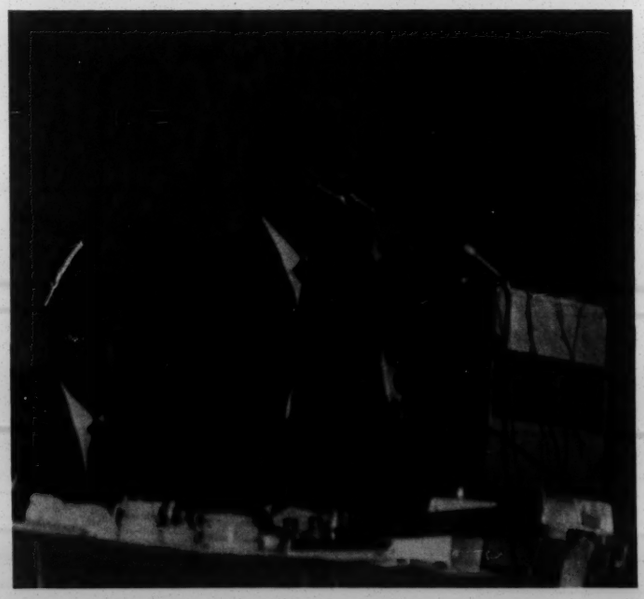
There are, rumor has it, a few white people in Gary who wish to disaffiliate from the municipality a predominantly white section of the city because they "don't like what's going on in City Hall." It seems that, while they were able to stomach the jailing of several earlier mayors for one form or another of municipal corruption, they just can't abide whatever it is that a black mayor is doing, though not one has accused him of appropriating for himself one dishonest penny. But I would warn these white citizens that disaffiliation will not solve one single problem for them—except perhaps their hurt racial pride. For the fact of the matter is that the local political lever for power, black or white, can only do very limited things, that it cannot really solve the problems faced by the American city until the entire power structure is in some way forced to yield up to the people—first to black people, but eventually to all the people—what the people need and deserve.

The question of power, it becomes more and more apparent, cannot be left at the level of parochial power. Black Power, whatever its form—political, non-violent confrontation, street riots or terror—may help us to feel less the stranger; but it will not eliminate poverty, or inadequate educational facilities, or slum housing, or provide us even a portion of the economic control of the life of the nation. Even if it were possible to establish the blacktowns that Ferry talks about, black people would not have control over the basic economic, foreign policy or social welfare priority decisions which will determine the welfare of black people as well as whites. Blacktowns might make us feel better—and that is terribly important and so I do not reject such ideas —but they will not make us live better.

And what is true of Black Power is also true of other forms of group power. Our campuses, for example, have seen a demand for student power which has a great deal of legitimacy.

Surely students ought to play a much larger role in the life of the university, which is their community for four or more years. But student power will not, by itself, change the national system of priorities in which education runs far behind spending for super-weapons of destruction, in which drafting young men for war is more important than letting them continue their studies beyond a bachelor's degree so that they can apply their knowledge to the alleviation of human suffering. Student power, like Black Power, like youth power, like other parochial forms of power, can only achieve very limited gains.

Where does this leave us? Am I rejecting the drive for Black Power? Am I hopelessly saying that nothing we may do can be of use? The answer is a clear and decisive No! The drive for Black Power is an essential, it seems to me a no longer debatable need; for it will



help to end our strangeness in the village, and that is absolutely necessary. So I support all forms of Black Power which will help Black America to define itself, to recapture its heritage, to assert its abilities, to realize its most immediate demands.

It is not immodest on my part to say that Gary's black children will be richer and stronger human beings for the knowledge that one of their own can govern the city, for the knowledge that their mothers and fathers were able to get themselves together enough to elect one of their own and thus assert their dignity. Nor is it immodest to say that Gary's black community is being given, for the first time in its history, some of the attention and concern which it so richly deserves, and that the lives of black men and women will be somewhat the better for it. These are among the things which Black Power can and ought to and must do.

But beyond that, if I look to the alleviation of our poverty and the improvement of our standard of life, logic compels me to place hope in the eventual coming-together of the demands for power by people of many sorts. I see hope in the rising tide of student militancy, if that militancy is carried, in time, from the campuses into the communities of the entire nation. I see hope in the demands of Spanish-speaking Americans for their share of power. I see hope in the growing radicalism of the young, who demand youth power and are no longer content to accept a dehumanized *status quo*. I see our only hope for a decent society in the coming together sometime in the future, of all these demands for partial and parochial power into a total demand for people power.

I do not pretend to be very hopeful. The experiences of Black America with other segments of our society have most often been disappointing. Perhaps they will be again. But I am certain that the only way to rescue our lives from the poverty for some, the alienation for all which are its hallmarks, is by the combination of the kinds of people power I have been talking about. Should that fail, what lies before us is chaos and dark nights of despair and destruction. The leaven in such a rising power cake must be, and already is to some extent, Black Power, for Black America has the least to lose, and the most to gain, by its assertion of power.

In the essay I have already quoted, Baldwin concludes with the following:

> No road whatever will lead Americans back to the simplicity of this European village where white men still have the luxury of looking on me as a stranger. I am not, really, a stranger any longer for any American alive. One of the things that distinguishes Americans from other people is that no other people has ever been so deeply involved in the lives of black men, and vice versa. . . . It is precisely this black-white experience which may prove of indispensable value to us in the world we face today. This world is white no longer, and it will never be white again.

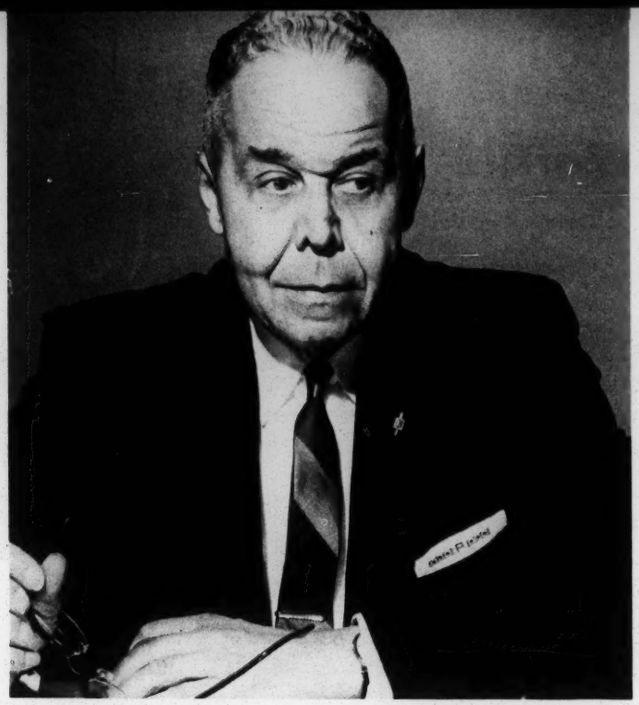
That is what we hope America will realize as we achieve more and more the power which our blackness demands. If we try to save ourselves, if we achieve the full potential of what Black Power can do, then it will be up to the rest of America, white, Spanish-speaking, student, youth, and so on and on, to join us in the establishment of the power of the people in a world in which none are strangers. If they fail, or if we fail, we may have no way left to live in this country. If they can succeed, and if we can succeed, if the people can wrest control from the hands of the economic overlords and the political self-servers, the rich and the powerful, then and only then do we have some hope that the good society can be ours.

One of the finest of our black poets, Margaret Walker, ends her poem "For My People," with a kind of incantation to the future. Let me cite it here, for her vision, the vision of a black woman who wrote these words more than a quarter of a century ago, still holds true:

> Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born.
> Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing, a strength of final clenching be the pulsing and the spirit in our blood. Let the martial song be written, let dirges disappear.
> Let a race of men now rise and take control.

A race of *men,* Margaret Walker says! For God's sake, for America's sake, let's get ourselves together!

Dinkler Plaza



'...Difficult Decisions Must Be Made...'

Alfred M. Pelham, *chairman of Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company in Detroit, appeared on a panel on "Revenue and Taxation and the Elected Official" Dec. 13. He is a former controller of the city of Detroit.*

Before proceeding to any discussion of revenue and taxation, I believe it to be of utmost importance to emphasize the fact that the levy and collection of taxes and the collection of other forms of revenue and other income from whatever source constitute only one aspect of the responsibility and the problems which confront elected officials at every level of government. Of even greater importance are the judicious determination of the purposes for which available resources are to be expended, the selection of programs best calculated to accomplish these purposes, the best possible allocation of available resources to carry out these programs, and appropriate systems to assure that such resources are expended as effectively as possible for authorized and intended purposes.

In order to attain these ends, difficult decisions must be made and orderly operational programs must be carried out on the basis of carefully developed plans. It is obvious, therefore, that financial resources, while absolutely indispensable, constitute only one of the ingredients required for the effective and efficient conduct of government.

Another vital ingredient is a sound budgetary process. The word budget means different things to different people. In the simplest terms, a budget is a projected and reasonably flexible plan for the effective use of available resources for the accomplishment of one or more carefully defined future objectives. As a matter of fact, all of us, whether consciously or unconsciously, are almost constantly involved in the process of budgeting: budgeting of time, budgeting of space, budgeting of energy, and budgeting of money and other material resources.

In any case where available resources exceed the cost of all needed and desired services, formal budgeting might seem to be of less importance; but even in such a case effectual results would almost certainly depend upon carefully planned usage of such resources. Whenever, on the other hand, there are many demands on limited resources, the processes of priority establishment and resource allocation must be utilized if anything approaching optimum resources is to be attained. Where the unit of government is small and the demands for service are few, the process of budgeting is not likely to prove too difficult even in the face of limited resources. For those charged with the responsibility of conducting the affairs of larger and more complex governmental units, an adequate budgetary system is absolutely essential. In every case, it is important to maintain complete accounting records in order to assure proper accountability for the expenditure of public funds.

The brief reference that I have made in the foregoing to program planning, evaluation, and selection and to the budgetary process has been included only in order to put the fiscal responsibility of elected officials in proper perspective. In-depth coverage of these other important aspects of financial management should be given consideration as the subject matter for future meetings of this group, since our attention today is to be focused primarily on revenue and taxation.

Before proceeding to the discussion of any specific taxes or other sources of revenue, certain general observations seem to be in order. In considering the levy of any new tax, or even in reviewing an existing tax structure, attention should be given to certain basic criteria, chief among which are: equitableness, productivity, flexibility, collectibility, and administrative feasibility.

Since the primary purpose of taxation is to provide essential revenue, it is obvious that the productivity of any tax is of great importance. When the extent of need for revenue has been established, the potential productivity of any tax or combination of taxes should be estimated as accurately as possible in order to predetermine whether the projected goal can be attained by the levy of such tax or taxes. It is further desirable that such tax or taxes be subject to upward or downward revision within reasonable limits in order to provide a degree of flexibility which may avoid the subsequent necessity for the levy of some new or additional tax.

Careful consideration should also be given to the factors of collectibility and administrative feasibility. Some apparently proper subjects for taxation pose problems of collectibility because of indicated difficulties in enforcement. In other cases, estimated costs of levy and collection constitute such a high percentage of

potential yield as to make such taxes impracticable. In this area of concern, every effort should be made to avoid a multiplicity of different taxes, not only because of administrative problems and higher costs of collection, but also because too many different taxes are a nuisance to the tax-paying public.

The most important criterion in determining the use of any tax or combination of taxes should, in my judgment, be that of equitableness. An equitable tax structure might well be defined as one in which each person bore his or her fair share of the tax burden, or as one in which taxes were levied in accordance with ability to pay. It is obviously easier to define such a tax system than it is to attain it. There are wide differences of opinion as to what constitutes a fair share, and neither economists nor political scientists have been successful in satisfactorily measuring the limits of ability to pay.

However, despite the fact that there is no pat formula for attaining tax equity in designing a tax structure, in modifying an existing one, or in levying a new and additional tax, the best possible judgment should be used in attempting to make equitableness a primary consideration. This consideration, of course, should be extended to all, but with particular attention to those least able to pay and also to business and industry lest a too heavy tax burden result in a loss of potential job opportunities and a weakening of the economic base upon which the community depends for its existence. It should, perhaps, be mentioned at this point that certain types of taxes can be made more equitable by the appropriate use of exemptions.

Unfortunately, our present-day tax systems at every level of government have tended to grow by a series of patchwork additions from time to time as additional revenue was needed, with the result that by and large they are not equitable. In an article entitled "Who Really Gets Hurt by Taxes," which appeared in the December 9, 1968 issue of U. S. News and World Report, it is stated that the widely held idea that taxes in the U.S. "soak the rich and spare the poor" is erroneous, but rather that families with the lowest incomes tend to bear the heaviest tax burden in terms of ability to pay. While it is true that the graduated federal income tax takes a greater percentage of the income of those in the upper brackets, many other taxes make a bigger dent in the pocketbooks of lower income families.

The latter is particularly true of the payroll tax (Social Security), the property tax, and the sales tax. As an example, on Jan. 1, 1969 the payroll deduction for Social Security will be 4.8 per cent on earnings up to $7,800. Obviously everybody earning $7,800 or less will be paying 4.8 per cent of their earnings for this purpose; but because of the limit, those earning $12,000 will pay only 3.12 per cent of their total earnings, those earning $18,000 only 2.08 per cent, those earning $24,000 only 1.56 per cent, and so on down the line.

In the case of property taxes, according to the article referred to above, those making less than $7,000 a year pay six to eight cents out of each dollar of income, on average, whereas those in brackets above $25,000 average only 2 per cent of income for property taxes. It was further indicated that sales taxes take nearly a nickel out of every dollar earned by families in the lowest income brackets, as against a penny or two at the upper end of the income scale. It should be remembered that the above figures are based on nationwide averages and, therefore, that they may vary significantly between states and communities. In any event, the property tax and the sales tax tend to fall with heavier impact on those in the lower income brackets with relation to ability to pay, and yet state and local governments lean most heavily on those two taxes as major sources of tax revenue.

At the federal level, at least, increasing concern is currently being expressed relative to the heavy burden of taxation on low-income taxpayers; and many forms of possible relief are being tentatively proposed, such as increasing the income below which no federal income tax would have to be paid, reducing rates in the lowest income tax brackets, increasing the minimum standard deduction for expenses, increasing personal exemptions, giving tax credits for each personal exemption claimed by a low-income family, refunding Social Security taxes paid by low-income families, payment of "negative income taxes," etc. From time to time, studies have been conducted at both the state and local levels of government aimed at tax reform; but few, if any, of these have thus far resulted in any significant improvement of tax structures. Hopefully some of this good intent will soon be translated into action.

Although taxation provides the largest source of governmental revenue, there are many other potential sources of income including license fees; other fines, fees, and permits; income from sales of services; reimbursements for services performed; grants-in-aid; shared taxes, and other miscellaneous sources. These non-tax sources are utilized for a number of different reasons and, in some cases, a combination of reasons, such as:

1. To provide added revenue
2. To exercise control in the protection of health, public safety, property, etc.
3. To protect other public interests
4. To serve as a punitive measure
5. To secure total or partial reimbursement for certain services
6. To provide for intergovernmental cost sharing
7. To stimulate activity and improvement in respect to specified public services

In order that some of you who have had only limited experience in the field of public finance may get a better idea of the large number and great variety of potential tax and other revenue sources that are currently being utilized by state and local governments, you have or will be furnished with an outline of such sources. While fairly complete, it is not professed that it is inclusive of all such tax and revenue sources in use throughout the country. In some cases, comparable taxes may be levied in different governmental jurisdictions bearing entirely different names. I wish to make it very clear that, in presenting this outline, there is absolutely no intent on my part to suggest the use of any particular tax or combination of taxes. Local conditions, economic factors, and legal restrictions vary significantly between geographic areas and must, or should, be taken into consideration in the structuring or restructuring of any tax and revenue system.

At this point in time, practically all governmental

units at every level are being confronted by the same dilemma-increasing demands for public services, sharply increasing costs, and an inadequate tax and revenue potential. In many cases, therefore, unless there is to be a sharp curtailment in these public services or a lessening in their quality and effectiveness, it seems (even after every reasonable effort has been made to improve efficiency) that increases in existing taxes, or the levy of some new and additional tax or taxes, or the seeking out of some alternate source of revenue is inevitable. Wherever and whenever this proves to be the case, it is of the utmost importance that the five basic criteria mentioned earlier in this discussion be given most careful consideration before any decision is made to change the tax structure.

Quite obviously time does not permit any attempt on my part to discuss each of the different tax sources that are listed on the outline to which I have made previous reference. In the question and answer period which I understand is to follow the presentation of your panelists, there will be an opportunity for you to ask about any of these in which you may have a particular interest. Two of them, however, the property tax and the sales tax—which are heavily depended upon by both state and local governments—deserve at least brief mention. Both of these taxes are productive and reasonably flexible, but both tend to place a disproportionate burden on taxpayers in the lowest income brackets, as has been previously pointed out.

The property tax is one of the oldest and most used among all taxes currently being levied. It does not pose any serious problem of collectibility, for, if there is a failure to pay, the tax becomes a lien upon the property in question. It is not a particularly easy tax to administer, for there is involved the necessity of separately assessing each individual parcel of property, of maintaining extensive tax and assessment rolls, of keeping property assessments accurate and up-to-date, of developing uniform assessment procedures, and of equalizing assessed valuations on a state or county-wide basis. The use of the property tax is further complicated in many jurisdictions by statutory and constitutional restrictions and by a large number of different provisions for complete or partial exemption. In some jurisdictions the property tax is also extended to personal property; and, in these cases, administration becomes even more difficult and problems of enforcement are introduced. Nonetheless, the property tax is apparently here to stay for at least the foreseeable future, and it is therefore important that it be administered as effectively and as equitably as possible.

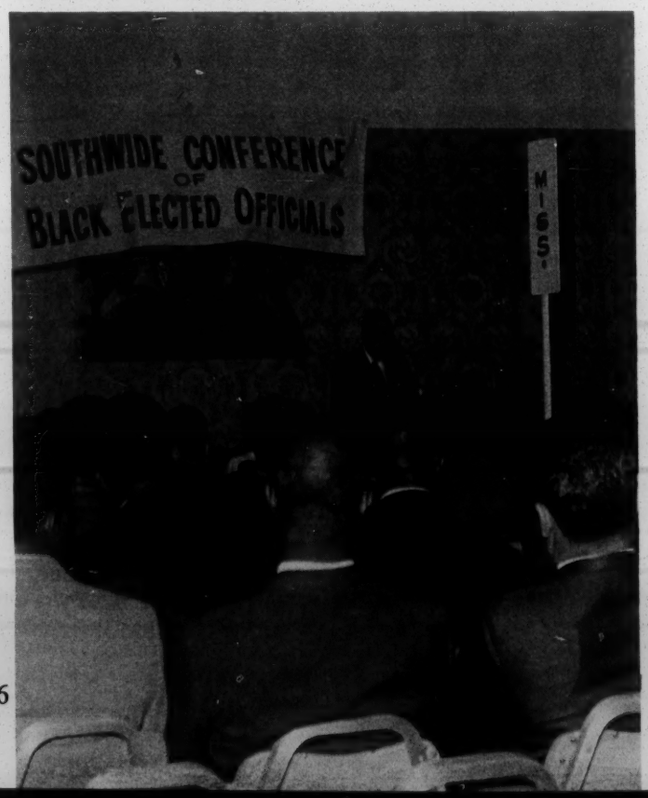
There is considerable variation in the manner in which the sales tax is used by governmental agencies across the country. It can be made applicable to the sales of services, as well as the sales of commodities. It can be made applicable to all sales, or provision can be made for exemption on the sales of such commodities as fool, drugs and/or certain basic clothing items. In the latter case the administration of the tax, which normally poses few problems, becomes more difficult and complicated, particularly for those who collect the tax at the original source.

In conclusion, I wish to make brief reference to the financing of major capital projects such as the construction of public buildings, highways, water and sewer facilities, etc. In some cases and to a certain extent, capital improvements may be financed out of current revenue, which method is generally referred to as financing on a "pay-as-you-go" basis. This method has considerable merit and may prove desirable in the case of long-term capital programs which provide for large annual expenditures over a considerable number of years, as might be the case in an extended highway construction program.

More frequently, however, major capital projects which are expected to have a relatively long life are financed by the issuance of bonds. This method of financing is justified by the fact that, at least to some degree, it tends to spread the costs over the period of years during which the capital project will continue in use. In no case is it desirable that the payment of a bond issue extend for a period in excess of the estimated useful life of the capital improvement. It is, of course, possible to finance capital improvement programs by an appropriate combination of "pay-as-you go" and bond financing.

Bonds issued by states and local units of government fall into two general categories—full faith and credit bonds and revenue bonds. The former category, which involves a pledge of the full faith and credit of the particular governmental unit, is normally used in cases where the capital project will not generate any revenue or insufficient revenue to cover the debt service of the bond issue. In the case of capital projects in respect to which it can be demonstrated that sufficient revenue will be generated to cover the debt service by an adequate margin, revenue bonds are generally used.

At the local level of government, a third category of bonds may be used which are known as special assessment bonds or special district bonds. The legal establishment of a special assessment district is a prerequisite to the issuance of such bonds. These bonds are issued to cover the costs of such projects as drains, sewers, water facilities, roads, etc., and require that the debt service be adequately covered by the levy of special property tax assessments against the benefitted property within the district over a long enough period to pay off the bond issue.



The ability of any unit of government to issue bonds and to issue them at a favorable interest rate is directly related to the financial stability of that unit of government. If such financial stability is questionable, it frequently becomes either impossible or prohibitively expensive to issue bonds. For this and many other reasons, I urge upon all of you most serious concern for the sound and effective management of the financial affairs of your respective units of government.

REVENUE AND TAXATION

An Outline of Potential Sources
Prepared for Use at Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials
By **Alfred M. Pelham**
December 13, 1968

TAX SOURCES

Taxes used primarily by state government:
- Corporate Franchise Taxes (organizational and annual)
- Business Activities Tax
- Motor Vehicles Taxes:
  - a. Weight
  - b. Horsepower
  - c. Motor Carriers' Privilege
  - d. Gasoline
  - e. Diesel Fuel
- Inheritance Tax
- Intangibles Tax
- Utility Property Tax
- Liquor, Beer and Wine Taxes
- Horse and Dog Wagering Taxes
- Chain Store Tax
- Unemployment Compensation Tax
- Domestic Building and Loan and Savings and Loan Association Franchise and Privilege Taxes
- Foreign Building and Loan and Savings and Loan Association Privilege Tax
- Federal Savings and Loan Privilege Tax
- Insurance Company Privilege Tax (domestic and foreign)
- Oil, Gas and Minerals Severance Tax
- Stumpage Tax
- Other (aircraft, vessel tonnage, watercraft, etc.)

Taxes used by both state and local government:
- Property Tax (real and/or personal)
- Income Tax (flat or graduated)
- Sales Tax (on commodities)
- Sales Tax (on services)
- Cigaret Tax
- Amusement Tax

Taxes used primarily by local governments:
- Property Tax-Special Assessments
- Payroll Tax
- Utilities Tax (on customer billings)
- Hotel-Motel Occupancy Tax
- Motor Vehicle Operation Tax
- Property Transfer Tax

SOURCES OF REVENUE OTHER THAN TAXES

Licenses:
- Motor Vehicles (automobiles, trucks, trailers, motorcycles, etc.)
- Motor Vehicle Operators
- Liquor Dealers
- Liquor Establishments (bars, clubs, cabarets, etc.)
- Restaurants
- Other Business Establishments
- Street Vendors
- Marriage
- Dog
- Other

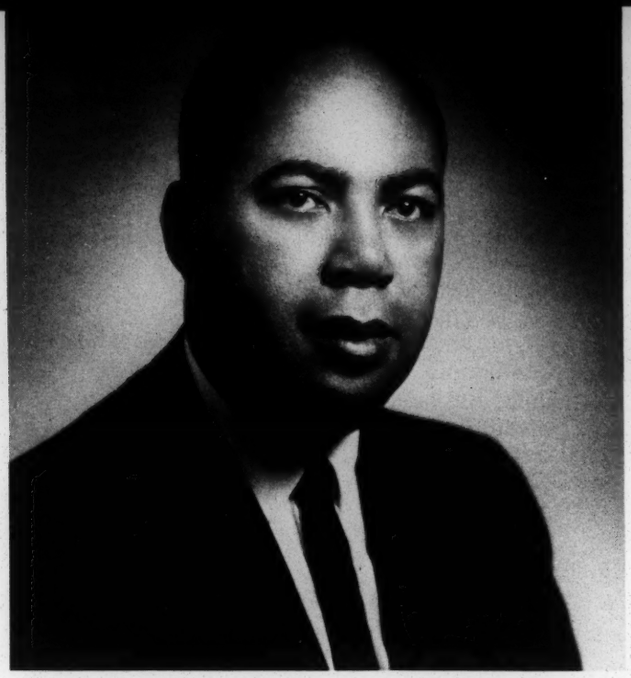
Fines, Fees and Permits:
- Traffic and other Court Fines and Fees
- Registration Fees:
  - a. Deeds, Mortgages, Chattel Mortgages, etc.
  - b. Births and Deaths
  - c. Assumed Name
  - d. Annual Reports
  - e. Professional
  - f. Other
- Inspection Fees:
  - a. Safety (building, elevator, etc.)
  - b. Fire
  - c. Food
  - d. Other
- Parking Meter and other Automobile Parking Fees.
- Other Fees and Charges (zoo, golf course, marina, etc.)
  - a. Building
  - b. Food Handlers
  - c. Sidewalk
  - d. Other

Sales of Service and Reimbursement for Services Performed:
- Hospital and Health Services
- Other Institutional Services
- Water and Sewer Services
- Welfare Services
- Rubbish and Garbage Collection (commercial)
- Other

Grants in Aid (from state and federal government)
- Welfare
- Health
- Education
- Urban and Community Renewal
- Highway Construction
- Office of Economic Opportunity
- Water and Air Pollution Control
- Civil Defense
- Other

Shared Taxes (from state government)
- Varies between states

Miscellaneous Sources:
- Income from Investments
- Rentals and Concessions
- Gifts and Bequests
- Proceeds from Sale of Bonds
- Other



'... Know Your Authority ...'

Gerald A. Lamb, *a native of Elizabeth City, N.C., is treasurer of the state of Connecticut. He has also served as president pro tem of the board of aldermen and as acting mayor of his present home, Waterbury, Conn. He was one of three Negro financial experts on a panel on revenue and taxation.*

I am indeed most honored to serve on this distinguished panel of financial experts, but of equal honor is this opportunity to share with you some of my experiences that may offer to you an expressway of financial genius and expertise in your transactions rather than a dirt road of bumpy pitfalls, frustrations and despair.

It is always gratifying for me to return to the South, for after all I am a product of a proud but poor family of the South. In fact, last evening when I flew over the eastern shores of North Carolina where I was born, I found myself in a rather nostalgic mood. Reflecting back over the years, I could remember vividly the day more than 26 years ago I marched off to defend this nation, and how paradoxical it was that I should want to defend this nation, for I had just spent more than two months searching for a job behind doors that remained closed to us. I reconciled my concern for this nation or this system at that time by saying that "things will be better some day." How prophetic, for I returned to the South last night, not as a frustrated, disillusioned and angry young man, but as an individual somewhat older, yes, somewhat balder, but also the treasurer of one of the 50 states. Let no one deceive you, this is progress, and the number of elected officials present today suggests to me that you in the South are also enjoying progress.

Our topic or theme, as has been stated, is "Revenue and Taxation." If we, as panelists, are to complement but not duplicate each other, perhaps each of us can touch generally on the broad implications of the topic but zero in on the areas that touch our present responsibilities. As treasurer of a state, I would like to at least discuss one area that perhaps the other panelists may overlook.

My remarks to you as elected or potential public financial officials will stress two general themes: the necessity of having a clear definition of one's authority and responsibility, and the necessity of utilizing *competent* advice.

Let us review carefully the first question for a moment—What is your authority and responsibility? May I first caution you against asking your predecessor or any other elected or appointed official in your locale. All too often their advice is both inconsistent and incomplete. My advice is simple—review, analyze and thoroughly familiarize yourself with your city or town charter, state or county statutes, ordinances, rules, and regulations pertaining to the office you hold.

The obvious reason to know your authority and responsibility is to perform and execute your duties properly, but of equal importance is to always be on guard that someone else does not perform your job for you by usurpation of authority. Your authority and jurisdiction may be much broader in scope and dimension than you anticipated or realized. It is no secret in Connecticut that my election as treasurer of Connecticut has made everyone aware of that constitutional office and its vast jurisdiction. And, I might add, for those few who were not aware of it, I have a way of reminding them—and this includes other state officials frequently.

It is not unusual for me to quote my powers enumerated in chapter 32 of the general statutes. It says: "The treasurer is responsible for receiving, depositing, and disbursing all state funds; collecting and distributing certain taxes and fees; servicing all state bond issues, investing surplus money; borrowing of funds when required, administering the financing of all state-owned public housing."

The treasurer is custodian of all securities pledged by insurance companies, all pension funds, and deeds to properties owned or controlled by our state. He is the escheat or abandoned property administrator and serves on the Banking Commission, Bond Commission, and Finance Advisory Commission.

I have listed these responsibilities to illustrate to you the necessity for knowing your authority. The position of treasurer had gone unnoticed because my predecessors either did not know the scope of their authority or did not elect to use it.

It has been suggested by some that the true impact of my job was not known until it was too late. With your indulgence, I would like to add a bit of humor. Those of you whose wives are the keepers of the family purse realize the influence of the mate with the money. I am certain you can almost agree that if you have the money, you have almost everything, because at least you have some influence.

Moving quickly to my second theme (utilizing competent advice), I cannot overstress the importance of seeking advice in this complex society because it is impossible to be an expert on all facets of finance. Public officials are and must be especially dependent on both legal and financial advice. Any man who thinks he knows all is destined to ruin himself and his state, county, or town.

I have used these two central themes with emphasis, because as we proceed through five important areas of special interest to local finance officers, you will realize their importance.

Using some personal experience and observations in these five areas, I will not attempt to give a technical discourse on each because the technicalities differ by state and area; but instead I want to offer some helpful hints.

The five areas of concern to public financial officials that I will comment on are:

I Administrative practices

II Public relations responsibilities

III Handling deposits

IV Investment of money

V Borrowing money

If I were giving a lecture on administration, I would discuss the practices of setting goals, selecting personnel, and coordinating and guiding their efforts with sophistication toward these goals. But today, rather than misguide or deceive you about our genius, I would rather talk about a very simple but helpful everyday tool I use for accomplishing these rather lofty goals, i.e., a "calendar of events." A simple, accurately maintained calendar goes a long way toward making a good administrator. In addition to maintaining a prompt and efficient personal calendar, this also enables you to coordinate your many diverse office functions and carefully program and project duties. As a public financial official this is especially important, because your responsibilities are very often defined in terms of legal dates and it would be disastrous to miss timely execution. Maturing dates of notes or bonds or restrictions specifying dates, often written into the authorizing legislation, are prime examples of important dates to be listed on calendars of events.

I cannot stress too strongly the continuing aspects of your public relations responsibilities. If you are an elected official, you must always remember the first requirement is to get re-elected. This means consideration of public relations factors every day and not just during election year.

It goes without saying that the basis of good public relations is a sound and efficient operation. After all, one cannot cover over inefficiencies for long. Granting this, you still have to communicate the soundness of your operation day in and day out to the public. Overlooking public relations has increased the casualties of some extremely expert and efficient finance officials.

One of the most basic rules for good public relations is to do everything within reason to "avoid inconveniencing the people."

Let me give some concrete examples of the public relations considerations that affect a finance officer's responsibilities in just one area, the issuance of bonds.

First, to the voters, here I can point out:

(A) A need for stressing the positive benefits of a proposed bond issue and the merits and benefits to be derived from this capital expenditure. This is particularly important if the authorization is by public referendum.

(B) The necessity for *not* confusing the voter with side questions or complicating his understanding by combining projects into large, incomprehensible, omnibus packages.

(C) Above all, when possible, time the referendum away from vacations and holidays. The support of the more affluent citizen, who could possibly be away, may mean the difference between success or defeat.

Second, to the bond rating agencies:

It is extremely important that the rating agencies of Moody's, Standard and Poor's and Dun and Bradstreet be continually informed about the financial and economic condition of your community. In essence, you should make full disclosure on a continuous basis. All positive attributes of community should be stressed. A credit rating of AAA or A or BA can mean hundreds of dollars in interest cost savings to the tax payer.

Third, to the underwriters and investors:

Again I repeat the importance of keeping this group completely informed about the community's financial and economic condition. If you desire a good sale, schedule the sale for a convenient day (not a holiday) and at a convenient time (11 a.m. rather than 9 a.m. or 7 in the evening).

These examples of public relations considerations at all levels of contact when issuing bonds is cited to stress the continuing aspects of your public relations responsibilities. Careful attention here not only helps the community (a lower borrowing cost) but also helps you (a requirement for re-election).

Leaving these more general administrative and public relations responsibilities, we can now discuss the more specific functional areas of concern to a finance official —handling deposits, investments, and borrowings.

As a finance officer, your core duties usually center around this important public trust. There are several recommendations that I deem important. You must not delegate the responsibility for determining the bank depositories or the cash level of each account. It is your neck if a bank fails or defaults, and it is also your responsibility to determine your cash requirements based on projected expenditures and experiences of prior years. A good system of checks and balances along with accounting controls are mandatory. We in Connecticut believe in the honor and integrity of our state employees, and this is the reason for bonding all individuals who handle money (smile). We bond them as a precaution in the event that we have misjudged their character. I would suggest that you do likewise. I repeat, accounting controls are absolutely necessary.

As a financial official you will have monies on hand above needed working balances, monies upon which you want to earn a return!

Again, the legal question—What authority do you have to invest? For example, in Connecticut, most local communities can utilize only treasury obligations or bank certificates of deposit. Some states have broader authority which often includes commercial paper or other government agencies. Once you have ascertained

the legal authority or requirements, you still have the need for determining the amounts, maturities or the type of investments.

Here, competent financial advice must be sought. The rationale for investing is simple—define your needs, select investments to meet your needs—but the execution demands specialized knowledge of the characteristics of many different but legal investments as well as up-to-date knowledge of markets.

One source of investment help can be your local banker. Select those bankers with competence in the investment area. It may be beneficial to seek out a larger institution with trained specialists in another community if your local banker has only a limited knowledge of this area of work, especially the mechanics of buying and selling securities, an important consideration when selecting your investment advisor.

Pension funds and other custodial and trust accounts in most instances, because of their long term investment features, require other types of consultants such as investment brokers, actuarial scientists, or those with insurance expertise.

I must repeat once again, competent legal and financial advice is mandatory.

Under legal advice—the field of law surrounding borrowing money by government units is highly specialized. You should:

—Select a bond attorney experienced in your state whose legal opinion is marketable, or in other words, whose legal opinion has proved acceptable to bidders of previous issues. Your close friend who happens to practice law or your town attorney *cannot* be used if you want to sell your bonds;

—Consult bond counsel early since he must approve all proceedings relative to the bond issue including all notices, resolutions, adoptions and/or approvals by boards and offering circulars. In fact, I virtually hire bond counsel many times in advance of drafting of bond proposals. Their assistance is invaluable. May I repeat, a legal opinion concerning public financing is a very specialized field of law and should not be undertaken by a firm inexperienced in this area.

Financial advice—Here again, the same theme prevails. Select competent advisors to help guide you through the maze of considerations surrounding the issuance of bonds or notes.

Let us look at some of the considerations:

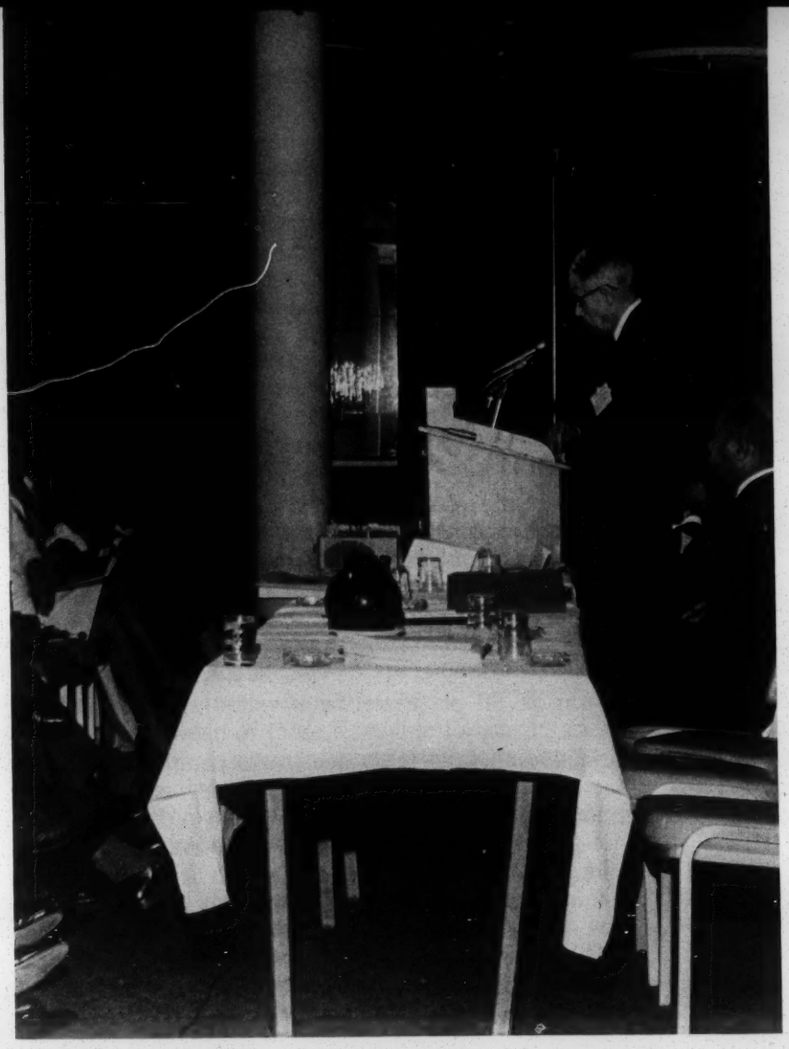
1. The timing of the sale—Is it a favorable market?
2. The date of sale—Is it a holiday or does it conflict with a major national sale or sales (100 million of California and 50 or 60 million of Connecticut)?
3. Presentation to the rating agencies—What kind of information do they require?
4. Preparing the prospectus—Is it clear and concise?
5. Setting the maturity schedule—Are the dates convenient for investors? Is the schedule reconcilable with the flow of cash or resources?
6. Details of handling the sale—Is it a place convenient for bidders and is there a local proxy agent that can submit bids telephoned from the money centers (New York, Chicago, San Francisco, etc?)

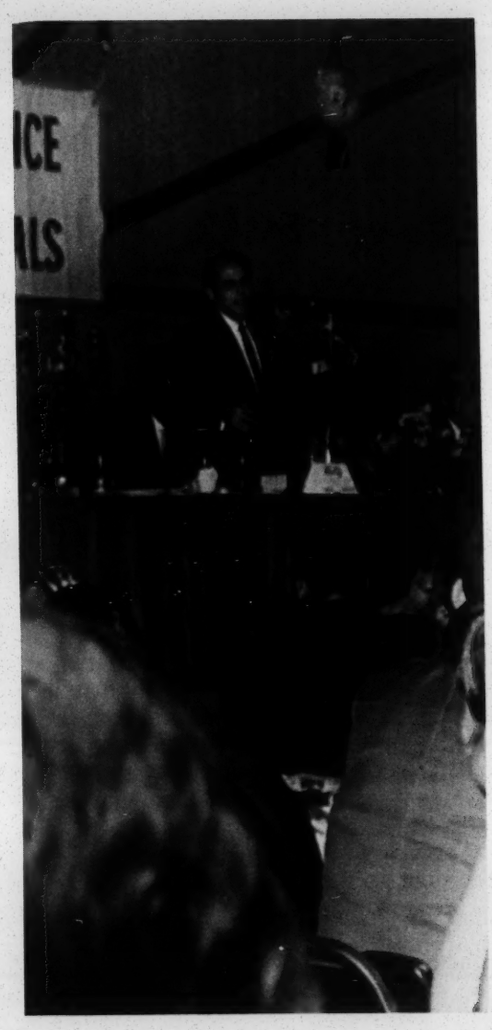
I could go on at length, but instead I would highly recommend the reference booklet covering this area, "Pitfalls in Issuing Public Bonds" published by Moody's Investors Service, Inc.

In conclusion, I hope my message is clear enough—As you operate in the five principle areas of concern to public finance officials, you should carefully (A) consider the scope and limit of your responsibility and authority, and (B) seek competent advice, both legal and financial.

I am cognizant that I have not created many financial wizards in 15 minutes, but if any one of you is elected or appointed in a financial responsibility, I would be most happy to offer you several weeks of training in my office.

I purposely have avoided the topic of taxation, for we are indeed fortunate to have two experts in that field on the panel. I trust that I have aroused some curiosity and stimulated some interest, for questions will be most welcomed.

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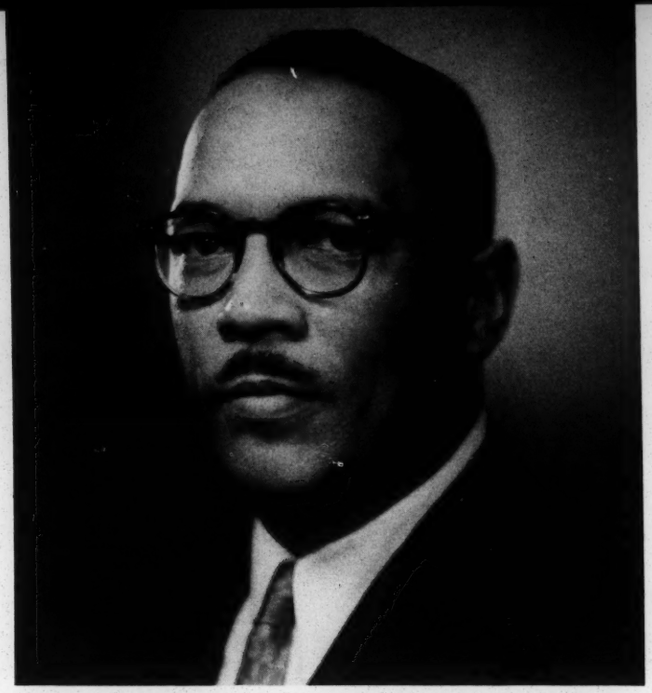


'...Services and Benefits...'

Theodore A. Jones, *director of revenue of Illinois, spoke on "Problems of Revenue Administration" on the revenue and taxation panel Dec. 13. He is former regional director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Great Lakes Region and is a director of several financial institutions in Chicago.*

I am deeply honored by your invitation. I am here, of course, as the representative of my state government's *most popular agency*—the tax-collecting Department of Revenue.

I am particulary grateful for this opportunity of speaking to you because of your particular professional interest in public administration. You are in a position to provide heavy influence upon some of the enormously complex decisions which lie immediately ahead of us.

I believe that it is time to make a decision as to whether state government will continue as a responsive and responsible instrument of the public will—whether it will continue to meet its responsibilities, or whether it will, by default, shift those responsibilities onto the federal government and itself assume a somewhat passive and ceremonial role in solving the people's problems and in some instances, the role of a spoiler, denying service to disadvantaged citizens. Every state faces decisions on this order.

Mere words will not answer that question. We must answer it with actions, and unless we do answer it satisfactorily, history will supply answers we do not relish. Are state governments going to respond realistically to local needs while the federal government waxes ever stronger and all-pervading?

Our ability to carry out the responsibilities of government is measured in what Abraham Lincoln called "the legitimate object of government" and defined as "to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot, by individual effort, do at all, or do so well, for themselves."

If we are to do these things, it seems to me that we will have to do some rearranging of our opinions—to rid ourselves of some of the folklore that has grown up around the acts of government and the collection of taxes.

Too often we hear government discussed as if it were a business, as if it should be expected to make a profit and pay a dividend. This is utterly false. Government has no purpose as an institution other than the services and benefits it can provide for the people, better than they can do it for themselves.

Too often we forget that our democratic representative government was set up by inspired non-conformists expressly to provide services and benefits which they believed were justly due to the people, and which they had despaired of securing under colonial government.

If government is not created to "serve," what then is its purpose?

You cannot divorce state taxes from the federal and local taxes in preparing a program. They all come out of the same pocket, including your pocket and mine. In dealing with revenues, we must consider the total impact of all taxes, federal, state, and local, including those new ones which may be proposed.

In and of themselves, taxes are sterile. They have no real meaning except in terms of the payments of past debts or the purchase of services—paying workmen for their labor, and contractors for their work, materials for industry and goods bought and used by the state.

When Chief Justice John Marshall, in McCulloch vs. Maryland, said that "the power of tax involves the power to destroy," he laid the groundwork of a mischievous folklore that all taxes are, *per se,* bad because they will be abused. Had he said "the power to tax, carried to the extreme," he would have been much more precise.

The power of tax involves much more than John Marshall said: It involves the power to maintain responsible government, to provide police protection, health and education, highways and transportation facilities, schools and airports and sewage systems, hospitals and medical services—the things that Abraham Lincoln had in mind, and the things that the people, who own the government, want and are determined that they shall have.

Levying, collecting and expending taxes is not an exercise of futility and self-destruction. It is a function of maintaining those very services which ensure the permanence of democratic government and which are closest to the people and their needs.

It is in this area of services that the states are shifting the responsibility over to the federal government.

I should like to say parenthetically here that there is a very good reason why the federal government has been able to assume responsibilities that belong to the states, and that the states haven't been able to meet. The federal Constitution, liberally construed over the

years, confers vast, indeed almost unlimited powers in its clauses on the general welfare, commerce, and taxing power. State governments, Illinois being a prime example, operate under constitutions that for the most part are narrowly drafted, unduly restrictive, and narrowly construed. Hence you have the paradox of the remote government being given virtually unlimited powers while those governments closest to the people are handcuffed and rendered incapable of meeting their historic responsibilities; or providing cover for state inefficiencies and for state administrators to deny equal treatment for disadvantaged citizens.

The "tax climate," which we hear so much about, cannot be divorced from the total business climate. I assume that everyone wants to maintain a business climate that is healthy and vigorous and full of opportunity.

Andrew Mellon, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, gave us a guideline that is still relevant. He said:

> "A sound tax policy must lessen, so far as possible, the burden of those least able to bear it; and it must remove those influences which might retard the continued steady development of business and industry on which, in the last analysis, so much of our prosperity depends."

It seems clear to me that at certain strategic points, many state tax systems fail utterly to measure up to those standards. We can agree that good taxes should, then, have certain characteristics: They should hold reasonable promise of being stable sources of revenue; they should be uniformly levied so that everyone shares in supporting the government; they should be easy to collect and hard to evade; they should be levied according to ability to pay.

And, above all, they should be levied on the other fellow!!

I think we can agree, too, that if every man could build his own hospital, his own school, his own highway and transport system, clean his own river, dispose of his garbage and sewage, act as his own policeman, install his own street lights and pave his own street—we then wouldn't need taxes at all!

Let us consider briefly what is occurring in some areas of historic state and federal responsibility.

Increasingly, in some states, the federal government has been called upon to restore law and order and here and there to provide some justice. Here, we must move as rapidly as possible with every resource available, to erase the social and economic conditions which produce mass disorders. Maintenance of respect for law is a primary and historic state responsibility which all too often has not been exercised well, if at all. All government has responsibility here.

No responsibility rests more squarely upon the state than that of providing for education, and our plight is desperate. It is desperate statewide and most critical in cities. School administrators everywhere are faced with the urgent need to find money to carry out programs that must be undertaken.

I would like to note an example of the wide variation in the quality of education contained in the report of the Illinois Scholarship Commission last year. Of the high school students enrolled in City of Chicago senior classes, 22.4 per cent of those eligible to compete for scholarships did so. But only 5.5 per cent of the total eligible were actually qualified for scholarships. For the state as a whole 23.4 per cent of senior classmen entered the competition, and 7.1 per cent qualified for scholarships. For Cook County suburban schools, 29.3 per cent of senior classmen competed, and 10.1 per cent qualified for scholarships.

What does this mean? It means that City of Chicago seniors fall significantly behind the state level and very far behind the suburban level of education, as indicated in the grading for scholarships. Educators will tell you that other factors (environment, economic pressures, family and community disturbances) may affect the student's performance. But the conclusion that a gigantic educational effort must be made in the city and the state is inescapable.

We may congratulate ourselves in Illinois that we have unexcelled prosperity and an unemployment rate of only 3 per cent, which is far below the level of other industrial states. But do not be misled by generalizations on this theme. Averages are tricky.

In the Lawndale area of Chicago, 17 per cent of adult males are without jobs, and 12 per cent in the Woodlawn area are unemployed. In some sections unemployment among Negro youth is 30 per cent or higher. It is dangerously high in many of the poorer white sections. These are the drop-outs, the aged, the uneducated and untrained who are unemployable in a highly technological economy. They are the elements of what Dr. James Conant called a "time bomb" in our midst.

Dr. Phillip Hauser, sociologist at the University of Chicago Center for Urban Studies, has said, "All of the welfare and educational provisions today are only a band-aid on a gaping, massive wound." (Time Magazine, July 28, 1967).

Gunnar Myrdal, the eminent Swedish economist, in his recent study of our economy, says: "In society at large there is more equality of opportunity today than there ever was. But for the bottom layer there is less or none."

These people, and many others, are telling us that despite our booming economy, our good intentions and our efforts thus far, we must find ways to give great numbers of sorely disadvantaged persons—some one-sixth of our population—a chance to learn, an opportunity to gain skills, a way to find some gainful work. We must find ways to help them break the chains in which they but barely exist—the cycle of unemployment, the relief roll, the broken family, the loss of faith, the loss of motivation, adult and juvenile crime.

Training and education and new approaches and methods of training are the major factors in accomplishing this goal. It is—I would like to point out—the only means by which we shall insure that in the future, business and industry and government will be able to find men and women with the technological (or scientific) skills that are needed to maintain our competitive advantages. Before the world, I doubt that there is a person present here today who could not add at least a score of other major problems of our states and cities that call for emergency measures.

There are social and economic costs attached to any policy of "too little, too late" carried on in the name of "economy in government." What are some of the costs?

Tax values are destroyed on a massive scale as whole vast areas of property decay into slums.

Clients for the relief rolls are manufactured at an expanding rate, and the tax burdens thereby increase.

Families are destroyed, by the hundreds and thousands, as social units.

Crime and juvenile delinquency and police and court costs fall into a vicious spiral of inflation.

Relationships between the individual and the surrounding society, and between the individual and his government, are eroded.

Human dignity is emasculated.

When I see these things, I ask myself if we can afford not to undertake that which is needed. Will not the eventual cost of inaction be far the greater?

58.6 per cent of Illinois' general revenue fund in the last biennium came from the so-called sales tax. 27 per cent of our total revenue came from the federal government. The 1967 increase in the sales tax—to 5 per cent—undoubtedly makes it one of the most regressive levies in the nation.

Our tax excludes a very wide range of proper objects of taxation: Our combined state-local rate is among the highest in the nation, and it rests most heavily on the food and clothing necessities purchased by those with the larger families—namely the poor.

It is clear that if federal grants and other payments were withdrawn, Illinois, as would all states, overnight would be in a colossal financial crisis. You cannot pull 27 per cent out of any revenue system without producing chaos.

A word about Federal Domestic Assistance. Shift is one major characteristic, most notable from federal to local city direct relationships rather than through state control and reallocation. OEO was the leader here followed by HUD, the Department of Labor and now some HEW programs.

U.S. Aid as Percentage of State Budgets 28 per cent in 1966.

Ala.	36%	Miss.	32%
Alaska	52%	N.C.	23%
Arkansas	36%	S.C.	23%
Fla.	22%	Tenn.	31%
Ga.	29%	Texas	28%
Ky.	31%	Va.	28%
La.	28%		

Ninety-three per cent of the Governors believe that federal aid has stimulated state activity; 70 per cent believe it has improved state standards, and 35 per cent believe it has produced interference with state affairs. (This was in 1948).

With the partial shift from state control mentioned earlier, I believe many more will now claim interference—witness the new drive for block, unrestricted grants to states, sharing of income tax, etc.

With this shift has come a massive increase in federal grant programs:

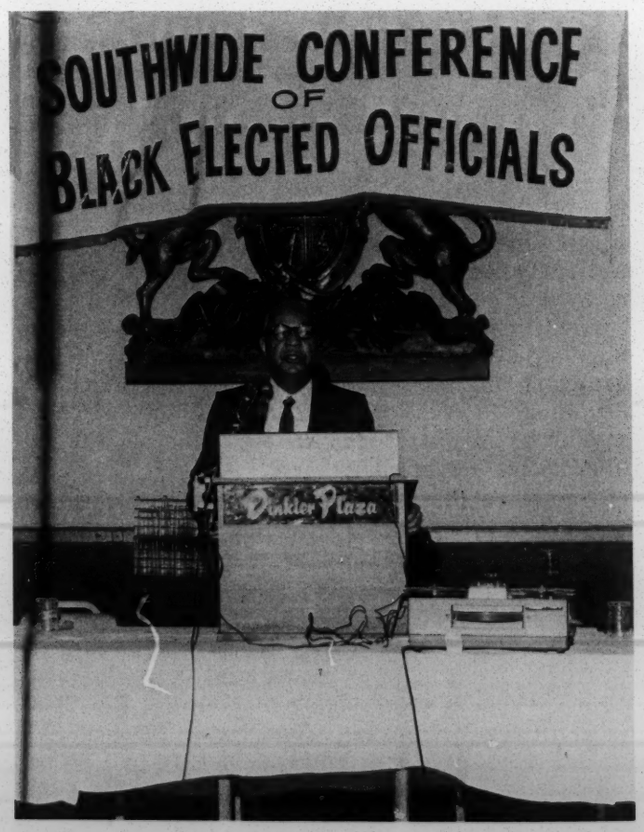
1. War on Poverty—heavy local participation
2. Twenty-one basic education measures by Congress—1964-68
3. Fifteen vocational education and manpower bills
4. Four mass transit programs
5. Twenty major health statutes
6. Thirteen housing and urban development bills

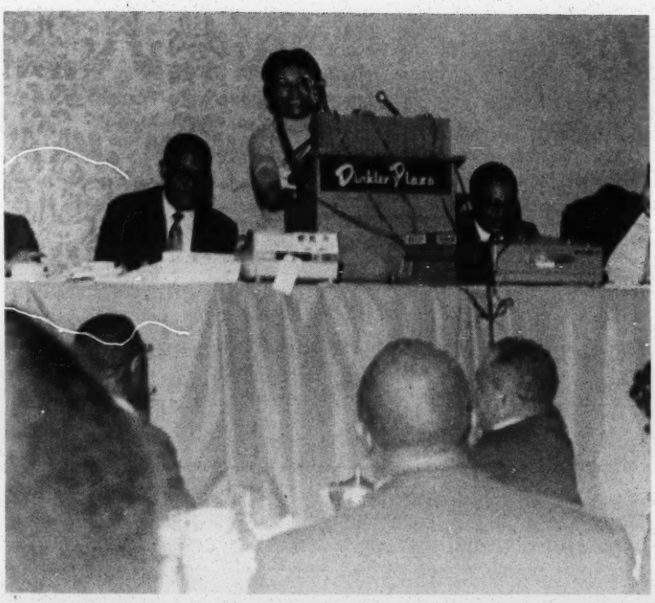
In all about 219 new grant-in-aid programs with cost are going from $3 billion in 1960 to $20 billion in 1968-69.

With some imagination and firm resolutions we could do a much better and much fairer job of raising the revenues needed for schools, roads, welfare, training, housing and other purposes.

The more you involve yourselves in these matters, the more likely we are to devise a tax system that is fair and just and sufficient to our needs. Give leadership and participate.

President Roosevelt, who had to wrestle with unprecedented domestic problems and a depression of calamitous severity, proved to us that new thinking and new methods are required in meeting new challenges. I recall that he once said that, "Taxes are the price of breathing the free air of a free country, the price of a living and not a dead world."

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'...Our Real Dream...'

Paul Anthony, *executive director of the Southern Regional Council, greeted U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and the black elected officials at the banquet Dec. 13.*

It is with misgivings that I appear on the program this evening. Long dinners and the involvement of many people serve no function other than that of boring our guests.

However, in the next several moments, it is both a privilege, and certainly a pleasure, to do two things.

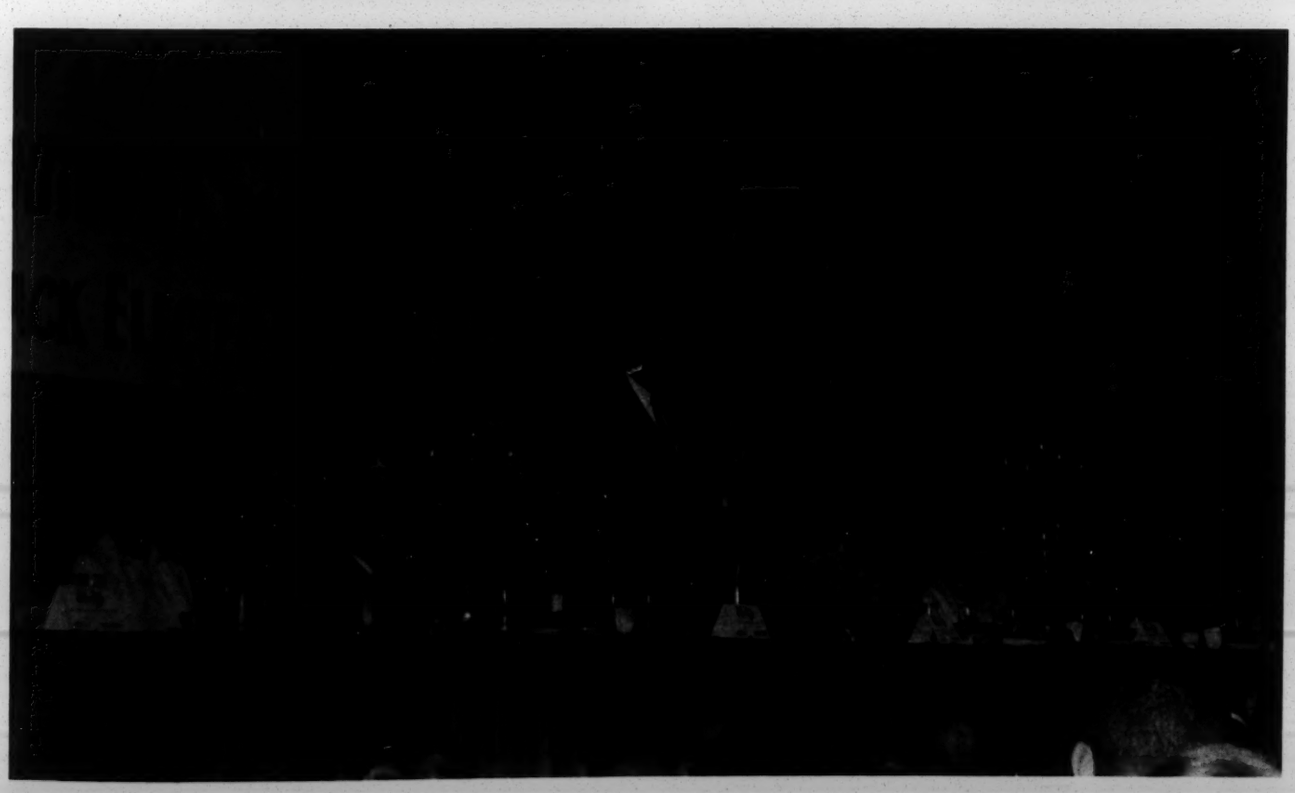
First, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council I should like to express our appreciation to Attorney General Ramsey Clark for being with us this evening. There is good in the South and there is good in the nation. This audience, Mr. Attorney General, represents a significant part of the good and the promise in this region. And the Attorney General, ladies and gentlemen of the audience, represents the good and the honorable of this nation. It is important, most important, that we meet here tonight recognizing this.

Secondly, and again on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, I should like, belatedly, to welcome the black elected officials of the South to this meeting and to thank you for coming. This is, as I am sure you agree, an historic occasion, and Atlanta is the appropriate site for it. Earlier, we have gone from "Gone with the Wind" to the Cotton States Exposition. At that latter event, of course, Dr. Washington attempted to make peace with the white South for "his people." I do not demean Dr. Washington, I hurt for him and the choices he faced.

The black elected officials here tonight give proof that now we are privileged to have new choices, and I rejoice that we do. The Southern Regional Council has for 20 years had a strong interest in access to the ballot, we have developed a sound reputation for our knowledge on this subject, and we have consistently expressed our faith in the power of the ballot. (And we are pleased that our current Voter Education Project is our most ambitious and successful effort to date in this area.)

Yet, for all the encouragement, pleasure and, indeed, honest rejoicing that this gives us of the Southern Regional Council, we, too, are sad. I am sad that in 1968 we should need a conference of black elected officials. For the Southern Regional Council to have such a conference is a confirmation that we are right, particularly in believing in the democratic society. We are gratified that this represents such a significant movement up the rungs of the ladder. But, we shall not be really gratified until we have climbed the ladder. We shall achieve our real dream in cooperation with men like the Honorable Ramsey Clark and that which he represents, and with the cooperation of the honorable black elected officials here present. This dream is to have a conference of *elected* officials.

Then we will all be blessed, whole, and a nation of honor.



'... Equal Justice To All of Its People...'

Ramsey Clark, *retiring Attorney General of the United States, was speaker Dec. 13 at a banquet at the American Motor Hotel. He is a native of Texas and the son of former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark. He came to the Justice Department in March, 1961 after his appointment by President John F. Kennedy as assistant attorney general.*

I wish there were some way that I could tell you how deeply pleased I am to be with you tonight. My reasons fall into three groups: One is personal. I am Southern and white, and I know how very desperately we need black elected officials here.

Second is official. I have been awfully fortunate through all my life, but during no time have I been so fortunate as these last years that I have had the opportunity to serve justice. There are many, many men and women who have been in the Department of Justice these years who should be here tonight; and they would be, as am I, deeply pleased to be here and to know what you represent for this nation.

We are here tonight because we are a democracy and a democracy that will ultimately extend equal justice to all of its people. We are here tonight because we are making progress toward that end. We are making progress because we care. I well remember the long nights in the Department of Justice in the winter of 1964 when we were trying to find the legal techniques for a voting rights act. I well remember President Johnson's deep personal commitment to liberating the Negro, the minority in America; to bring the vote to all Americans.

As the principal federal officer in charge of the enforcement of the federal court order under which the march from Selma to Montgomery took place in the spring of '65, I had the privilege to see great men—brave men, men who believed in America—march that we might be here tonight. Dr. Martin Luther King was in the front rank. Bob Kennedy, who had been Attorney General, contributed there in the early days toward the Voting Rights Act. Men like Nick Katzenbach, Burke Marshall and John Doar were there and did what they could with their might.

Then there was that moment, Aug. 6, 1965, when the rotunda of the nation's Capitol was filled with the nation's great, and the President of the United States signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and it became the law of the land. It was less than a week later that the first deep rumbles from South-Central Los Angeles in an area called Watts—originally a bus depot, the first stop in Los Angeles County from the Southern states—were felt throughout the world; and we were reminded how imperative it is that we persevere.

I am deeply honored to be here for a third reason: to be with black elected officials of the South because I am a concerned American; because I know there are thousands and thousands of people in these United States who have come to doubt and some who do not believe, that this nation has either the purpose or the capability to bring equal justice to all of its citizens (and you demonstrate, better than anything perhaps, that this is not so); that the system, however awkward, however slow, can work; that our purpose as a people and the purpose of our laws is equality and justice for all.

The Voting Rights Act is a bold experiment in democracy. It has made a difference. Four years ago we could have held this meeting in the telephone booth in the lobby and not interfered with anybody who wanted to make a phone call. Two years ago in Washington, the leadership—as I recall, Louis Martin, primarily—met with what was comparatively a handful of black elected officials from all over the nation. What a difference you can make! What a difference that law has made and must make further, because we are only beginning. We have miles to go before we sleep.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, like every contested piece of legislation, has compromises. One compromise was the expiration of many of the most important sanctions and controls—in what then seemed a long time and now seems no time. After five years, on Aug. 8, 1970, there will be the opportunity for jurisdictions to reinstate qualifications to vote through subjective tests, such as literacy. Then, unless something is done, the power of the Department of Justice to place examiners and observers in places where they are needed to protect the fundamental right of a democratic people will also expire. Then state legislatures will be empowered to prescribe new standards, new procedures for voting throughout this land.

It seems imperative to me that we redouble our efforts today to enlist in the support of democracy, under the auspices of the Voting Rights Act and this great Voter Education Project, all of our people and that we provide for the future by extending these sanctions of the Voting Rights Act of '65 for yet years to come. Their necessity, to me, seems clear.

I would not be fair if I said that voting, the right to vote, the exercise of that right, is the entire solution. Far, far from it. It is terribly important, it vests power. You now have new power; you must cherish it and nourish it, and build it, and increase it, and exercise it for justice. But if it were the entire solution, then how would we explain the conditions of Central City America, of our great metropolitan areas—of a New York and a Chicago and a Los Angeles?

We must go forward, seriously, on many fronts and with rare courage—the rare courage that you black elected officials have shown us and of which I am grateful. We know the areas. We sometimes think because the struggle is so difficult that, perhaps, the road isn't clear; but it is.

Separate, but equal, was never so; could not be; will never be. There can be no equality with separation in any society, least of all in a highly urban and complex nation of two hundred million such as ours. Separation must be ended, and all of its manifestations, to bring equality. The task is terribly difficult.

An area is education. Start with the children. Education is America's greatest industry. One in three in this country is engaged, full time, in education as student, teacher or administrator. In 1954, May 17—a time had begun so much, so late—the Supreme Court said, as to public schooling, there can be no separation. For nine years, through litigation in the courts of the South, the constitutional rights of our citizens were litigated. In September, 1963, those who knew saw one per cent of the Negro children in the public schools of the 11 states of the Confederacy in schools that were desegregated. All deliberate speed meant nine centuries.

People with vision saw this. People of determination changed it, in large measure, because of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, because of Title VI, because of the much-maligned guidelines of the Office of Education promulgated in conformity with law thereunder. One per cent in '63 became 16 per cent in '67. When the returns are in, it will surely be over 20 per cent in '68. This, a law that has had barely three years to work its way, has made a major difference and has shown that the constitutional rights of our citizens in the South can be fulfilled.

Because of the immensity of this nation, and while we concentrated here where the need was so great, we barely noticed the new segregation building up steadily and swiftly in urban America.

In five short years, from 1950-1955, the percentage of Negro children in the public schools of Baltimore increased from 50 to 61. In St. Louis, it was from 49 to 60. In Chicago, from 42 to 50. A profound change reflecting patterns of living meant a new segregation in Central City America unless we awoke. The 25 largest school districts in the United States saw a shift in five short years in the percentage of Negro children in public schools of nearly 10 per cent—10 per cent more Negro children and 10 per cent fewer white. America cannot stand that.

Slowly the resources of the law are brought to bear; and now four suits, outside the South, are brought to desegregate our schools there. And soon, soon we must recognize, among other things, that the litigations that take so long and the guideline techniques that can work so well must be brought to bear elsewhere. And soon, we must recognize that segregation in schooling is incompatible with our principles and, alas, I believe, with the Constitution, whatever the cause.

On the forefront today, we are moving in the area of employment, and only beginning. There is vast discrimination in employment—the opportunity to get a job, to keep a job, to improve in your job, to get a better job. The '64 Act, Title VII promised to remedy this. It's essential that we enlist all of our energies, as a people, to do it. Today, we have brought finally 34 suits. When you think of the immense industry of the United States, you see how very slow the beginning is. Twenty-four this year, with so far to go.

One reason you must understand. For all the might of the federal government, the resources that we, as a people, have provided there are terribly inadequate. The Civil Rights Division—as devoted a group of people to the principles of this country as has ever been collected in one place, with one mission, in my judgment—is fewer than a hundred lawyers. Their average age is under 30. Their burden is to enforce the Voting Rights Act, to litigate school desegregation in perhaps 30,000 school districts over the U. S., to bring Title II of the Act, promising open accommodation, to a reality; to enforce all of our Civil Rights Laws. This small resource would be inadequate for one state. It would be inadequate for one single law throughout the United States. We must look to you, in your local community, to generate commitment and action to bring equality.

The reasons that black and white in America must show the world that they can live together with respect, with stability and with love are many. One is human dignity—my dignity, your dignity. Another is to remove this gross imperfection from our national character, to show that we can be what we say we are.

But there is another. It is survival. It really is, you know. We will add on this planet, in the next decade, one billion souls, and most will be blacks and browns and yellows. And we are impelled by change so vast that, in a few short years, the fundamental way we live is more greatly altered than in history to this moment. And change means that millions will starve, and millions will live in more than affluence, amidst surfeit, more than they can use. It means that science and technology, with 90 per cent of the scientists who ever lived working today, accelerating change and population explosions, compel now equality. And if we do not demonstrate that it is possible, that it can be, that it is, here in America, black and white together with love and strength, then this poor, tired world has more ahead than it can handle.

In the Gospel according to St. Mark, it is said, "And if a house be divided against itself, then that house cannot stand." America is a house divided. Not yet irreconcilably, but that remains possible. The divisions are many. Never forget that. It may be hard for black America to realize that our divisions are many—the young and the old, a real division.

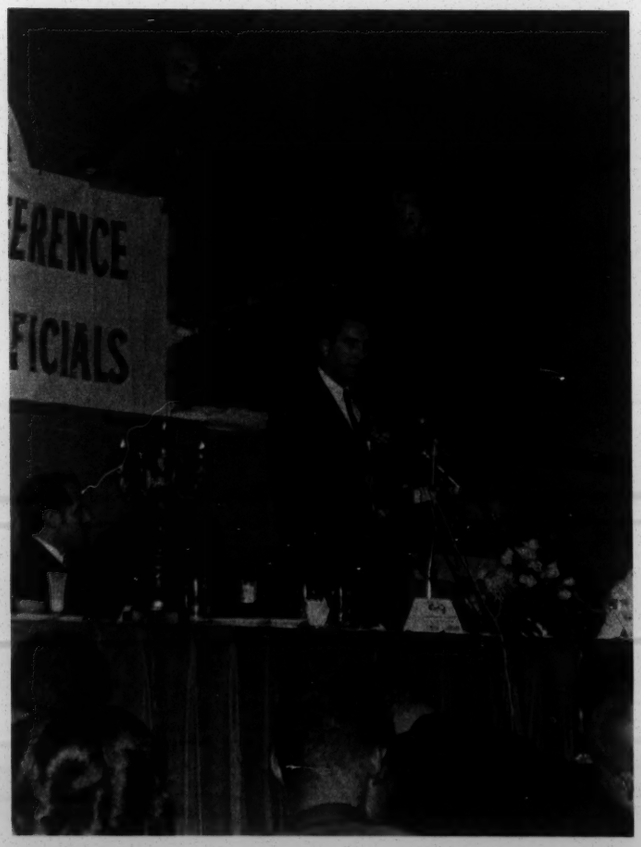
Of course every generation has had a gap. But the gap today is greater than ever before and for clearly ascertainable reasons—because change is so vast; because in a few short years, there is such a difference that a generation today exceeds the millenium in times gone by. Half the buildings in the world have been built in the last 30 years; half the buildings in Harlem were built before 1900, and there's a moral there.

There is a division today between the educated and the uneducated. It's a very profound division. Education means more to the individual today than ever before. My father and his brothers could come to be lawyers without going to college, without going to law school. The demands of our terribly complex, technologically advanced society compel constant increase in education. Forty-five percent of the college-age people today are in college. When I started college after World War II, there were a million and a half students; today there are over seven. The difference between the policemen endeavoring to control college students—the policemen five to 10 years older, who dropped out before completing the eighth grade—is immense. We have to recognize that division. We have to seek to bridge it.

There is a division between the rich and the poor. It is not the same division that has existed in bygone days between rich and poor because, today, the poor know of the wealth that surrounds them. Today, in America, the poor are a minority. To be poor in urban America is to be desperate. And in that desperation, you see Marlboro country on T.V., and you know it doesn't look like 126th Street. You must bridge the gap between rich and poor.

There are these gaps within races too. You must know Negro youth in this country. You must work very closely with them. They need your strength and wisdom. You need theirs. And if you can't bridge that gap, the meaning is immense to all of our people. And you must, within races and between, bridge the gap between the educated and the uneducated and lift all to the greatest possible education we can bring to them, because their future and ours depends on it, and so, too, the rich and poor.

And finally, of course, there's the division between black and white, a division that cannot and must not continue.



And from one side of this house of ours, we hear the call for order. There must be order. And from the other side of the house comes the cry of justice. Give us justice. The long history of mankind tells us that you will have neither order nor justice until you have both.

'. . . Proud To Have Been a Part . . .'

(TELEGRAM FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES)

Four years ago, only a handful of black people held public office in the South. Negroes were, in effect, without a direct voice in the council of government in the Southland.

Soon after this administration began, I had the honor of signing into law the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Hundreds of thousands of Southern Negroes who had been denied the ballot were able, for the first time in their lives, to register and to vote. Indeed, Negro registration in the South has increased by one million in the last four years, to a total of more than three million today. Those black Southerners are today, for the first time, able to participate in the most basic step in our democracy—the casting of the ballot on election day.

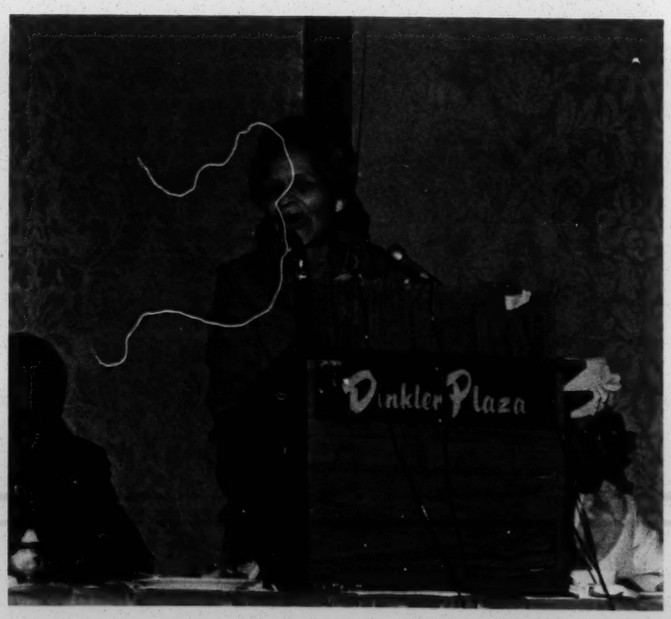
Largely because of this historic development, there are now some 385 black elected officials—all holding public offices for which they had to go before the voters—in the South. These officials now are gathered in a conference sponsored by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council to discuss their mutual problems, to exchange ideas and to receive advice and counsel on the performance of their public duties.

As President of the United States, I salute these black men and women now meeting in Atlanta. I wish their conference much success. I am proud to have been a part of the developments that made it possible for them to serve.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Dinkler Plaza

Dinkler Plaza


Dinkler Plaza

A Resolution: '...Not Separate, But Unequal...'

The following resolution, drafted by a representative of each of the 11 Southern states, was adopted by the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials as the conference ended Dec. 14.

We have come to a point in the South and in the nation where the executive decisions of the next four years may well determine the course of race relations and civil rights progress for the future and will decide whether the succeeding generations of America will live in peace or will live at all.

We are appalled by inferences from the incoming administration that the South's racial problems will be effectively dealt with by the states.

The fate and future of the South and her people, black and white, cannot be left in the hands of these leaders whose past failures have demonstrated their inability and unwillingness to build a new South.

While business, acting unselfishly, can help, business alone will not bring enlightened, unselfish solutions to this region's problems.

Rather, we, as members of city, county and state governments, believe in and depend on democratic government, responsive to the needs of our constituents and the unrepresented millions of the South, as the proper problem-solving agency of the 20th Century.

We hope that the traditional Southern divisions between class and race can be healed. The kinds of oppressed whites who have had their own interests subverted by their racism must join with the oppressed blacks whom we represent to build a new South.

What is needed more than all else is full implementation of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Economic Opportunity Act. This can be done only by full dedication of the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches of federal and state government to the rights of man. The United States Supreme Court and our federal judiciary must be upheld and strengthened in devotion to equal justice.

We want to urge the President of the United States and our Congress to extend the much needed Voting Rights Act of 1965 from its present maturity date to another five years.

Since 1965, 805,233 Negroes have been added to voter registration rolls in the 11 Southern States. Most notable gains have come in those states where federal registrars have been assigned. To date, however, none have been assigned to either North Carolina or Virginia. Registrars are needed in these two states, and additional federal registrars are needed throughout the whole South.

In a nation dedicated to democratic principles, how can we explain that only about 60 per cent of the nation's potential voters went to the polls in the November election? Consideration should be given to making election day a national holiday so that the people can have adequate time to exercise the right to vote, so dearly earned by so many, over so long a period of time.

Violence and intimidation—as the tragic events at Orangeburg, S. C., earlier this year illustrated—have not abated in the South. White resistance to school desegregation continues—as we have seen in South Carolina and Mobile, Ala., and many other places, where white parents have organized to block effective progress toward eliminating the dual school system. In the 14 years since the *Brown* decision outlawing segregated public education, the rate of school integration in the South still hovers at a low level of tokenism. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare figures for the 1967-68 school year, only 14 per cent of the South's black children were enrolled in desegregated schools. For the Deep South the figures were: Alabama, 5.4 per cent; Mississippi, 3.9 per cent; South Carolina, 6.4 per cent; Louisiana, 6.7 per cent, and Georgia, 9.9 per cent.

The critical problem of poverty in the South must not be ignored by the new administration. In spite of much national publicity, children are still hungry in Mississippi and throughout the South. In spite of national concern over technological unemployment, men are still being driven from the land to huddle in the slums of our large cities. As critical as the problem of technological unemployment is the depressing reality of widespread under-employment. In many areas of the South the percentage of the labor force designated "unemployed" is about the national average, but the income in those areas is less than half the national average. Southerners, black and white, work long hours for

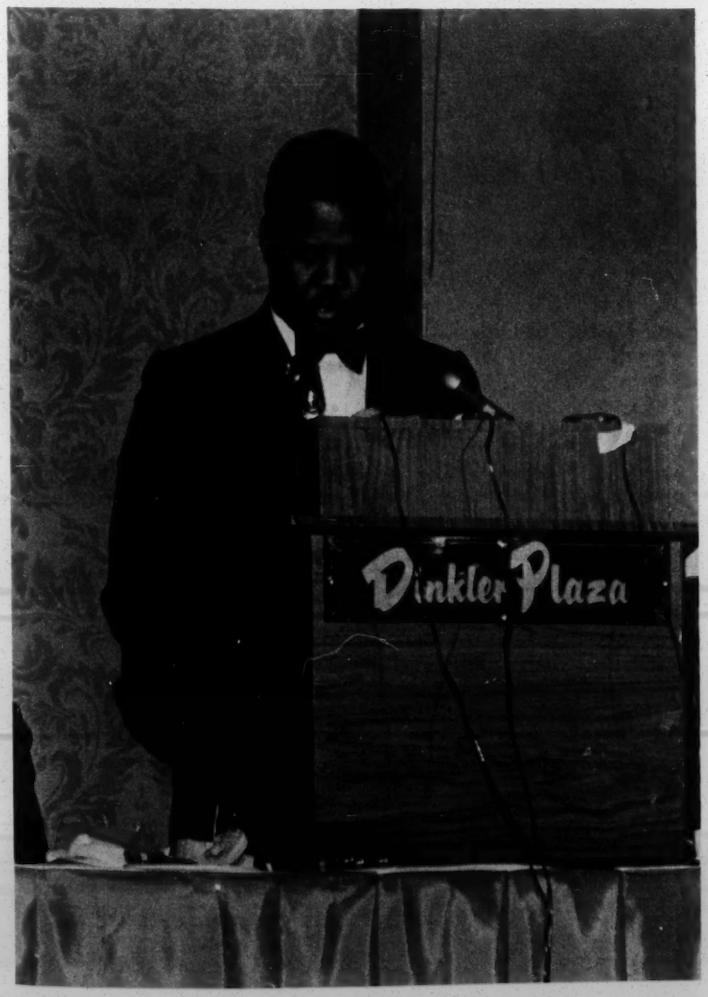
low pay. Minimum wage laws must be broadened and enforced.

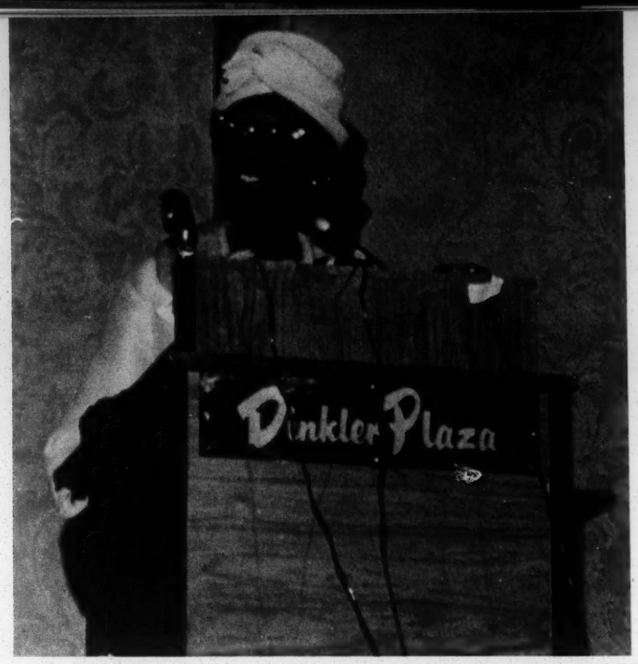
As part of a short-term solution to some of the more critical problems of the poor, uniform federal regulations are needed to govern the administration of public assistance programs in the states. Under present state welfare structures it is possible for states to impose restrictive regulations which bar the most needy from welfare rolls. However, the concept of public assistance itself needs to be re-evaluated with the understanding that welfare is not a privilege bestowed upon the needy in the way of charity, but a clear legal right. Hand in hand with such a re-evaluation, additional jobs and job training programs must be created.

We want to thank the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council for bringing us together and giving us the tools and techniques we need to improve our performance as elected officials.

As more of us take office and as we become more deeply involved in the problems of our constituencies, gatherings like this one, on regional, state and local levels, must be continued to help us keep abreast of the complexities of modern government.

Events of the past four years in the nation's alienated black ghettos should have taught us that the just and human needs of the country's black minority cannot be ignored, or appeased with high-sounding words. We are not yet a nation separate, but we are most assuredly a nation unequal.





'...The Polling Place Is the New Phase...'

Mrs. Shirley Chisholm *of New York, whose luncheon speech closed the Southwide Conference Dec. 14, was elected Nov. 5 as the first Negro Congresswoman in history. Elected from Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district, she had previously served in the state Assembly.*

Those of you who know me know that I am very forthright and very frank. And so I am not going to be giving you a lot of little pieces of dessert this afternoon. I'm going to tell it to you like it is, because we've got to realize that we are going through a very important social revolution in this country.

Someone made a reference a little bit earlier to the fact that we had women on the stage. Perhaps this might be ladies afternoon or ladies evening. I want to be very sincere when I say to you that there is a tremendous need for women to be in the political arena. I would hope, in the near future, that we would not pay so much attention as to whether a person is male or female, but that we would rather look at the assets and the attributes of those people who can help to liberate our race eventually. I think that must be the criteria.

Yes, from February through Nov. 5 of this year, I have been at it in the streets. And there were so many whisperings going on that "you can't make it because you are a woman." Well, ladies and gentlemen, here I am!

While nothing is easy for the black man in America, neither is anything impossible. Like all men, rather, we are moving along, and we will continue to move resolutely until our goal of complete and unequivocal equality is obtained. We must not be docile. We must not be resigned or inwardly bitter. We must see ourselves in an entirely new perspective, and we cannot sit in our homes waiting for someone to reach out and do things for us. Every tomorrow has two hands—the hand of fate or the hand of anxiety. And the first battle is won, my brothers and sisters, when we fight for belief in ourselves and find that it has come to us.

While we are still battling, we must not allow petty things to come to us and stimulate them into vast proportions of evil. To dwell on every slight and clutch it close to our breasts and nourish it will corrode our thinking. We are on the move now, and as Frederick Douglass said, "Power concedes nothing without a struggle. It never has and it never will." And the United States can no longer afford the luxury of costly, morally, religiously and ethically wrong racial discrimination. For America needs all of its citizens, with the ability to develop, to make a fuller contribution.

Many problems scream loudly—the thousands of black citizens, with franchise, living under degrading conditions; the millions of poor throughout this affluent nation, white and black, who lack the bare rudiments for fruitful living; the rapidly growing numbers of children caught in a web of disillusionment which destroys their will to learn, the increasing number of aged who do not look forward to rest or to retirement. And despite the historic legislation of our cities and our states, nearly 11 million black citizens today still live in basic ghetto communities of our cities.

From decades of non-participation, or only modest participation, the black man has, within only the last four years, shifted his goal to full political participation for full American citizenship. While on the picket line, at the lunch counter, and in the bus and store boycotts, the black man came face to face with the full breadth and weight of the power and influence exercised by local and state government, intertwining with and often stifling the protest. Indeed, a principle by-product of the American civil rights movement has been the election of the black citizen to his awesome political potential. And just as the picket line and the lunch counter demonstrations and the boycotts were dramatic and effective weapons of protest for the civil rights movement, the polling place, my friends, is the new phase and new thrust of the Negroes' bid for equality of opportunity.

Power concedes nothing. How else can any man rise to power and hold sway over millions and tens of thousands except by smothering dissenting voices? Freedom is an endless horizon and there are many roads that lead to it. We must walk arm in arm with other men, and we must struggle towards goals which are commonly desired and sound. We must give and lend to the youth a stronger voice and encourage their individuality. We must look to the schools and work for their improvement. The leaders of today in the black community must be able to place the goal of freedom ahead of personal ambition. The truly dedicated leader follows his conscience, tells what is best for his people.

Whatever else the black man is, he is American. Whatever he is to become—integrated, unintegrated, or disintegrated—he will become it in America. Only a minority of blacks has ever succumbed to the temptation to seek greener pastures in another country or another ideology. The black man's total commitment to America indicates that the prospects ahead seem bright. It is true that we are angry about our present

plight, for we measure this country by her potential rather than by her achievements.

And Black Power is, indeed, a reality that is gaining in emotional intensity, if not always rational clarity. The harnessing and solidification of Afro-American power is constantly being dissipated with factionalism. Internal struggle for power by one group over another and forgetting the masses—this behavior is no different from that of the whites. But we as a people cannot afford the luxury of fighting among ourselves if we are to make real progress in this country.

Black people will gain only as much as they can win through their ability to organize independent bases of economic and political power through boycotts, electoral activities, rent strikes, etc. Black Power is concerned with organizing the rage of black people and is putting new, hard questions and demands to white America. We will build a new sense of community amongst our people. We will foster a bond between those who have made it and those on the bottom. And as Mr. Hamilton says, "Alienation will be overcome, and trust, the thing that our people are looking for, trust, will be restored."

Let us remember that a great people are not affected by each puff of wind that blows ill. We must fight for belief in ourselves. And, above all, we must hearken back to the days of darkness when Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist, even in those times, echoed the famous phrase that has come, realistically, to haunt the black people in America as they fight to enter the mixed stream of political and economic life in these United States, the land of their birth. And that phrase is, "Power concedes nothing."

Let me say to you, my brothers and sisters, that until we can organize to create black unity with an economic base, until we can develop a plan for action to achieve the goals to make us totally independent and not have to look to The Man in order to live, we are not liberated. We must become doers and producers in this system in order to be able to control our destiny. We have the potential, but we must consolidate all of our strength for eventual liberation.

And let me say, off the cuff, a few things that are beating in my breast.

As I travel around the country now, speaking to groups, I must share these things. During my congressional campaign in Brooklyn I had the opportunity to talk with many of the black and white students on the various campuses; and to a large extent, many of these students came in and were a vital part of my campaign. And one of the things that these students, both black and white, indicated to me: Mrs. Chisholm, you have become a new symbol; a new kind of politician that is emerging. And I would ask them to elaborate on what the statement meant. Listen, this is what young people are saying in this country. They say you represent the type of politician that the people can trust implicitly; the type of politician that will not exploit their people for personal self-aggrandizement; the type of politician that is unbought and unbossed.

Those of you who have been following my career ever since I emerged five years ago know that the symbol under which I have operated is unbought and unbossed, and I think you can understand when I say to you that this does not endear me to the political structure. For I have the courage of my convictions. If you are truly going to give your people a sense of direction and a sense of leadership, you have to be able to relate to the people only and be prepared to take the consequences as a result of your actions, because this is what black people are looking for in America today.

They are disillusioned, they are apathetic, and there are many more reasons why many of our people don't go to the polls in spite of all of the barriers that have been held against them, particularly in the Southern part of this country. Many of them don't go to the polls because the public officials that they put in office forget them when they get in office. And we cannot afford that luxury. Yet, people have said to me ever since I emerged four years ago, you are committing political suicide, because I refused to do things for political expediency. When I should leave this scene, I want to be remembered, not as the first black woman to go to the United States Congress, although this is a historical fact. I want to be remembered as a politician that entered the arena where the people had real hope, not in terms of the words that I mouth day to day, but in terms of my actions and my attitudes in my community. That is what I want to be remembered for.

Yes, it was a very tough struggle, a very hard struggle this year. First in the primary of June I was up against the most popular state senator, another woman. The senator was The Man's "boy," because in the meeting they had indicated, "Yes, Mrs. Chisholm has ability; yes, Mrs. Chisholm is a fighter; but you can't cope with the woman." It isn't a question of coping with the woman, it's a question of trying to manipulate my conscience and dictate to my mind what I must do. And I said then—and I continue to say it—I know a person that's fiery and independent-minded in the political arena, I know that their days may be shortened. But I am not going to worry about that. Fortunately for me, I have a theory that many people don't accept. And maybe many of the people in this room will not accept it. But I believe this theory on the basis of my political activity for 20 years behind the scenes—only having emerged five years ago. The black people in America must have leadership that for the most part is educationally and/or financially secure. Because the temptations that are placed in the paths of many of us, many of us are not strong enough to resist.

I think that if we understand these basic things, then we can hope to restore some faith in our people. They will go to the polls, the registration drives will be increased because of the fact that their elected officials have indicated by their actions that they are fighting for them, that they are with them, that they are prepared to take the consequences of their actions. If we do this, I can assure you that the registration drives and the political activity during election time will become greater. But we have to prove this.

They told me that they could not back me for the United States Congress, even though the people in that community had last December come together and interviewed 11 others who were potential candidates. And the citizens had said we want Shirley Chisholm to go to Congress, because she has beaten the machine at the polls and the woman cannot be controlled, and we know that we can sleep at night when that woman's voice is in Washington. But the very assets that the people found in me I later learned were things that were

against me politically, and hence the party boys did not give me the designation.

And of course, like many people, I suppose I should have stepped back, I should not have bothered, because I had four strikes against me. Number one, I was not a darling of the party. Number two, I was a woman. Number three, I was a black woman. And number four, I sure didn't have congressional money to run.

But you know what really made me decide to run? Not only the fact that I've always risen to challenges, but the fact that a woman came to my home on Sunday morning—I remember the state Legislature was still in session—that was way back in March. She came to my home one Sunday morning and rang the doorbell. I went downstairs and opened the door. I think I see her now. A very fat, middle-aged black woman, timidly entering my living room and pulling out of her pocketbook a crumpled, dirty white envelope. And I saw her taking this envelope out—it was kind of heavy—and as she extended it to me, she said, "Mrs. Chisholm you know, we welfare people hate you politicians because you're always fattening yourselves. We don't believe in helping you because so many of you forget about it. But Mrs. Chisholm, for the 10 years before you entered the political arena and for the four years that you have served in the state Legislature, when we learned in this community that you were going to run for the United States Congress, a group of us welfare mothers decided to get together and have our own little thing going each Friday night in order to raise some money to help you to buy stamps." And she gave me an envelope—I will never spend that money—the first contribution I got to my congressional campaign—$9.69 in coins.

If I had any doubts about running, that erased every doubt. I made my mind up that I had to run although many persons had cautioned me. They said, "Shirley, no one can run in your district against you for the state Assembly and win. That's your seat. You could stay there as long as you want to. Why are you giving up a sure thing to run for a congressional seat when you have so many odds against you. I said yes, I may have odds against me, but I have a little talk with the Man above each night, and I have a talk with the grassroots in the community, and they say, "Chisholm, run." And I ran. It was the toughest campaign that I've ever run in my life.

During the course of the campaign, right after I won the primary in June, I became ill. I had to go to the hospital to get an operation, and I was out of circulation for about seven weeks. My people became very concerned because my opponent was going up and down the district, and every day it would seem that he would be nearer and nearer to my door; and there was of course a certain amount of anxiety. But always deep down within me I knew that in spite of what was happening, I was going to win. Because I had indicated by my life, from the day I was born in that community, that I had served and worked with those people even before they ever thought of sending me to political office. And I knew that they would not forget. In spite of whomsoever the powers wanted to throw out there against me, I knew that the people would not forget me. Many workers came to my home as I lay on my bed trying to recuperate, and they were crying and upset. They said, "Chisholm you're so near to it, but yet so far, because the people in the district are saying they don't hear your voice on the soundtruck."

Ever since I have emerged I don't campaign indoors, I bring them out to the streets. Let the people dig you, let the people see you. And I believe in campaigning in the streets and in the housing projects and at the rallies. Because then this is where the truth and sincerity of everything comes out and you have to face that populace. You don't have to get away with gimmicks.

Finally, I said to my doctor—and he'd known me for a long time—I said, "Doc, I've got to go." He said "Shirley, I'm going to tell you, you have got to keep quiet for a while. I know that you're itching to go, but you've had an operation and you cannot use up your energy." And I remember so well that I said to him, "But Doc, the stitches aren't in my mouth, they're on my body." And he said, "Well, if you feel that you're strong enough to go out on your soundtrucks and tell the people your story, well, then you can go."

And believe it or not, the moment I got up to go into those streets until Nov. 5, I didn't even remember I had an operation. God is with me, and I went out in those streets and I did the kind of job that had to be done.

And now I know every eye is going to be focused on me. I went down to Washington last week for three days to look for a place to live, to hire a staff, to do a lot of odds and ends. And as I walked into the House of Representatives' restaurant, as I came down the steps, some of the members of the House of Representatives were eating; and I saw the elbows just hitting each other, as I came down the steps. Well, I guess you can imagine what was being said. And they came over, and one of them had the nerve to say to me, "You know, we heard *all* about you in New York, and we know you're a tough cookie, but we have been waiting for you. We're going to have some fun with you, Shirley Chisholm." And I said, "Sir, you must remember that fun doesn't necessarily work in one way. I'm going to have some fun with you, too."

And so, my dear brothers and sisters, I rise to the challenge of the awesome responsibility that has now been placed upon my shoulders, to be the first black woman to sit in the United States House of Representatives. And although I specifically represent the 12th Congressional District of New York State, I know that I am a voice for all of the blacks in America.

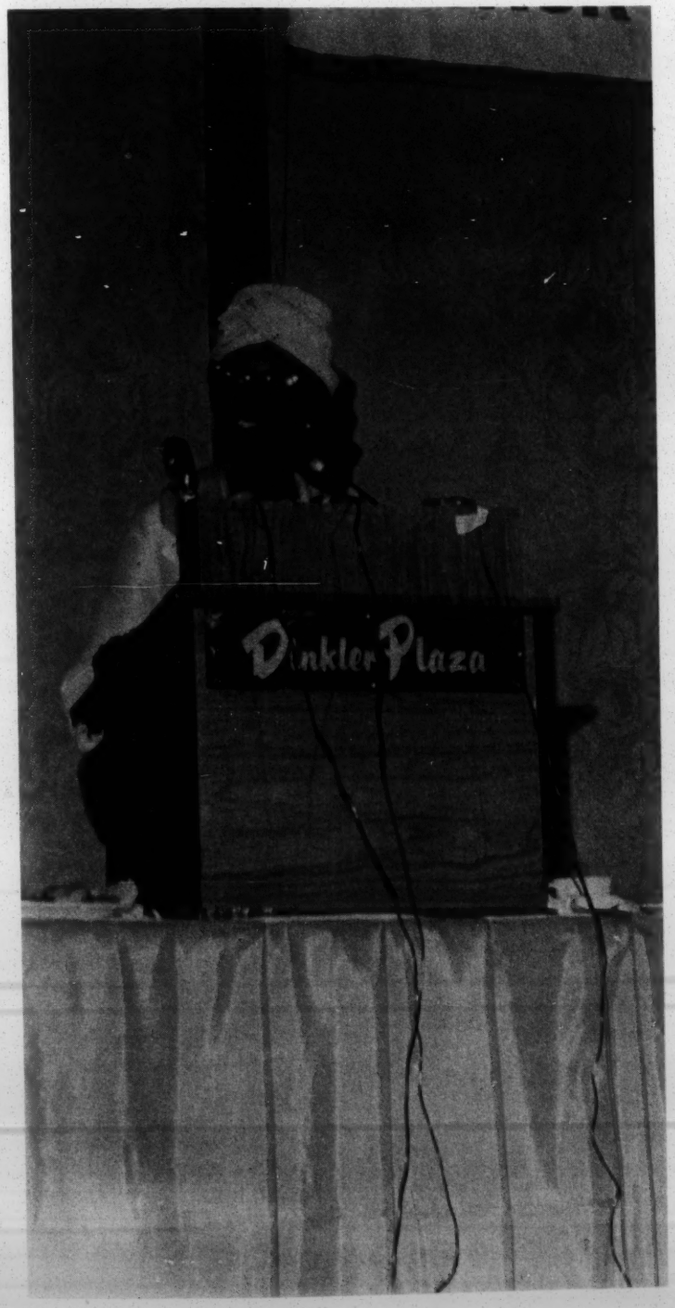
I don't know if many of you also realize that I was elected at the Democratic National Convention as the first black person to be a national committeewoman of New York State. I say this for one specific reason, because somebody said it to me a couple of weeks ago: "Shirley Chisholm, how can you rise within the ranks of the party so quickly, within a four-year period, from a poll leader all the way up to Congresswoman, and then go to the convention and emerge as a national committeewoman for the party—and yet you are not really a part of the machine?" And I said to the person, "Don't you recognize that the revolution is here, that the people are making their decisions now on the basis of what you can do to help liberate them?" And that's why I am rising. Because even though the bosses kept trying to stop me at the convention, when I ran in the district, the people kept telling them by their support, "Why don't you leave her alone?"

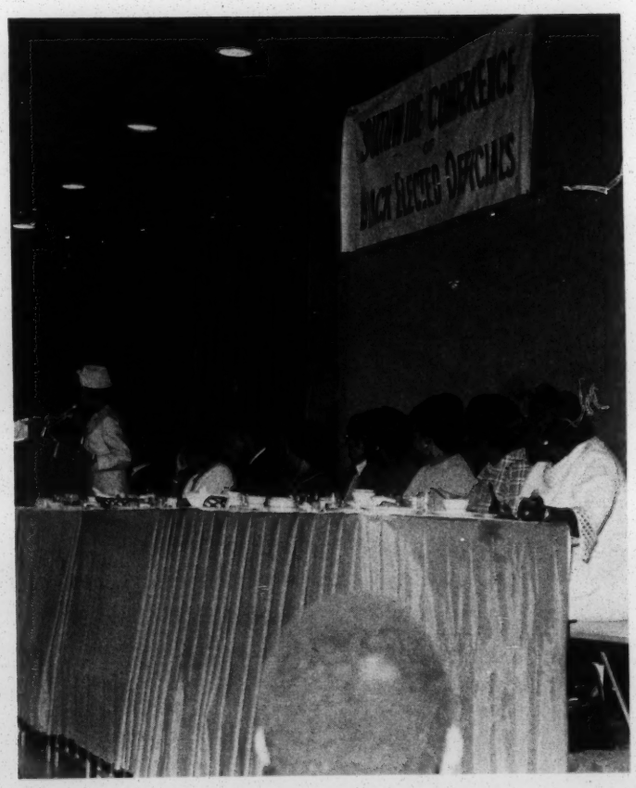
I think now that they recognize one thing about me,

if nothing else. I love a good fight. And you don't tell me that you're going to try to destroy me without my attempting to show you what I can do with my 100-pound self.

God bless all of you. Pray for me, because I am going to need prayers. But one thing I do know, that the black people in this country will be very proud of their first black woman to go to Congress, because I'm going to live the life and fight the good fight. Because the time has come when we can no longer be the passive recipients of whatever the politics or the morals of a nation may decree, but that we shall rise up and fight for that which we believe.

Forget what the world will say, whether you're in your place or out of your place. Forget conventionalism. Speak your best words. Do your best deeds. Fight your best fight, looking only to God and to your conscience for approval.





ELECTED OFFICIALS WHO ATTENDED CONFERENCE

ALABAMA

Lucius Amerson
Sheriff
Tuskegee

A. R. Ashley
Justice of Peace
Tuskegee

Mrs. Alice Belle
Constable
Coatopa

Dr. Prosanto K. Biswas
School Board
Tuskegee

Albert C. Bulls Jr.
City Council
Tuskegee

William J. Childs
Justice of Peace
Tuskegee

Joe L. DuBose
City Council
Fairfield

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Board of Revenue
Tuskegee

Jesse Favor
Justice of Peace
Hayneville

Davie Frazier
Justice of Peace
Troy

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
School Board
Tuskegee

Isaiah Hayes III
Justice of Peace
Attalla

Mr. T. R. Hayes
Justice of Peace
Magnolia

Elias Hendricks
Constable
Birmingham

John Hoard
Justice of Peace
Livingston

Rev. Peter Kirksey
County School Board
Boligee

Afton M. Lee Sr.
City Council
Homewood

Samuel Little
School Board (Chairman)
Eppes

L. A. Locklair
Tax Collector
Tuskegee

Miss Patricia McAlpin
Justice of Peace
Gadsden

Wilbur Miller
City Council
Roosevelt City

Lorenzo S. Mitchell
City Council
Bessemer

Aris Morris
Justice of Peace
West Attalla

Thomas J. Norwood
Justice of Peace
Birmingham

Virgie Lee Pearson
City Council
Fairfield

Freddie C. Rogers
Mayor
Roosevelt City

Calvin Smith
City Council
Roosevelt City

J. R. Striplin
Mayor
Hobson City

Lewis Thomas
Constable
Panola

Mrs. Tessie Thomas
Justice of Peace
Panola

Harold Webb
Board of Revenue
Tuskegee

Mrs. Annie B. Williams
Justice of Peace
Panola

Jimmie Lee Williams
City Council
Fairfield

Mrs. Bettie Wimbley
Justice of Peace
Witfield

Lee D. Young
City Council
Hobson City

ARKANSAS

Mrs. Mabel Allen
School Board
Eudora

Charles Bussey
City Manager's Board
Little Rock

Johnnie Gay
Mayor
Humnoke

J. D. Hammond
School Board
Menifee

Woodrow Keown
Justice of Peace
Little Rock

Rev. G. R. Mazique
Aldermanic Board
Helena

Arthur H. Miller
School Board
Pine Bluff

T. E. Patterson
School Board
Little Rock

Frank Smith
Mayor
Menifee

John W. Smith
School Board
North Little Rock

Rev. G. Edward West
City Board of Directors
Fort Smith

FLORIDA

Bobby E. Brooks
City Commission
Riviera Beach

Earl J. Carroll
County Commission
Miami

Jackie Caynon
City Council
Fort Pierce

George H. Gause
City Commission
Bartow

James Huger
City Council
Daytona Beach

Earl Johnson
City Council
Jacksonville

Mrs. Sallye B. Mathis
City Council
Jacksonville

William Shellman
Constable
Jacksonville

Oscar N. Taylor
City Council
Jacksonville

Rudolph Von Slaughter
City Commission
Melbourne

Boisy Waiters
City Commission
Dania

Ozie F. Youngblood
City Commission
Del Ray Beach

GEORGIA

William H. Alexander
State House
Atlanta

Julian Bond
State House
Atlanta

Benjamin D. Brown
State House
Atlanta

J. C. Daugherty
State House
Atlanta

James E. Dean
State House
Atlanta

Clarence G. Ezzard
State House
Atlanta

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
State House
Atlanta

Bobby L. Hill
State House
Savannah

Miss Edith Jacqueline Ingram
Ordinary
Sparta

Leroy Johnson
State Senate
Atlanta

John McCown
County Commission
Sparta

E. J. Shepherd
State House
Atlanta

Rev. L. Scott Stell Jr.
County Commission
Savannah

Dr. Horace E. Tate
City School Board
Atlanta

Albert Thompson
State House
Columbus

Horace T. Ward
State Senate
Atlanta

Q. V. Williamson
Board of Aldermen
Atlanta

Asa G. Yancey
City School Board
Atlanta

LOUISIANA

Wesley Albert Sr.
Justice of Peace
New Roads

Morris Barnes
Constable
Palmetto

Larry Balthazar
Ward Constable
Natchez

John Bobb Jr.
City Council
Grand Coteau

Anderson Broussard
Justice of Peace
Franklin

Felton C. Ceasar
Justice of Peace
Welcome

Oliver Cooper
Police Jury
Welcome

Eddie Davis
Police Jury
Weyanoke

Joseph M. Davis
Police Jury
Jeanerette

Joseph Delphin
Justice of Peace
Natchez

Joseph A. Delpit
City Council
Baton Rouge

L. D. Land
Aldermanic Board
Grambling

Ledell Mackie
Police Jury
St. Francisville

Mrs. Helena B. McClinton
School Board
Tallulah

Ernest Metz
Constable
Franklin

Henry A. Montgomery
Aldermanic Board
Ferriday

Thomas Nelson
Constable
New Roads

Joseph A. (Joe) Pete
City Council
Crowley

Joseph Russell Richard Sr.
Town Council
Grand Coteau

Watson Sanders
Police Jury
Sondheimer

Arthur D. Smith
Aldermanic Board
Grambling

Nathaniel Smith Sr.
Police Jury
St. Francisville

Peter Smith
City Council &
Mayor pro tem
Grand Coteau

Rev. O. L. Virgil
Police Jury
Lake Providence

MISSISSIPPI

Howard T. Bailey
Election Commission
Lexington

Miss Julia Banks
Election Commission
Fayette

Osborne Bell
Coroner
Holly Springs

Ellis Braxton
Election Commission
Lorman

Robert G. Clark
State House
Lexington

Mrs. Geneva Collins
Chancery Clerk
Port Gibson

John Daugherty
Election Commission
Lamar

Mrs. Gladys Davis
Election Commission
Woodville

Sylvester Gaines
Board of Supervisors
Lorman

Mrs. Flonzie Belle Goodloe
Election Commission
Canton

James Gray
Election Commission
Port Gibson

John Green
County School Board
Woodville

Mrs. Marie Green
County School Board
Woodville

Sol Jackson
Election Commission
Fayette

Everett Jennings
Election Commission
Hermansville

Elra Johnson
Election Commission
Durant

James Jolliff Jr.
Board of Supervisors
Woodville

Charlie Jones
Justice of Peace
Coahoma

Mrs. Martha Lee
Justice of Peace
Lorman

Wesley Liddell
Mayor
Mound Bayou

Horace Lightfoot
County School Board
Port Gibson

Earlie Lott
Constable
Fayette

Mrs. Arenia C. Mallory
County School Board
Lexington

Griffin McLaurin
Constable
Tchula

Leander Monroe
Constable
Port Gibson

Mrs. Legora A. Reed
City Council
Mound Bayou

U. S. Rimmer
Justice of Peace
Camden

Floyd Rollins
Election Commission
Port Gibson

William Matt Ross
Board of Supervisors
Port Gibson

James Shanks
Alderman
Jonestown

Burrell Tate
Election Commission
Pickens

Willie Thompson
Justice of Peace
Fayette

Mathew Walker
Justice of Peace
Rolling Fork

McEwen Walker
Constable
Waterford

Robert Lee Williams
School Board
Lorman

NORTH CAROLINA

Henry Frye
State House
Greensboro

Clarence E. Lightner
City Council
Raleigh

Fred D. McNeill Jr.
County School Board
Durham

Carl H. Russell
City Council
Winston-Salem

Asa T. Spaulding
County Commission
Durham

John S. Stewart
City Council
Durham

SOUTH CAROLINA

Leroy E. Browne
City Board of Directors
Frogmore

St. Julian Devine
City Council
Charleston

Anthony Eddings
Magistrate
Frogmore

Herman H. Felix
City Council
Lynchburg

David Jones
County Board of Directors
Hilton Head

Eddie Kline
Magistrate
Dale

J. O. Wendell Martin
County Council
Jenkinsville

John L. McCoy
City Council
Great Falls

Mrs. Frieda R. Mitchell
Board of Education
Sheldon

Charles H. Ross
Mayor
Summerville

Arnic Washington
Town Council
Summerville

Joseph Wright
City Council
Beaufort

TENNESSEE

Mrs. Gladys Allen
Magistrate
Oakland

Dennis Banks
Constable
Knoxville

Robert J. Booker
State House
Knoxville

Lawrence Curry
Constable
Chattanooga

Fred L. Davis
City Council
Memphis

John Driver
City Council
Nashville

Alvin King
State House
Memphis

Harold M. Love
State House
Nashville

Rev. James L. Netters
City Council
Memphis

Dan Nixon
Magistrate
Brownsville

Sherman Perry
Magistrate
Oakland

A. D. Powell
Magistrate
Brownsville

Rev. Robert Richards
Justice of Peace
Chattanooga

James I. Taylor
State House
Memphis

Avon N. Williams, Jr.
State Senate
Nashville

TEXAS

Harmon Bell
City Council
Bryan

I. W. Brown
Board of Aldermen
Malakoff

Asberry Butler
School Board
Houston

Mrs. Exalton A. Delco Jr.
School Board
Austin

Wilbert Lee Eagleton
School Board
Crosby

Dr. Marion G. Ford
School Board
Houston

Curtis M. Graves
State House
Houston

Arthur J. Guidry
Mayor Pro Tem
Port Arthur

Zan Wesley Holmes Jr.
State House
Dallas

Scott E. Johnson
City Council
Huntsville

Alfred Zack McElroy
School Board President
Port Arthur

John Miles Jr.
City Council
Hearne

William H. Taft
School Board
Beaumont

Harrison E. Taylor
Board of Aldermen
Wichita Falls

VIRGINIA

Rev. Lawrence A. Davies
City Council
Fredericksburg

Charles H. Harris
City Council
Danville

William D. Hobson
City Council
Martinsville

Dr. James W. Holley III
City Council
Portsmouth

Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
City Council
Norfolk

Henry L. Marsh III
City Council
Richmond

W. Ferguson Reid
State House
Richmond

Moses Riddick
Board of Supervisors
Suffolk

S. O. Sykes
Board of Supervisors
Southhampton

Raymond Turner
City Council
Portsmouth

Voter Education Project

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Advisory Committee

Dr. Samuel D. Cook, Chairman

Paul Anthony
Julian Bond
Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Jesse Hill
Norman Hill
Frank Smith
Dr. C. H. Thomas, Jr.
John Wheeler
James E. Youngdahl

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Marvin Wall
Director of Research

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Gwendolyn Poole
Secretary-Receptionist

Lynne Wisdom
Asst. to the Conference Coordinator

*At the time of the conference

● *Photos by Booker Lockhart, Harmon Perry and Marge Manderson*

Larry

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

Voter Education Project
Of the Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1

ROSTER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

Introduction

Prior to the inception of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project there was no record maintained of Negro citizens in the South who had been elected to public office, the chief reason being that such a phenomenon was virtually unknown until recent years. As the sixties began, only a handful of black persons had managed to gain political office in the South, and this primarily in the region's more enlightened metropolitan areas. In 1965, as the Voting Rights Act went into effect, the Voter Education Project listed some 72 black elected officials in the eleven Southern states covered by the Southern Regional Council. Now, with substantial gains in the 1968 elections, the count stands at 388. Their names, addresses and offices are the content of this special report.

With the first publication of this directory it must be recognized that systems for gathering the information contained herein are still being perfected by the Voter Education Project, the only agency in the region maintaining such records. Inevitably there will be some margin of error in terms of persons who have gone out of office and others who have been elected whom we have not heard about.

First assembled in preparation for the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials convened in Atlanta in December of 1968 by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, this directory is now made available in the hope that

it will contribute to the ever-increasing political involvement of black persons in the South who, heretofore, have been denied full and free participation in the various levels of government in the region.

No effort has been made here to describe the various offices in the respective states to which black persons have been elected, most of which are self-evident in the ordinary terms of governmental nomenclature. However, it can be noted that the various states use widely differing titles for what we ordinarily call the county commission. In Louisiana it is called the police jury. In Virginia and Mississippi it is the board of supervisors, etc.

Note also might be taken of the fact that in Virginia all members of school boards are appointed. Thus, this directory shows no black persons serving as school board members in Virginia, which there, in fact, are. We include here <u>only</u> those persons who have run for and been elected to public office acknowledging at the same time that gains also have been made in the number of appointive offices held by blacks.

We will, of course, make every effort to keep this directory current. In the future, it might be updated and re-issued from time to time. Therefore, we will be most grateful to anyone who supplies us with corrections and additions.

John B. Morris

January 8, 1969 Conference Coordinator

BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

	ALA.	ARK.	FLA.	GA.	LA.	MISS.	N. C.	S. C.	TENN.	TEXAS	VA.	TOTAL	
Legislators													
State Senate				2					2	1		5	30
State House			1	12	1	1	1		6	2	1	25	
City Officials													
Mayor	3	4			1	1		1				10	
City Council	28	10	15	6	13	7	11	15	8	10	18	141	152
Civil Service Board			1									1	
County Officials													
County Governing Board	2		1	5	11	4	1	4	5		2	35	
County Administration	1			1		1					1	4	54
Election Commission						15						15	
Law Enforcement Officials													
Judge, District Court							1					1	
Sheriff	1											1	
Coroner	1					1						2	
Town Marshal					2							2	81
Magistrate								4	4			8	
Constable	6		1		8	5			3			23	
Justice of the Peace	20	3			8	10			1		2	44	
School Board Officials													
School Board Members	5	33		3	9	6	4	2	1	8		71	71
TOTALS	67	50	19	29	53	51	18	26	30	21	24	388	388

Chart prepared as of information on hand January 10, 1969.
In Tennessee one man serves both as State Representative & City Councilman.

ALABAMA

William C. Allen
Justice of Peace
Drawer A
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Lucius Amerson
Sheriff
109 N. Elm St.
Tuskegee, Ala. 36083

A. R. Ashley
Justice of Peace
305 Bruce St.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

C. R. Atkinson
City Council
7 Draper St.
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

David Barnes
City Council
Triana, Ala. 35601

Hillie Belcher
Justice of Peace
Box 1
Faunsdale, Ala. 36738

Mrs. Alice Belle
Constable
Box 34
Coatopa, Ala. 35450

Frank H. Bentley, Jr.
City Council
Drawer 1099
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

John S. Billingsley
City Council
301-B Brighton Ave.
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Dr. Prosanto K. Biswas
School Board
Box 245
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Albert C. Bulls, Jr.
City Council
211 Althea St.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

William J. Childs
Justice of Peace
1802 Patterson St.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Jerry D. Coleman
City Council
228 63rd St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

Robert Conley
City Council
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

Joe L. DuBose
City Council
517 63rd St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Board of Revenue
Box 58
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Jesse Favor
Justice of Peace
Route 1, Box 145M
Tyler, Ala. 36785

Joe L. Fletcher
City Council
Triana, Ala. 35601

Clyde Foster
Mayor
Rt. 3, Box 128
Madison, Ala. 35758

Theodore Fox
City Council
157 South Spring St.
Jacksonville, Ala. 36265

Davie Frazier
Justice of Peace
214 Segar St.
Troy, Ala. 36081

T. M. Gilchrist
Justice of Peace
c/o Lowndes County Christian
Movement
Hayneville, Ala. 36040

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
School Board
308 Bibb St.
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

William Griffin
City Council
Triana, Ala. 35601

James M. Harper
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 62
Thomasville, Ala. 36784

A. M. Hayden
City Council
Box 201
Uniontown, Ala. 36786

Isaiah Hayes, III
Justice of Peace
407 13th Ave., N. W.
Attalla, Ala. 35954

Mr. T. R. Hayes
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 7
Magnolia, Ala. 36754

Dr. J. H. M. Henderson
School Board
Box 247
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Elias Hendricks
Constable
1144 24th Ave. N.
Birmingham, Ala. 35204

Oscar Hildreth
Justice of Peace
c/o James Harper
Rt. 1, Box 62
Thomasville, Ala. 36784

James Johnson
Constable
609 Alder Ave.
Birmingham, Ala. 35214

John Hoard
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 228
Livingston, Ala. 35470

Earl Jerone King
Justice of Peace
Rt. 6, Box 38
Gadsden, Ala. 35901

Rev. Peter Kirksey
County School Board
Rt. 1, Box D-19
Boligee, Ala. 35443

McKinley Kolb
City Council
5321 Court G
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

Afton M. Lee, Sr.
City Council
1718 S. 27th Ave.
Homewood, Ala. 35209

Samuel Little
School Board (Chairman)
Rt. 1, Box 14-C
Eppes, Ala. 35406

L. A. Locklair
Tax Collector
P. O. Box 1163
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Miss Patricia McAlpin
Justice of Peace
516 N. 9th St.
Gadsden, Ala. 35901

Ernest McLin, Sr.
City Council
121 61st St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

John L. Mason
City Council
612 Grays St.
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Wilbur Miller
City Council
628 Country Club Drive
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Lorenzo S. Mitchell
City Council
401 Brighton Ave.
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Aris Morris
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1, Box 412-C
West Attalla, Ala. 35954

Thomas J. Norwood
Justice of Peace
1200 5th Place
Birmingham, Ala. 35214

Virgie Lee Pearson
City Council
328 57th St.
Fairfield, Ala. 35064

William T. Peterson
City Council
Box 143 Rainbow Drive
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Freddie C. Rogers
Mayor
317 Woodward Ave.
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

Richard Rowe
Constable
General Delivery
Witfield, Ala. 36923

Arthur Shores
City Council
P. O. Box 1668
Birmingham, Ala. 35201

Calvin Smith
City Council
Rt. 4, Box 521-B
Roosevelt City, Ala. 35020

James M. Snow
City Council
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

Mrs. Willie Maud Snow
City Council
404 Lincoln St.
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

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City Council
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

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Mayor
712 Park Ave.
Hobson City, Ala. 36201

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Box 873
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

James R. Weatherly
Coroner
c/o Courthouse
Livingston, Ala. 35470

Harold Webb
Board of Revenue
102 Chambliss
Tuskegee, Ala. 36083

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Birmingham, Ala. 35221

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General Delivery
Witfield, Ala. 36923

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ARKANSAS

Mrs. Mabel Allen
School Board
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Eudora, Ark. 71640

Earl Austin
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

D. B. Bell
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

Mervin Bell
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

Alex Brown
School Board
General Delivery
Tucker, Ark. 72168

Charles Bussey
City Manager's Board
1860 Izard St., S.
Little Rock, Ark. 72206

R. C. Cravens
School Board
General Delivery
Lockesburg, Ark. 71846

Sammie A. Criswell
School Board
Route 1, Box 79
Springfield, Ark. 72157

Cain Crockran
School Board
General Delivery
Solgohachia, Ark. 72156

Dennis Curry
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Grady, Ark. 71644

Mrs. Syble Dockery
School Board
Rt. 1
Bucker, Ark. 71827

Press Dorris
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721 Walnut St.
North Little Rock, Ark. 72114

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Alderman
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Dumas, Ark. 71639

DeArthur Grice
School Board
General Delivery
Moscow, Ark. 71659

J. C. Hamilton
School Board
Route 5, Box 320
Pine Bluff, Ark. 71601

J. D. Hammond
School Board
General Delivery
Menifee, Ark. 72107

R. E. Hemphill
School Board
General Delivery
Center Ridge, Ark. 72027

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Route 5, Box 322
Magnolia, Ark. 71753

Frank Hunter
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Route 3, Box 98
Sheridan, Ark. 72150

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Town Hall
Reed, Ark. 71670

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Stephens, Ark. 71764

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Earle, Ark. 72331

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General Delivery
Banks, Ark. 71631

Miss Minnie Macklin
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General Delivery
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Pine Bluff, Ark. 71602

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School Board
General Delivery
Ashdown, Ark. 71822

Ladell Morris
Aldermanic and School Boards
General Delivery
Menifee, Ark. 72107

Ivory Murphy
School Board
Route 2
Chidester, Ark. 71726

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General Delivery
Wabbaseka, Ark. 72175

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Town Hall
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401 W. 21st St.
North Little Rock, Ark. 72214

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Emerson, Ark. 71740

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Weyanoke Post Office
Weyanoke, La. 70787

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Grambling, La. 71245

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L. D. Land
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Rogers Clark
Election Commission
Royal St.
Port Gibson, Miss. 39150

Alexander Collins
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716 Coffee St.
Port Gibson, Miss. 39150

Mrs. Geneva Collins
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716 Coffee St.
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Mrs. Martha Lee
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Wesley Liddell
Mayor
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Jesse Turner
County Court
1439 Star Ave.
Memphis, Tenn. 38106

Avon N. Williams, Jr.
State Senate
McClellan-Looby Bldg.
327 Charlotte Ave.
Nashville, Tenn. 37201

TEXAS

George Allen
City Council
Great Liberty Insurance Co.
2527 Ross Ave.
Dallas, Texas 75201

Harmon Bell
City Council
2312 Highway 21 West
Bryan, Texas 77801

I. W. Brown
Board of Aldermen
1115 W. Highway 31
Box 472
Malakoff, Texas 75148

Asberry Butler
School Board
4902 Scott St.
Houston, Texas 77004

Dr. Emmett J. Conrad
School Board
4432 S. Oakland Ave.
Dallas, Texas 75215

Mrs. Exalton A. Delco, Jr.
School Board
1805 Astor Place
Austin, Texas 78721

Wilbert Lee Eagleton
School Board
508 Cypress
Crosby, Texas 77532

Dr. Marion G. Ford
School Board
10338 Cheves
Houston, Texas 77016

Curtis M. Graves
State House
4109 Lavender St.
Houston, Texas 77026

Arthur J. Guidry
Mayor Pro Tem
1525 W. Fifth St.
Port Arthur, Texas 77640

Dr. E. W. Guinn
City Council
5304 Ramey St.
Fort Worth, Texas 76105

Zan Wesley Holmes, Jr.
State House
6910 Robin Road
Dallas, Texas 75209

Rev. S. H. James
City Council
430 N. Pine St.
San Antonio, Texas 78202

Scott E. Johnson
City Council
716 Tenth St.
Huntsville, Texas 77340

Miss Barbara Jordan
State Senate
5303 Lyons Ave.
Houston, Texas 77020

Alfred Zack McElroy
School Board (President)
341 Linkwood Drive
Port Arthur, Texas 77640

John Miles, Jr.
City Council
302 S. Alamo St.
Hearne, Texas 77859

Dr. G. H. Radford
City Council
c/o City Hall
Waco, Texas 76703

William H. Taft
School Board
1395 Gladys St.
Beaumont, Texas 77701

Harrison E. Taylor
Board of Aldermen
515 Duncan St.
Wichita Falls, Texas 76301

Mrs. Artie Mae White
School Board
7968 Cinderella St.
Houston, Texas 77028

VIRGINIA

Mrs. Iona W. Adkins
County Clerk
c/o Charles City County Courthouse
Charles City, Va. 23030

Embria Byrd
City Council
c/o City Hall
Port Royal, Va. 22535

Rev. Lawrence A. Davies
City Council
1205 Cardwell St.
Fredericksburg, Va. 22401

Garland Faison
Justice of Peace
Rt. 1
Emporia, Va. 23847

H. E. Fauntleroy
City Council
901 Wilcox St.
Petersburg, Va. 23803

Oliver Fortune
City Council
c/o City Hall
Port Royal, Va. 22535

Ernest A. Gaines
City Council
234 Virginia Ave.
Tappahannock, Va. 22560

Charles H. Harris
City Council
Box 640
Danville, Va. 24541

William D. Hobson
City Council
Box 268
Martinsville, Va. 24112

Dr. James W. Holley, III
City Council
446 Effingham St.
Portsmouth, Va. 23704

Kenneth L. Jones
City Council
c/o City Hall
Staunton, Va. 24401

Joseph A. Jordan, Jr.
City Council
1228 Virginia Beach Blvd.
Norfolk, Va. 23504

Henry L. Marsh, III
City Council
3211 Q St.
Richmond, Va. 23223

Henry A. Minor
City Council
10523 School St.
Fairfax, Va. 22030

Joseph Owens
City Council
1291 Farmer St.
Petersburg, Va. 23804

Merrel Owens
Justice of Peace
Rt. 3
Jarratt, Va. 23867

John William Porter
City Council
City Hall
Dumfries, Va. 22026

W. Ferguson Reid
State House
112 E. Clay St.
Richmond, Va. 23219

Moses Riddick
Board of Supervisors
2333 Norfolk Road
Suffolk, Va. 23434

Basham Sims
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Box 565
Purcellville, Va. 22123

Richard Thomas Spinner
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2440 Ivy Ave.
Buena Vista, Va. 24416

S. O. Sykes
Board of Supervisors
Rt. 1, Box 101
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Charles R. Turner
City Council
Box 546
Middleburg, Va. 22117

Raymond Turner
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Portsmouth, Va. 23704

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A REVIEW OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES DURING 1969

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

OR QUOTATION

WITHOUT PERMISSION

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January, 1970

OFFICERS*

PRESIDENT

Raymond M. Wheeler*

VICE-PRESIDENTS

C. G. Gomillion*

Lucius H. Pitts*

Josephine Wilkins*

Frank Smith*

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman

Hodding Carter, III

Joan Cashin

Julius L. Chambers

James M. Dabbs

Donald L. Hollowell

Henry Marsh

McNeill Smith

John H. Wheeler

H. Franklin Williams

James Youngdahl

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas*

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Paul Anthony

*Ex-officio members of the Executive Committee

SENIOR PROFESSIONAL STAFF

Executive Director - Paul Anthony

Secretary-Treasurer - Mrs. Ruth House Vick

Director of Women's Work - Mrs. M. E. Tilly
(retired during 1969)

Director of Information - W. P. (Pat) Watters
(on author's fellowship during 1969)

Editor, SRC Publications - Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Editorial Assistant - Warren Pritchard

Director, Voter Education Project - Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

Research Director, VEP - Marvin Wall

Research Associate, VEP - Charles Rooks

Special Assistant for Program Development, VEP - John Morris

Director of Field Activities, VEP - Weldon Rougeau

Administrative Assistant, VEP - Thaddeus Olive

Director, Labor Education Project - Emory F. Via

Director, Community Organization Project - John Lewis

Associate, Community Organization Project - J. Stanley Alexander

Director, Urban Planning Project - Moreland G. Smith, FAIA

Associate Director, Urban Planning Project - Arthur Campbell

Director, Project on Crime and Corrections - John O. Boone

Director of Research - Mrs. Glenda H. Bartley

Librarian - Mrs. Bernice Morrison

Director, Leadership Project - Reese Cleghorn

Assistant, Leadership Project - Katherine S. Griffith

Executive Assistant - James N. Wood

This year's program report -- prepared for the Members of the Council, our contributors, and others, is presented in a somewhat different format than in previous years.

We wanted, in this report, to particularly identify our three main interests of the moment and to indicate the administrative changes we have made during the year and the increased productivity and efficiency which we believe has resulted from those changes.

Also, I wished to emphasize the talent and effectiveness of a number of persons on the staff. Quite candidly I am very proud of the variety and depth represented by the Council staff. This report reflects their work. I am deeply grateful to each of them.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

Atlanta, January 1970

ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS

During the year Mr. John H. Wheeler of Durham, who has served as President of the Council for five years, indicated that he would not like to serve another term. The Nominating Committee reluctantly accepted this resignation. Fortunately, for the Council, Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler of Charlotte, who had served as the Council's Chairman of the Executive Committee, accepted election as President and assumed that office in January.

Mr. Wheeler was presented a special citation at the November meeting, the first time an out-going President has been so cited. Mr. Wheeler will continue to serve on the Executive Committee of the Council.

At the January, 1970, meeting of the Executive Committee, Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College, was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Thus, the Council continues a record of strong and outstanding leadership.

Regretfully, several persons moved from the region during the year and therefore became ineligible to serve further. These were: Dr. A. D. Beittel of Jackson, Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook of Durham, Dr. C. H. Thomas, Jr., of Orangeburg, and Dr. T. Franklin Williams of Chapel Hill.

In February, 1969, death claimed Mr. Ralph McGill, one of the founders and incorporators. With this tragedy, the region and the nation lost a strong voice for decency.

New members elected in November are: Mr. Hodding Carter, III, of Greenville, Mississippi; Mrs. Paul S. Derian of Jackson, Mississippi; Mr. Howard Lee of Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Dr. John Monro of Birmingham, Alabama; Dr. Ray Marshall of Austin, Texas; Mr. William Thomas Mason, Jr., of Norfolk, Virginia; Mrs. C. Bette Wimbuse of St. Petersburg, Florida; Mr. Earl Johnson of Jacksonville, Florida; Dr. Martin Brooks of Pembroke, North Carolina; Dr. James Lawson of Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. Fred Gray of Montgomery, Alabama; The Reverend C. K. Yarber of Texarkana, Arkansas; and Mr. E. H. Gadsden of Savannah, Georgia.

At the November Annual Meeting, the book Scottsboro by Dan T. Carter received the Lillian Smith Award. The George S. Mitchell Award was deservingly presented to the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

INFORMATION AND RESEARCH

The department of Information and Research continues its functions of producing original publications and basic research and of responding to a wide variety of requests for information from students, scholars, media representatives, and others. Each year the number of these requests increases. This year, we have been interested and pleased at the substantial increase in telephone queries usually from persons in the media who need immediate or quick responses. We have attempted to refine our research

operation to meet this situation and have been at least partially successful due to the talents of our permanent staff of research associates.

Pat Watters, Director of Information, was on leave for most of the year as a recipient of a creative writing fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation. The year was remarkably productive for him.

His book, The South and the Nation, was published in January, 1970, and drew critical praise. The Washington Post described it as "a book only a white Southerner could write, the kind of book northern liberals most particularly should read." In addition, Pat is moving toward completion of yet another book, this one dealing with the civil rights movement. He published a major article on the Poor People's Campaign in the New American Review and is scheduled to publish shortly in the Atlantic Monthly an article about a 1969 trip to Fayette County, Tennessee.

At the year's end, Warren Pritchard, assistant to the Editor of Publications, resigned to attend graduate school. He was a valuable staffer and will be missed.

Regrettably, Mrs. Glenda Bartley, Director of Research, left the Council in the fall for another position. The position of Research Director remains unfilled though we are hopeful of announcing a replacement early in 1970. Robert E. Anderson, Jr., Editor of Publications, was the

senior person in the department during much of the year and shared a substantial administrative burden in addition to his commendable editorial work and writing.

The department was directly involved in the production of ten separate publications plus four issues of the Council's quarterly magazine, New South. All continued to reflect high quality, timeliness, and in-depth analysis.

Particular attention should be called to the following New South articles:

"Black Awareness vs. Negro Traditions: The Atlanta University Center," by Robert Terrell, winter, 1969.--This was an analysis by a student journalist of the student unrest at Atlanta University in late 1968 and early 1969. It was a remarkably balanced piece that gave both sides of the controversy between students and administrators.

"Public Education and Community Organization," by Hayes Mizell, winter, 1969.--Numerous requests were received for reprints of this article which dealt with the poor quality of public education in the South and the possibilities of the issue as a focal point for community organization.

"A Visit with James McBride Dabbs," by John Egerton, winter, 1969.--The author, who has since contracted for a book on southern personalities with Doubleday, captured

here the spirit and philosophy of one of the South's most prophetic authors.

"Southern Campuses in Crisis," spring, 1969.--This was the overall title for three separate articles dealing with student grievances on widely divergent southern campuses. Robert Terrell wrote of administrative intransigence at all-black Lane College which led to violence early in 1969; Sam Love, editor of the Mississippi State student newspaper, described students' successful courtroom efforts against a controversial ban on campus speakers; Elizabeth Tornquist, a free-lance writer from Durham, analyzed the confrontation of black and white students with Duke University administrators and the events leading up to the formation of the Malcolm X Liberation University.

"In Jamie Whitten's Backyard," by Robert Coles and Harry Huge, spring, 1969.--An eloquent expression of the frustrations and traumas experienced by the authors in trying to arouse public interest in the issue of hunger in the South.

"The Lord, He Works in Mysterious Ways," by Marvin Hoffman, summer, 1969.--This was a sensitive, deeply subjective analysis of the Child Development Group of Mississippi and its demoralizing battles with the federal bureaucracy. The author is the former associate director of CDGM. The portions published are to be part of a book

on CDGM.

"A Little More Memphis," by Will Campbell, summer, 1969.--An off-beat, impressionistic view of the Memphis hospital workers strike by the director of the Committee of Southern Churchmen.

"Strike at Charleston," by Jack Bass, summer, 1969.--The strike by Charleston hospital workers in the spring of 1969 brought together organized labor and civil rights organization in a struggle with local and state officials. Jack Bass, Columbia correspondent for the Charlotte, North Carolina, Observer, describes the important events of the strike and the final settlement.

"Port Gibson, Mississippi: Profile of the Future?" by Jack Chatfield, summer, 1969.--An analysis of a selective buying campaign in a small Mississippi town by Negroes against white merchants in the aftermath of police violence against a Negro. The article raises but does not answer the question as to when such a boycott begins to have diminishing effects in liberating the spirit of man.

"New Strategies for Private Foundations," by James A. Joseph, summer, 1969.--A critique of the efforts by private foundations to influence social change.

"Interview With a Former Grand Dragon," summer, 1969.--The essence of a five-hour dialogue between Calvin Craig, former Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, and Warren Pritchard, a member of SRC's Information and Research staff.

"The South and the Nation," by Pat Watters, fall, 1969.--Excerpts from a forthcoming book by SRC's Director of Information.

"The South's Inner Frontier," by James McBride Dabbs, fall, 1969.--An examination of southern culture and religion with emphasis on the humanity of the southern experience.

"Standing Up to America: Poor Whites in Durham," by Elizabeth Tornquist, fall, 1969.--A report on efforts to organize poor whites in Durham, North Carolina.

"One Poor White," by Ron Duncan, fall, 1969.--The thinking of a poor white man as revealed in conversations with the author, a professor of anthropology at Georgia State University.

"Majority Rule in the Black Belt," by Ray Jenkins, fall, 1969.--The story of the Green County, Alabama, election in which Negroes gained major county offices.

"The Present Dilemma," by Kenneth Clark, fall, 1969.--An evaluation of the impact of Negro voting strength and the election of black officials.

Special Reports:

Cooperatives and Poor People in the South, by Al Ulmer.--An extensive examination of the various poor peoples' cooperatives at work in the South. Mr. Ulmer is former Director of SRC's Community Organization Project. In 1966, he authored an SRC special report entitled Cooperatives, Credit Unions, and Poor People, the first comprehensive description of the co-op movement. This report continues

the story, and assesses developments during the intervening years.

In Memphis: One Year Later, by Pat Watters with J. Edwin Stanfield.--This report, issued on the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination in Memphis, Tennessee, evaluates the city's response to racial tensions in the year since Dr. King's death. Issued jointly with the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Race Makes the Difference.--Based on data of SRC's Project on Crime and Corrections, this report analyzed sentence disparity among Negro and white offenders in southern prisons.

Fayette County, Tennessee: Tragedy and Confrontation, by Dwayne Walls.--A reporter's account of tensions in a small West Tennessee county resulting in a vicious beating of a black family and a subsequent black boycott against local white merchants.

The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation.--An extensive documentation of the erosion of federal enforcement in school desegregation during 1969. Researched by Horace Barker, a Columbia University graduate student.

Pamphlets:

The Will to Survive, by Anthony Dunbar.--This is a sensitive, eloquent study of a Mississippi plantation community based on the words of its citizens.

The Tax Structure of the Southern States, by Dr. Eva Galambos.--The first publication of SRC's Resources

Development Center was prepared under the editorial direction of Information and Research. The work, dealing with the regressive nature of taxation in the southern states, represents (insofar as I can discover) the first time the subject has been so comprehensively examined.

Books:

Civil Rights in Recent Southern Fiction, by James McBride Dabbs.--A paperback book on how southern writers have handled material concerning civil rights and black-white relations. The Charlotte Observer in reviewing the book, declared: "Dabbs' approach is a reader's approach, built around one topic and illuminating the whole area of race in southern fiction. Anyone interested in southern writing will find that Dabbs stimulates his thinking on writing, reality, and the relationship of the two."

Other Publications, Jointly Produced and Distributed by SRC:

In the Wake of Hurricane Camille: An Analysis of the Federal Response.--Issued with the American Friends Service Committee.

Atlanta Churches in Crisis, by Robert E. Anderson, Jr.--One of four nation-wide studies of the church and racial crisis which were presented before the Convocation on the Church and Violence in the Nation at the Interdenominational Center in Atlanta, March, 1969. Published in cooperation with the Interdenominational Theological Center.

The variety and scope of these publications illustrates

the really dual role of the department. Such publications, for instance, as the Federal Retreat in School Desegregation and the Tax Structure of the Southern States are more immediately related to events of the times. On the other hand, Mr. Dabbs' Civil Rights in Recent Southern Fiction, The Will to Survive, and numerous New South articles deal not only with immediate problems, but by the nature of both their content and expression, attempt to reach a deeper level of southern truth. It is with this dual role in mind that we feel the Information and Research operations of the Council to be of major importance. This is true not as an "institutional" function or one of the normal research variety. It is to us in both a basic and immediate sense, a program function. Ideas are essential and the written word powerful. We would suffer by the loss of either.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT*

Through much of the year, in dramatic testimony to its effectiveness, VEP was engaged in a struggle for its life. At the end of the year, VEP's future remained clouded.

Service Centers for Elected Officials.--A new VEP program, service centers for black elected officials, went forward in earnest as 1969 began. Under the directorship of Mrs. Taunya Banks, the Mississippi center pioneered in the field

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*The first portion of the report on VEP is excerpted from a longer report of activities prepared by the staff of that project.

of service to black elected officials during the latter part of 1968. In early 1969, similar centers were established in Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama.

Each center is located on the campus of a predominantly Negro college. The participating schools are Tougaloo, Southern, Clark, Talladega, and Miles. There are two centers in Alabama, the Miles center having been established to serve officials in the immediate Birmingham area.

While there are a few state-sponsored programs to assist public officials in the performance of their duties, such efforts are generally lacking or minimal in the South. VEP service centers endeavor to make up for this lack, paying special attention to the needs of blacks who generally have not had previous opportunity for participation in government. At the same time, each service center for elected officials is prepared to render assistance to any officeholder irrespective of race and it very well may develop that certain of the centers will emerge as primary agencies in their locale for servicing any and all elected officials seeking to improve their performance.

Services provided by the centers have included consultations with newly elected officials on the nature of their duties, in some instances, entailing the employment of experts, as when a black person took office as a Chancery Clerk in Mississippi.

Directors of the service centers are: Antonio Thomas, Clark College; Sherrill Marcus, Miles College; Taunya Banks,

Tougaloo College; Harold A. Franklin, Talladega College; and Jewel L. Prestage, Southern University.

Requests have come from several other states -- notably Virginia and Florida -- for similar service centers. However, VEP is holding these requests in abeyance until more experience is gained from the centers already in operation.

The Voter Education Project continued to keep records of all black elected officials in the South during 1969 as the number climbed rapidly past the 500 mark. A table showing black elected officials as of the end of November, 1969, is available. A directory of southern black officials was published by VEP in January, 1969, when the total stood at 388, with a foreword written by the Rev. John B. Morris, special programs director. During the latter part of 1969, VEP cooperated with the Metropolitan Applied Research Center in the compilation of a national directory of black elected officials which is scheduled for publication in early 1970.

Meetings of Black Elected Officials.--Following up on the highly successful Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials held in December of 1968 under VEP sponsorship, VEP in 1969 sponsored a series of smaller, two-day statewide meetings of black elected officials. These were held in Virginia, Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina. The Virginia and Florida meetings were held with the cooperation of educational institutions -- namely Virginia State College,

Florida A & M University, and Florida State University. The Georgia meeting was funded through the Georgia Center for Elected Officials, and the North Carolina meeting was arranged by the North Carolina Voter Education Project. Additionally, a workshop for school board members was held in Arkansas.

These statewide gatherings of black elected officials have offered in a conference context some of the same services provided by the centers. Each has included workshops for the specific public offices most generally held by black persons in that state. Other elected officials, both black and white, with greater experience, have appeared as speakers to treat some of the special problems they have faced and to inspire the assembly of black officeholders to still higher attainment.

The VEP staff, particularly Mr. Jordan and Mr. Morris, assisted in the planning of the first Institute for Black Elected Officials, which was held September 11-14 in Washington under sponsorship of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center. Mr. Jordan presided over the opening session.

State Voter Education Projects.--VEP during 1969 continued its support of statewide Voter Education Projects in four states -- South Carolina, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Louisiana. As in the past, these state VEPs encouraged and helped organize programs of voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training in their respective states.

The South Carolina, North Carolina, and Arkansas VEPs again sponsored statewide leadership conferences, each with a prominent black guest speaker.

Voter Registration.--As in the past, funding of local-level voter registration campaigns continued to be a VEP activity. The number of projects funded in 1969 was 98.

Black registration in the 11 states of the Old South climbed to 3,248,000 during 1969 -- a gain of 136,000 over 1968. Nevertheless, only 64.8 per cent of the black voting-age population is registered to vote in the South, compared with 80.4 per cent of the white population. Negro voters now account for 16.7 per cent of the region's total registration.

Student Interns.--For the third consecutive summer, VEP employed and assigned a record number of student interns. After a two-day orientation period in Atlanta in June, 27 student interns were sent to assignments in Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Georgia. Most assisted local leaders in conducting registration drives.

The number of interns was increased slightly over 1968. VEP regards the internship program as one of its more exciting and successful undertakings. It provides young black students with the opportunity to work with black people in a meaningful grassroots situation.

Under the editorship of Eugene McLemore, the University of Mississippi law student who served as director of the 1969 internship program, the interns produced a newsletter, the

VEP Intern News, in which their reports and observations were published. Both the frustrations and accomplishments of doing voter registration work in the field were vividly described in these moving student reports.

Research and Publications.--During 1969, the Voter Education Project continued to be the main source of information regarding political participation on the part of southern blacks. Numerous articles based on VEP information appeared during 1969 and several authors were granted permission to use VEP statistics in books in the fields of race politics and political science. At the request of the House Judiciary Committee staff, registration statistics were updated, as cited in the Registration section above. In the House debate on extension of the Voting Rights Act, spokesmen both for and against extension cited VEP statistics.

Published during 1969 were the Directory of Black Elected Officials mentioned previously, proceedings of the Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials.

Know Your South Carolina Government was the third in a series of citizenship education booklets. Research, writing, and editing for the fourth booklet -- Know Your Arkansas Government -- was completed during 1969 and the booklet was published shortly after the year ended. For the third year, VEP published a monthly newsletter, VEP News.

VEP moved more deeply into the field of election analysis during 1969, better preparing the organization to

answer broadening questions about black political participation in the South. Dr. Charles Rooks, holder of M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in political science from Duke University, joined the VEP staff in late June.

Several research grants were made during 1969, notably to Jack Chatfield and Taylor Branch. After a stay of several weeks in Port Gibson, Mississippi, witnessing boycott, confrontation, and violence, Mr. Chatfield authored an account published in the summer issue of New South. Mr. Branch, a graduate student at Princeton, spent the summer surveying communities in Southwest Georgia. As a result of the visits and contacts he made, blacks in several counties learned about VEP's registration programs and applied for and received VEP grants. At least one county -- Talbot -- consequently was able to push its Negro registration ahead of white registration.

Staff.--In addition to the employment of Dr. Rooks, major staff changes during 1969 involved Weldon Rougeau, field director, and Thad Olive, administrative assistant. After nearly two years as field director, Mr. Rougeau resigned to enter law school at Harvard University. Mr. Olive resigned at the end of July to accept a position with a private Atlanta firm; however, he returned to VEP at the end of October. Upon his return, Mr. Olive assumed some of the field duties Mr. Rougeau had been performing.

The director, Mr. Jordan, was on leave during the first half of the year, selected by the Institute of Politics of

the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Mr. Jordan conducted a seminar called "The Black Man in the Southern Political Process."

* * * * * * * * * *

During the year, for the first time in the Council's history, we engaged in substantial lobbying. We expressed concern to our members and contributors in a detailed document filed with the Senate Finance Committee and gave oral testimony before that Committee. Generally, persons who will receive this report have been briefed not only on our concerns but our activities.

We were remarkably, though by no means completely, successful with a number of issues in the Senate only to see most of those successes negated by the Joint Conference Committee.

This is mentioned in this section of the report since much of our concern centered on the punitive legislative considerations related to the activity of voter registration.

Mr. Jordan, project director, carried the major burden of interpreting our reasons for concern relating to voter registration. Not surprisingly, his work on this issue was superior.

In early 1970, Mr. Jordan resigned from the Council to become Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund. I trust it goes without saying that I -- and all connected

with the Council -- deeply regretted this decision and saw it as a real loss to SRC and to the region. Our only consolation is that we are confident Vernon will do the same remarkably superior job in his new position as he has done here and we do feel the black colleges of the nation, most of them in the South, need continued and substantially increased support.

Vernon and his family leave Atlanta with all the gratitude and wishes for the future that those of us here can give.

In early 1970, the Executive Committee approved the appointment of Mr. John Lewis to become the new director of the Voter Education Project. Again we are fortunate in having this outstanding young man step into this position which, under the new tax law, may be even more demanding than the directorship of the project has been in the past.

(And thus, incidentally, we continue one of the Council's "silent programs." That is finding, training, and -- most importantly -- giving the freedom of initiative to outstanding talent and then exporting that talent to the rest of the nation. We have mixed feelings about this program. It is a contribution and we are grateful for that aspect of it. But, understandably, we wonder how much longer this region can export its best leadership and resolve its own problems at the same time.)

THE SRC RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER

In March, 1969, the Executive Committee approved the creation of the Center. There were several reasons why we felt it desirable to create the Center at this time. The most overwhelming reason, in our opinion, is that regional economic development and the development and utilization of human resources should now be among our highest priorities. Many individuals and groups are looking for information on which to make decisions relative to economic development. They may accept accurate and thorough information more readily than in the past and they may make the right decisions if that information is available. Also, mistakes are now being made which lead to the building of ghettos, the wooing of undesirable industry, the squandering of resources -- human and natural -- which, however difficult, can be corrected with less effort and costs than some years hence.

Further, we believe that to the degree possible, we must think and interpret in the broadest terms of economic development. Certainly, as in other areas, the Council would want to maintain a particular sensitivity to racial factors, but we believe this program, and the needs with which it is concerned, is particularly economic and that we can be more effective if we interpret it within this context.

We feel, too, that we need the Center as a structural means to achieve greater coordination in our present efforts

in this area. As indicated earlier, we are doing a number of things toward the ends of development, but the fragmented approach which we have followed does not lend itself to efficiency or maximum results. Our experience with the Voter Education Project showed that a large program, identified by its major interests and directed by an individual who takes considerable program and administrative responsibility and some fund-raising responsibility, is workable and efficient. The results of the Center to date have again borne out that conclusion.

In January, 1970, Dr. Emory F. Via was appointed Center Director. Formerly he had been Director of our Labor Education Project. We are extremely fortunate to have a person of his ability to be the first director of this new Council effort.

THE HOUSING AND PLANNING DIVISION

During the first half of 1969, this project continued essentially as a one-man operation, directed by Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA. On June 1, 1969, Arthur C. Campbell, Planner, started his services with the Southern Regional Council. This culminated a long process of working toward enlargement of the scope of the Housing and Planning Project as well as to reinforcing SRC's service with black professionals.

Mr. Campbell is a native of Waugh, Alabama. He is a product of Montgomery County's school system. From there,

Mr. Campbell went to Tuskegee Institute from which he has a Bachelor of Science in Architecture. He has completed his academic work for his Masters in Planning at Georgia Tech and he is now in the process of completing his thesis.

In spite of the enactment of the first federal Civil Rights Housing law, there has been noncompliance, as has been the case with all of the other civil rights laws. Attitudes have hardened, resistance techniques have been perfected, the mood of the country has moved ever to the right. Since the federal government is seen as a monster handing down decrees from afar, it becomes increasingly important to work to change the attitudes on the grass-roots level.

Local fair housing groups have sprung up all over the country. These can be used as vehicles for change. The SRC Housing and Planning Project will continue to work with these groups to soften community attitudes and to bring about the enactment of local housing laws. Some of these groups have obtained foundation funds to aid blacks in financing integrated housing. This aspect needs to be broadened.

In the past, throughout the South, there has been considerable dispersion of black residential areas. However, the southern pattern has changed rapidly in recent years to parallel more closely urban solutions in the North. Interstate highways and rapid transit as well as railroads are at present commonly designed to prevent easy access between

white and black neighborhoods. Further, buffer zones force circuitous patterns of circulation. The Housing and Planning Project continues to work with local planning groups to stress the desirability of more free and equal circulation.

The open-occupancy legislation opens up opportunities for bolder solutions for total city planning -- land use, intra-city transportation, inter-neighborhood communication, proximity of jobs to housing -- which can contribute to a healthier economic base and thus appeal to the business interests within the city.

If we are to have an open society, urban planning is a necessity. As an illustration: The implementation of school desegregation would be greatly facilitated if neighborhoods were desegregated. The SRC project cannot make an impact solely through its own efforts alone. Resources and staff are inadequate. It will, however, continue to work in this area, and especially seek to influence others to take up this fight. It will seek to develop financing for research papers that will call attention to the need for action, and thus enlist others in this cause.

The division continues to encourage the private sector to participate in urban planning areas in order to broaden the base of interest within the city in order to reach all economic strata. It is felt this can be done by encouraging the awareness of the American Institute of Planners, the

American Institute of Architects, the Chamber of Commerce, as well as the neighborhood organizations, in addition to organizations which SRC has advised and worked with, such as:

1. Southwest Atlantans for Progress;
2. The Housing Committee - Houston Council on Human Relations;
3. New Orleans Consortium;
4. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations;
5. The Georgia Council on Human Relations;
6. The North Carolina Council on Human Relations;
7. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations;
8. The Tennessee Council on Human Relations;
9. The Virginia Council on Human Relations;
10. The American Friends Service Committee;
11. Ansley Park Fair Housing;
12. Metropolitan Atlanta Housing Conference;
13. The Mayor's Committee on Housing Resources;
14. The Mayor's Code Committee;
15. HUD, nationally and regionally.

In recent months, it appears that past efforts to obtain cooperation from the national and state professional societies is bringing fruit and in the months to come, we will be able

to report more substantial efforts by the AIP and the AIA in education and employment of minority groups.

Housing and Planning Since June, 1969, and Its Future.--Two summer interns working with this program did an evaluation of youth participation in Model Cities while actually conducting a program in which young people participated.

Housing and Planning, under the direction of Mr. Arthur Campbell, developed a filing system for project materials.

Arthur Campbell participated in a tour of European new towns sponsored by Urban America, Inc. This tour was to familiarize participants with the new town concept and industrialized building. He is presently working with a Tenant's Association in Harlem, Florida (Clewiston), engaged in evaluating the circumstances in Harlem to help determine what route the community should take to get new housing built. We will probably become involved in preparing preliminary site plans and preliminary design of structures.

We will begin surveying small towns (5,000 population and below) throughout the South to determine what kind of advocacy planning assistance our program might provide. Such surveys should provide some insight into the following areas:

1. What community groups exist and how effective have they been?

2. Who has the responsibility for housing planning and implementation?

3. Adequacy of the housing supply.

4. What housing programs are presently underway?

5. What are the obstacles to solving the town's problems?

6. How well have housing problems been defined and documented by existing data?

7. How much concern is there about town problems?

8. What policies exist relative to housing?

9. What are the town's or the community groups' objectives?

10. What planning activity is underway?

11. What kind of assistance does the town or community group need?

12. What problems are apparent that the city needs to be made aware of?

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DIVISION

The Community Organization Division, directed by Mr. John Lewis and assisted by Mr. Stanley Alexander, has functioned as a source for information and technical assistance for poor indigenous groups in the South. This project has provided small grants to groups and organizations developed by poor people in various communities in our region. The objectives of the Community Organization Project have been: (1) to provide technical assistance to existing and developing poor organizations; (2) to assist communal groups and organizations in the drafting and writing

of proposals; (3) to assist groups and cooperatives in recruiting consultants or experts for certain special problem areas.

During the past decade, community organization has become one of the most important mechanisms for mobilizing poor people and getting things done. It has helped to develop meaningful programs for poor people by enabling them to develop their own human resources. This brings out undiscovered abilities and new leadership in poor communities. There is a great need for encouragement. There remains a great number of communities that lack support, socially and financially, in order to accomplish their goals. Some poor communities are untouched and uninformed about their rights to participate in the decision-making process in their region. It will take time, money, and energy to accomplish these ends. There are still existing in our society poor blacks and whites who are starving, working for low wages, and living in bad housing. There is a great deal to be done and poor people can do it for themselves if they are given the opportunity and resources.

The division has discovered through its endeavors that a large number of poor organizations are developing in the South with little or no financial support or technical assistance. They usually consist of poor persons who have become dissatisfied with their conditions and have decided to do something. In many cases, these groups are uninformed about governmental procedures and operations. Sometimes they

become discouraged about the lack of support, accomplishments, and eventually dissolve their organization. If persons of experience were accessible to local organizations that couldn't afford technical assistance, this would be a step in correcting the organizational problems of poor people. However, we have tried in the past year to help such groups and organizations to become more realistic in dealing with their problems. In some instances, our limited resources have prevented us from responding to the needs and demands requested by these poor people.

Securing funds from large funding sources is becoming more and more difficult. The smaller and the least recognized poor groups and organizations do not know how to apply for funds from large foundations or agencies. There is a need for a regional program designed to help groups and organizations to develop programs that are within reason for larger support. Many groups need technical assistance in the drafting of proposals, securing trained persons, and developing a program that is applicable to local conditions. It will take money in the essential stage for groups to develop this kind of awareness. In some instances, many groups need funds immediately to sustain their organization.

We recognize that seed money and initial technical assistance is only the beginning for community development; yet it is a starting point for some communities, having the hope that something can be done to upgrade their conditions. The Community Organization Project can play a significant role in

bringing about social change in the lives of southern poor people. It functions as an emergency source for some communities and a consultant for others. This project also functions to assist foundations and agencies in locating communities in need of help. In the past, we have accompanied foundation representatives who have expressed an interest in some communities in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi, and others.

Recently, the Community Organization Project revised a Community Organization Handbook to be distributed to various organizations and agencies. This is a simple step-by-step guide for persons beginning work as community organizers. The Urban League, poverty programs, and other private organizations and agencies are using the handbook for training sessions and for information.

During the past year, the Community Organization Project has awarded 25 grants to various organizations, both black and white. We have made grants ranging from the support of a day care center in the Black Belt of Alabama, to the support of poor white organizations for business development in the Appalachian area. Recently, one organization received its license from the state for the operation of a day care center.

In the coming year, the Community Organization Project will function as an information agency for poor groups who requested our assistance. Hopefully, this project can provide technical assistance to such groups with developing programs and gaining local support needed for their programs. We will

assist community groups in the writing and drafting of proposals and hopefully become involved with groups in the field which will allow us to gain further insight into the problems of various communities.

MANPOWER AND LABOR DIVISION

The year has seen the continued expansion of the areas of interest to the Labor Project. In essence, this expansion has been a move toward greater emphasis on manpower problems in general. The program's emphasis on labor education activities has continued as has its interest in employment discrimination as a part of the overall manpower problem. The program director participated in several week-long educational institutes ranging from the summer school of a national union, through a union-university program to train labor leaders for work with poverty programs, to a national training program for labor leaders with a special assignment to work with local manpower programs.

Other educational conferences of shorter duration were assisted both by direct participation and in securing others to participate. Union staff people, local union leaders, and state labor leaders were included in these sessions. Problems of prejudice, employment discrimination, union social responsibilities, changing regional economic and social conditions, and the school desegregation process were among the topics discussed. These meetings ranged from staff training programs for one of the textile workers unions, to a

Texas AFL-CIO joint labor law and women's activities institute, to a special session with building trade unions.

Other educational programs included a special conference jointly sponsored with the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics on an employment study made of the Atlanta area. Other programs worked with union members assigned to serve as "buddies" to newly employed disadvantaged workers and with orienting community organizers to job discrimination problems and to unions as social institutions.

The labor project has continued to work with programs attempting to facilitate the entry of minority workers into the construction trades. Work has also continued in a joint project with other agencies in assisting the desegregation process in textile industry employment. In addition to those areas, we have consulted and provided evaluative assistance to a program training workers in a paper industry company to increase their ability to move into new job classifications. A small pilot project was initiated to provide both information and experience in breaking employment barriers in the printing trades.

During the year, two research projects have been sponsored by the Labor Project which have developed some new materials regarding the situation of poor whites in the region. One study was aimed at securing information on poor white organizations throughout the region. A second study took one neighborhood in a metropolitan area and investigated

the social role of the religious organizations indigenous to the area. Substantial assistance was given to a study of state and local taxes which became the first publication of the Resources Development Center. Consultative assistance was offered to a wide variety of groups and individuals. These have included assistance to a university research effort looking at special factors in black-white confrontations, advice regarding some aspects of minority entrepreneurship, assisting with advice and contacts with experts a church denomination (statewide) effort to change employment training patterns and to encourage minority business efforts, to advising on programs aimed at increasing minority employment in state government.

The division has continued to give encouragement to unions and universities toward the end of establishing full-time labor education programs at southern universities. The director serves on the advisory committee of the program that has been established at V.P.I.

LEADERSHIP DIVISION

The Leadership Project was established in mid-February with Reese Cleghorn, former associate editor of the Atlanta Journal, as director and Katherine S. Griffith, former chief research librarian with C & S National Bank, as assistant to the director. Its objective is to reach a broad range of southern leadership. Because of its limited resources and the particular professional training of the director and

his assistant, we have chosen to do this primarily with publications.

The project has defined its target groups as leaders at various levels: traditional corporate, civic, labor union and religious leadership, as well as emerging grass-roots leadership. An underlying assumption is that SRC needs to do more to make contact with those leaders who evidence some social concern, or are open to social change, but who have not been sufficiently reached by the kind of materials which SRC has produced in the past.

At the outset, the Leadership Project carefully constructed a 23-category list of leaders in the southern states. No effort was made to make this a comprehensive list of the South's most influential leaders; but great care was taken to make it a list of representative leaders in various fields. Some examples of the categories: (1) bankers (every fourth banker listed in the Bankers' Directory, six states); (2) chamber of commerce executives (chosen at random from directories, 11 states); (3) bar association leaders (officers and directors of state bar associations, 11 states); (4) religious leaders (for instance, as one part of this category, all members of district boards of social concerns of the Methodist Church). The new Leadership List now totals approximately 5,000 names.

Leadership Project publications are sent to this list of 5,000 names, as well as to 5,000 other names on SRC's regular mailing lists. The publication South Today also goes to

others, as noted below.

Publications:

The Leadership Project has limited itself to two kinds of publications: booklets and a monthly newspaper.

Booklets:

The first of the Leadership Series of booklets, John Willie Reed, by Charles Longstreet Weltner, was issued in May. It tells of the plight of an unskilled, uneducated black migrant from rural Alabama who moved to Atlanta and encountered the problems that confront hundreds of thousands of others of similar backgrounds who have moved into American cities. A guide for discussion leaders, included in the booklet, raises questions of public and private policy. This booklet has received widespread attention through reviews in such diverse publications as the London Observer, Presbyterian Survey, the Chicago Daily Defender, and a number of southern newspapers. It has been used in the training program of the Atlanta Police Department and as discussion material for churches, unions, and civic organizations, as well as in college courses. An Atlanta television station shortly will tell the John Willie Reed story in documentary form. Alliance Theatre of Atlanta has scheduled a play based upon the booklet for April.

The second booklet in the Leadership Series, Donnie Gibson and the Chickenbone Special, by Dwayne Walls, was prepared during late 1969 for early 1970 distribution. It tells another story of migration from farm to city.

Newspaper:

South Today, a monthly digest of southern affairs, began publication in July and six issues appeared during 1969. An initial distribution of 10,000 (to the lists noted above) has been expanded to approximately 18,000 (partly as a result of test distributions to members of councils on human relations and testing of newsstand sales). South Today is primarily a digest of magazine and newspaper articles dealing with southern problems of race, poverty, and human relations. It also presents original material by writers from within and from outside the SRC staff. The publication has dealt with such subjects as the Orangeburg police-student conflict, migrant labor camps in Florida, a bank's program of promoting black business ownership, a black manufacturer's success in Alabama, the deprivations of Negroes in the Mississippi Delta, poor whites in Appalachia, and the controversy over Dr. Arthur Jensen's conclusions about race and I.Q. Of special value have been South Today's own reports; responses to them perhaps demonstrate the publication's usefulness in magnifying the impact of SRC in general. Examples:

(1) A report on the spread of "segregation academies" in the South, presenting the first estimates of enrollments in these schools and examining such matters as tax exemptions and accreditation, was quoted by the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, U. S. News and World Report, Time, the Associated Press and United Press Interna-

tional, as well as numerous southern newspapers and in specialized publications such as the National Education Association's Scholastic Teacher. We believe it has had a major impact in raising public policy questions about these segregated private schools and their implications for the public schools.

(2) A report on discrimination by the U. S. Department of Agriculture and on the continuing failure of Negroes to win representation on crop-quota committees was quoted by the Wall Street Journal, the Associated Press, the New Republic, the New York Times, and many other newspapers inside and out of the South.

South Today has had a surprisingly good reception from readers in general, and comments from those on the special Leadership Mailing List are enabling the project to assess the receptivity of various categories of southern leadership. Coupons published in the first two issues, asking for comments, brought almost 400 replies by mail, only about 20 of which were negative. Readers suggested, in most cases one name at a time, more than 500 names to be added to the mailing list.

The publication also has had good response in newsstand testing in the metropolitan Atlanta area, and the Leadership Project is making plans (contingent upon sufficient financing) to experiment further with newsstand sales and paid-circulation distribution.

The director of the Leadership Project and his assistant

also have been active participants in the work of SRC's Resources Development Center, of which the Leadership Project is one component, and in other SRC staff responsibilities. They have participated in the work of conferences on southern economic development, educational problems in Mississippi, and public school integration regionally, as well as a national student press convention and a nationalconvention of Protestant and Catholic editors. They have provided some measure of assistance also to such programs as a leadership training project of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and work in black poverty areas of Atlanta.

The director has written articles about southern problems of race and poverty for the New York Times Magazine (on textile industry integration and on public school integration), the New Republic, the London Economist, and other publications. The assistant to the director has provided research assistance to writers and private agencies on matters with which SRC regularly deals.

A SPECIAL PROGRAM

From time to time, the Center will sponsor special programs or projects of short-term duration. The first of these was concerned with relief efforts for the victims of hurricane Camille and was co-sponsored with the American Friends Service Committee. Jim Wood of the SRC staff was responsible for our efforts.

Knowing of the inadequacy of the response of appropriate agencies to the tragedy of hurricane Betsy in Louisiana in 1965, we were anxious that this inadequate response not reoccur after Camille hit Mississippi.

SRC and AFSC decided to take on the task of alerting the appropriate federal agencies to the needs of the stricken area and to urge them to be alert that their local programs of relief reached all of the people on a non-discriminatory basis.

An observer arrived in the area on August 23 and gave his first report to us on the 29th. This report was sufficiently disturbing that we called a meeting in Washington of federal and private agencies and determined that we needed more first-hand information if adequate relief was to be forthcoming. We sent in a four-man team who worked for a three-week period. In addition, we secured Washington staff to relate to the appropriate agencies.

Our work created sufficient attention that Senators Muskie and Bayh requested information from us. They, together with Senator Randolph, Chairman of the Public Works Committee, announced hearings to study the federal response to Camille.

Prior to that hearing the two agencies issued the report, In the Wake of Hurricane Camille: An Analysis of the Federal Response. Senator Muskie entered the report in the Congressional Record and we were asked to appear at the hearing in Mississippi January 7-9.

Of the report, the Washington Evening Star* stated:

> Two national organizations, the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council, have issued a lengthy report alleging that "our national response to the victims of Camille was and continues to be sadly inadequate."
>
> The AFSC-SRC report represents a broad and virtually unprecedented indictment of five federal agencies with responsibility for providing disaster aid -- the Office of Emergency Planning, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Economic Development Administration, the Small Business Administration, and the Office of Economic Opportunity.
>
> In addition, it is highly critical of a quasi-public organization which seldom has been the target of public attacks in the past -- the American National Red Cross.
>
> Acknowledging that "the magnitude of the federal effort in reaction to the devastation of Camille was probably unprecedented," the AFSC-SRC report says there nevertheless "were serious inequities in the immediate relief of suffering and there now are serious weaknesses in the planning for long-range reconstruction of the areas affected."

We believe this was an important function for the two agencies, that our role in this situation did make a difference in the amount and kinds of help victims received. Most importantly, we believe future efforts by the private and federal agencies will be more effective and less discriminatory in future disasters.

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*December 22, 1969.

CONCLUSION

During the year, we prepared a document for the United States Senate Committee on Finance pointing out certain punative provisions of the so-called "tax reform" bill. We did this as respecters of the law in letter and in spirit. That statement concluded with the following:

In conclusion, we believe it most important to stress that this bill, as it relates to foundations and those whom foundations support, is widely regarded to be punitive against those agencies and those foundations dealing with social reform, poverty, and minority affairs.

There are those agencies, of which the Southern Regional Council is one, that have attempted not only to contribute to the general welfare but to bring into reality the potential and the promise of this nation for all of our people. In a sense, it could be said we occupy the middle ground; recognizing need, tragedy, and aspirations on the one hand, and holding on the other hand a deep faith in the ability of this society and this government to be the means by which wrongs can be corrected and the wholesome society created.

In this critical time of crisis, polarization and misunderstanding we urge you, do not cripple -- as this bill would -- those agencies which, with increasing difficulty, are attempting to occupy that middle ground where the faith remains that the capabilities and intent of our government and our society can be equal to our promises.

Only after considerable deliberation did we use the term "middle ground." But we did use it both as a realistic means to appeal to pragmatic reasoning, and as an honorable means of speaking truth.

The forces of this nation during 1969 saw to it that that precious -- already narrowing -- middle ground was eroded almost to nonexistence. This was harmful to the likes of the Southern Regional Council, but those parochial considerations are picayune compared to the implications for the nation.

This country cannot survive, it cannot be the democracy which ought to be its aim, and it cannot be the land of true wealth which is its potential, with those forces now manipulating this country and growing deliberately in power as they deliberately manipulate power.

It has been my custom in preparing these annual reports to indulge in an introduction of analysis and a conclusion of some commentary.

In early 1970, the following comments may suffice for our operation last year.

In 1969, the Council operated adequately and at times effectively. We had outstanding staff and sound policy leadership. We used our resources efficiently. Our existence was felt. We survived.

The forces of decency and reform lost badly during 1969. It would be foolish of us not to anticipate an even greater loss in 1970 -- and perhaps thereafter.

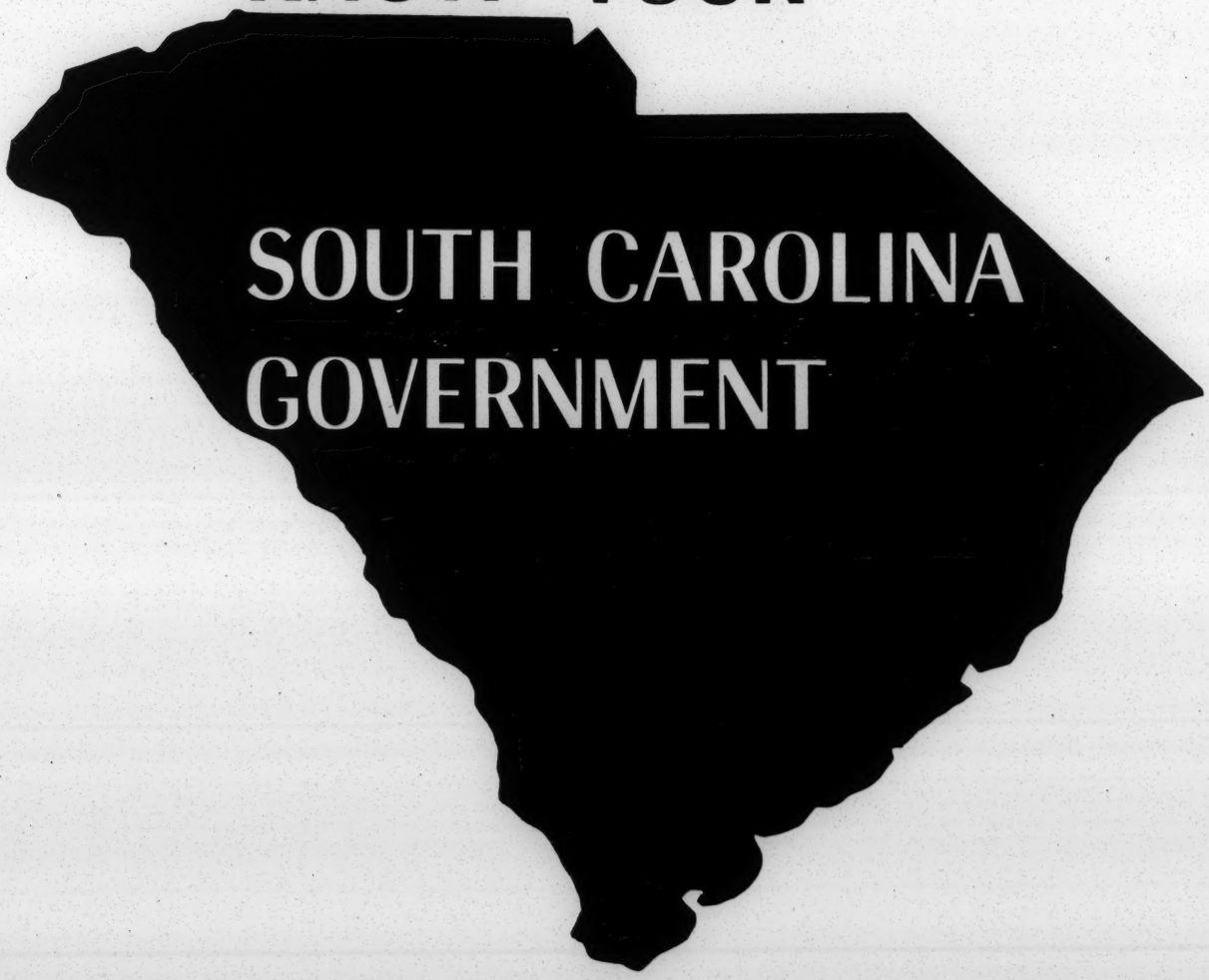
We at the Council experienced what the greater society experienced; at times we were uncertain, at times there was division and confusion. Thankfully, there were, too, times of certainty, unity, and force.

Nineteen-seventy will obviously be a year of adversity for the Council, but not the first. It is not new for us to operate in a hostile atmosphere. Nor will it be the first year when we prove this is not an agency of sunshine soldiers.

By a rare and cherished privilege, I can, for the moment, speak for this good and permanent operation. We believe in humanity. We are committed to democracy. Our operation in 1970 will reflect that belief and that commitment.

-- Paul Anthony

KNOW YOUR



South Carolina
Voter Education Project
— and —
The Voter Education Project,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

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INTRODUCTION

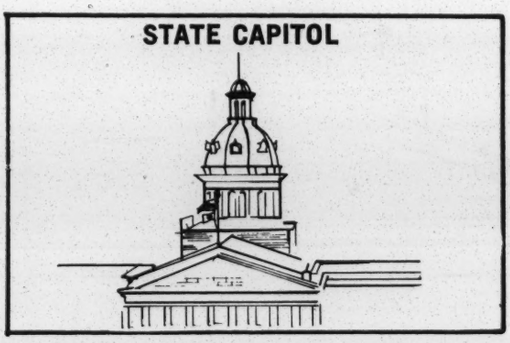
Voting power gives you a say-so in your city, county and state government. There is nothing secret about voting power. It comes about when you and others who share your views organize to get people to:

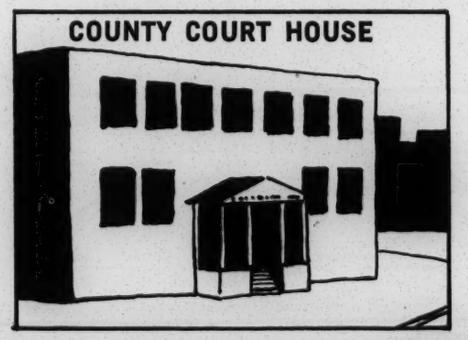
1. register to vote.
2. go to the polls on election day.

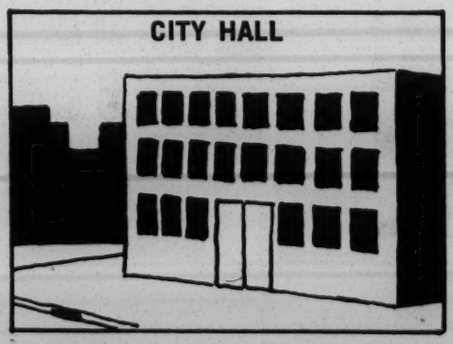
But to get voting power you must do more than just register and vote. You must learn and teach others how to use their voting power wisely. In order to use your voting power wisely, one of the things you need to know is how the government is set up.

This booklet explains some things about how government in South Carolina is set up. In South Carolina, as in other states, we have three basic kinds of government: city, county and state.

Everybody comes under the state government. It has more power than the other two. Everybody comes under a county government, but only those people who live in a town or city come under city government.



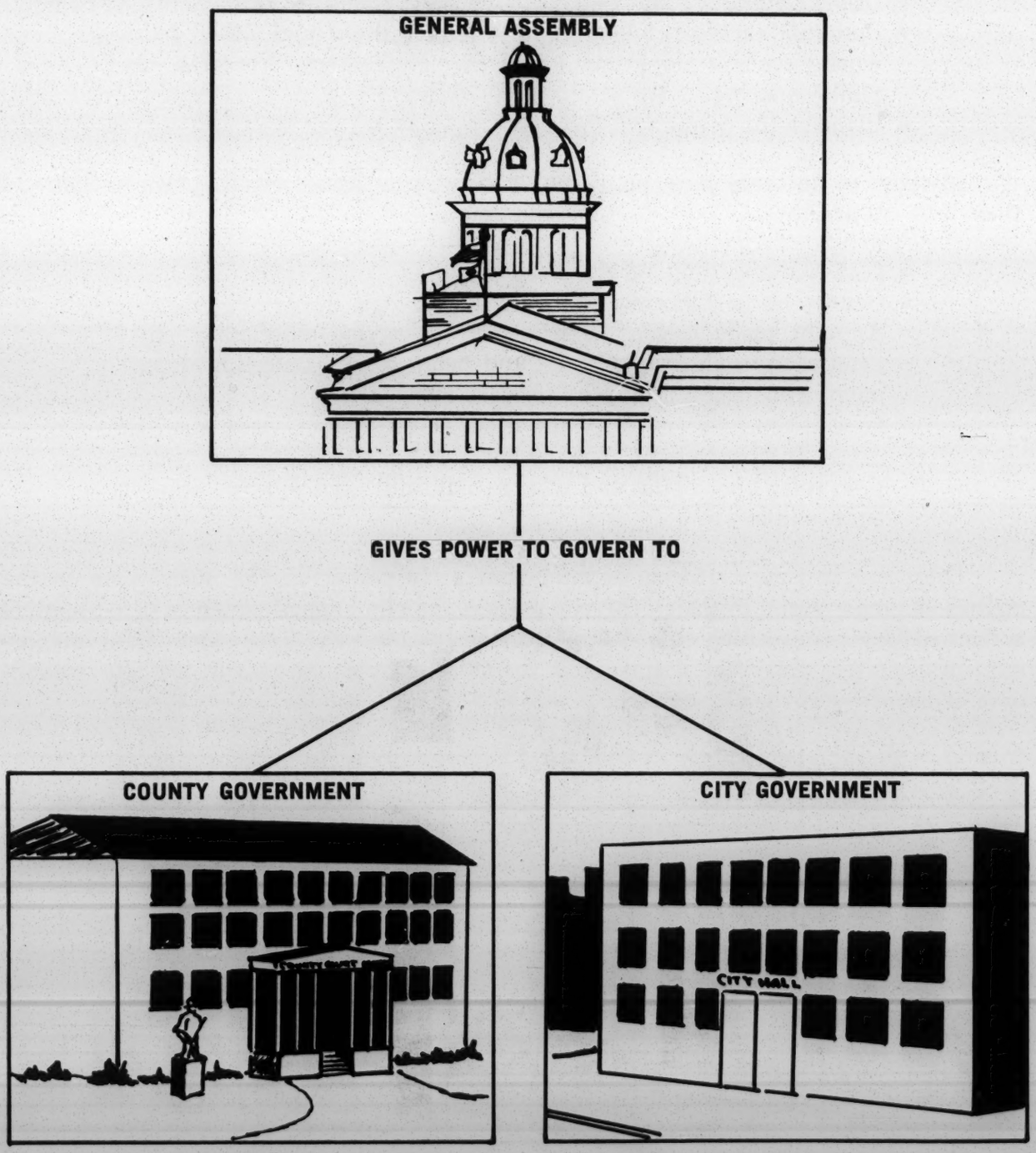




CITY AND COUNTY GOVERNMENTS GET THEIR POWER FROM THE STATE GOVERNMENT

The General Assembly, the state law-making body which meets in Columbia, governs the state with the help of the city and county governments and other governing bodies. The General Assembly tells the city and county governments what kinds of jobs they can do. It gives the local government the power to do these jobs.

The General Assembly does not give all the 46 county governments exactly the same jobs and power. This is also true for city governments. Some cities in South Carolina have more power than others.



CITY GOVERNMENT

Town and city governments are called municipal governments. The main job of municipal governments is to provide services to the people who live in the towns and cities. Another job is to protect the people. Some of the jobs of the municipal governments are to:

- Provide police and fire protection.
- Build and keep up the streets.
- Provide street lighting and sidewalks.
- Pick up garbage.
- Inspect buildings and houses to make sure they are safe.
- Build and maintain a water and sewage system and other public works, such as playgrounds, community centers, libraries, and public housing.
- Plan for the growth of the city.

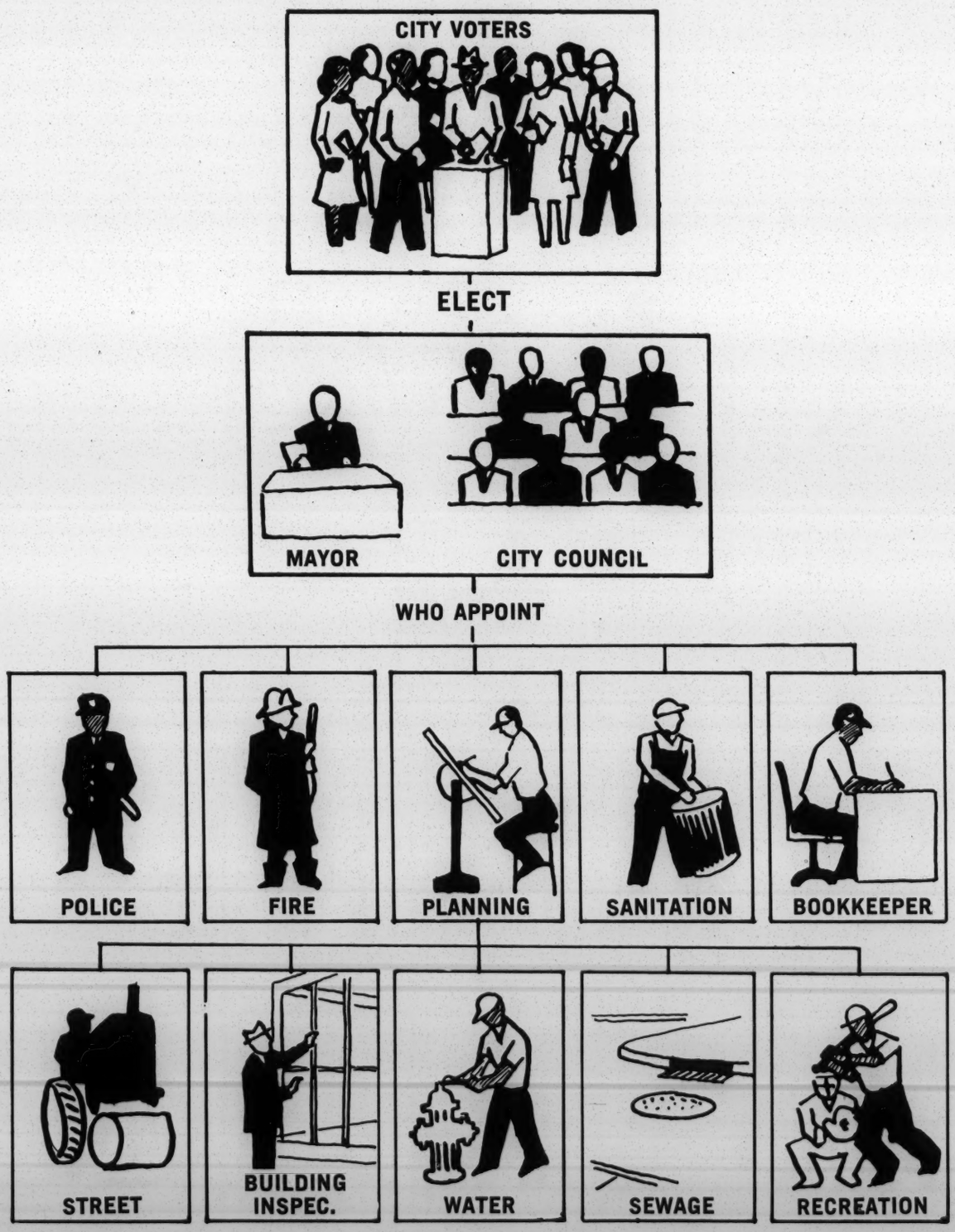
In order to do these jobs, municipal governments have certain powers. Some of these powers are to:

- Plan the spending of city money.
- Collect property taxes and other taxes.
- Appoint heads of departments, such as police chief, fire chief, head of the water department, and head of the sanitation department, who in turn hire and fire other city workers.
- Pass ordinances (laws for the town or city) about municipal affairs—local speed and parking laws, rules about garbage collection, rules about how and where buildings and houses can be built, and so on.

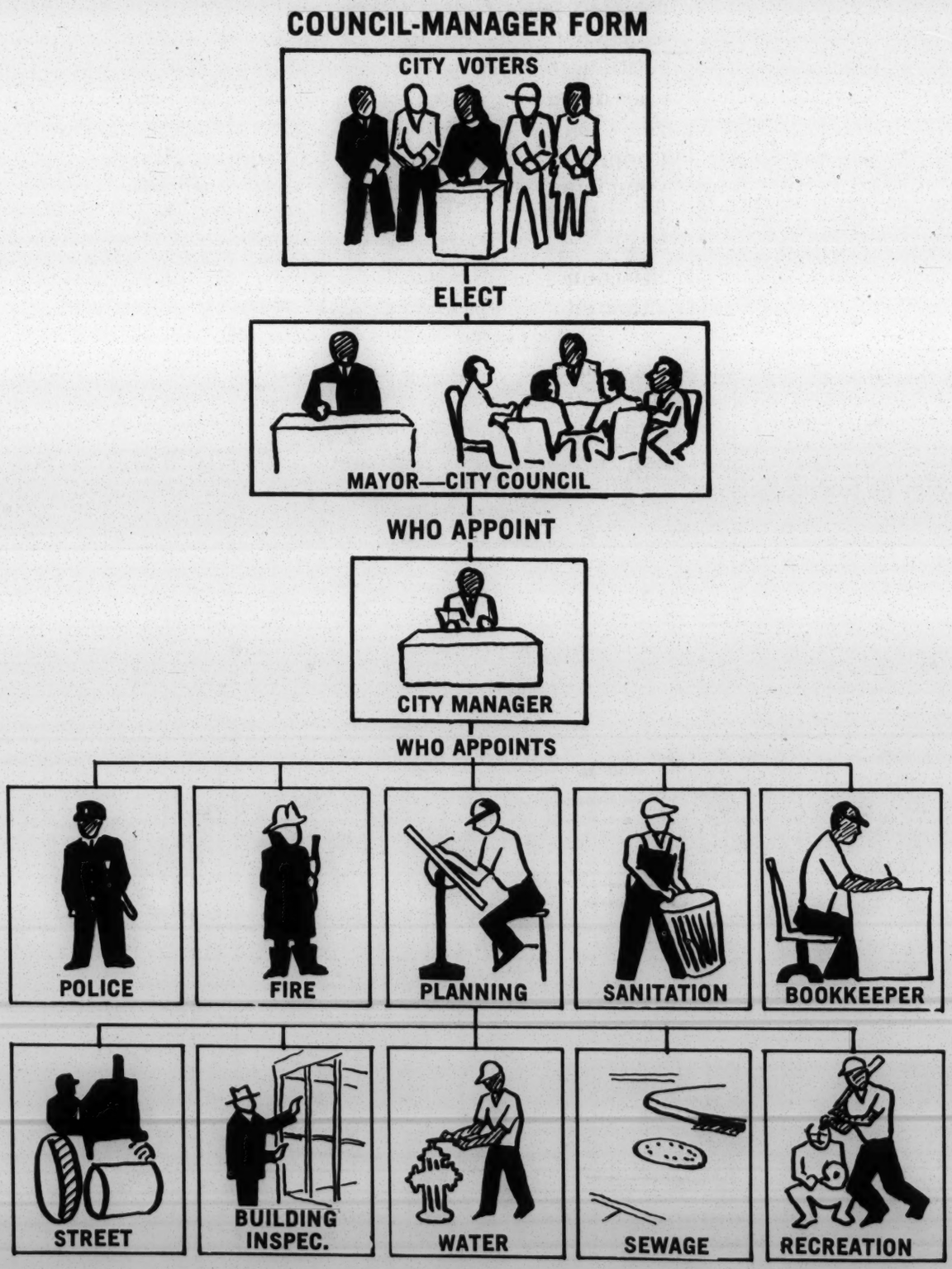
There are two major forms of municipal government in the state. One is the council-manager form, in which the voters elect the city council which in turn appoints a trained city manager as chief administrator for the city. The other is the mayor-council form, in which the voters elect the chief official, the mayor, and the councilmen or members of the city council.

The job of running the city government is divided into departments: fire, police, water, sewage, street, building inspection and garbage collection. An important officer is appointed to head and run each department.

MAYOR-COUNCIL FORM



In the council-manager form of city government one of the members of the City Council serves as mayor. This mayor can be elected by the voters. The City Council makes up the budget and passes city laws. The City Manager carries out these laws and runs the government from day to day. Often he appoints the heads of the different departments.



CITY ELECTIONS

Some city and municipal elections are non-partisan in South Carolina. All towns and cities in the state elect a mayor and city council.

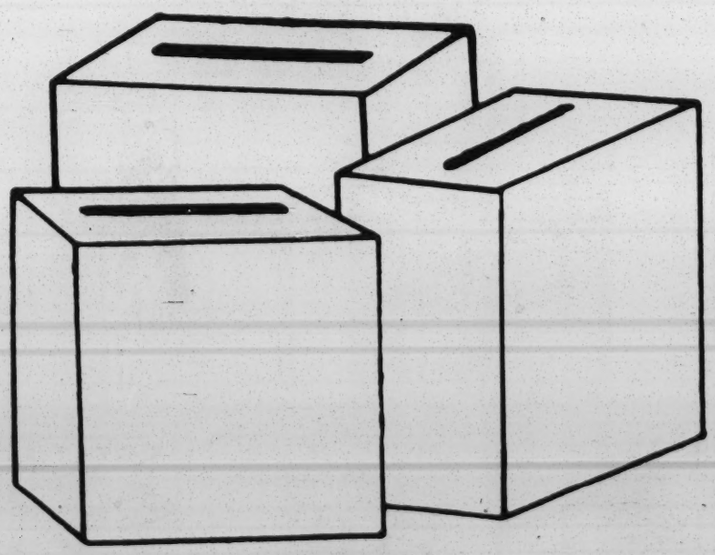
Candidates for mayor and city councilmen may be nominated in one of the following ways:

1. Nomination by city-wide party primary.
2. Nomination by a city-wide party convention.
3. Nomination by petition, containing the required number of signatures. This varies depending on the population of the town or city.
4. In towns with 500 population or less, nomination by direct filing as a candidate for municipal office at the City Hall is possible in some cases.

Sometimes candidates for city council are elected at-large in city elections—that is by all the voters of a city. In other cities, councilmen are elected by voters of each ward.

There are many different ways of electing city officials in South Carolina. Voters in towns or cities should check with a city official or community leader who can be trusted about how city officials are elected in their particular town or city.

If the voter has a registration certificate and lives within the city limits, he can vote in city or town elections.



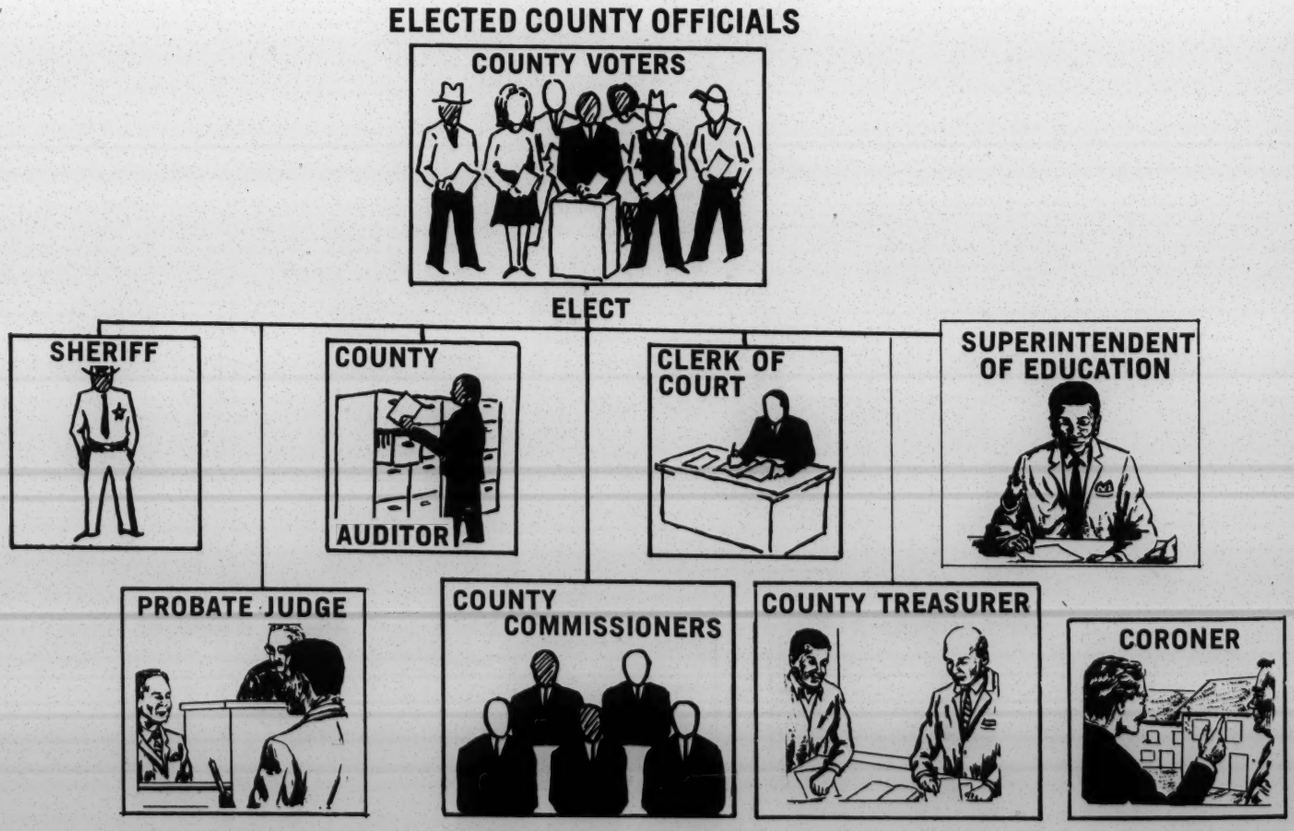
COUNTY GOVERNMENT

South Carolina has 46 counties. The main job of county government is to act for the state in providing services for the people—education, health, welfare and so on. Another important job of the county government is carrying out laws. County governments do not have much power to make laws.

Some of the jobs of the county government are to:

- Decide how much money is needed to give the people the services they need. The county government must then set the local tax rate and collect the taxes.
- Run the schools and the health and welfare departments with the help of the school, health and welfare boards.
- Build and keep up the courthouse, jail and other public buildings, such as libraries.
- Enforce state laws.
- Keep records of important papers, such as marriage licenses and deeds to property.
- Provide a place for some of the state courts.
- Help run the elections.

The job of running the county governments is divided between elected officials and persons who are appointed to offices and boards. Some of the elected officials are: County Commissioners, Sheriff, Coroner, Clerk of Court, Probate Judge, County Auditor, County Treasurer, County Superintendent of Education, and in some counties,

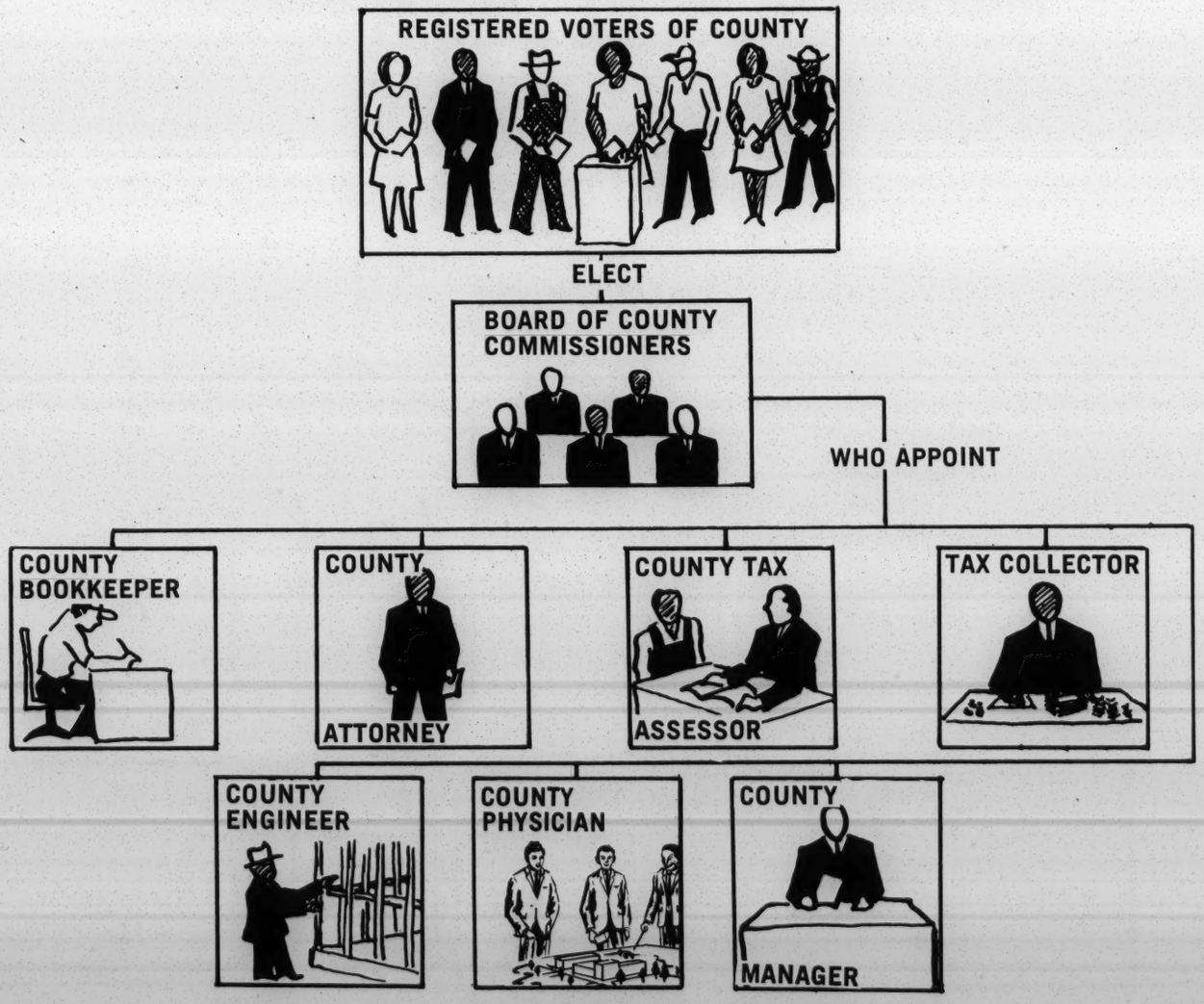


School Board members. Some of the appointed officials are: County Attorney, Board of Registration, Election Commissioners, Selective Service Board, County Board of Public Welfare and staff, County Health Board and staff, Veterans' Service Officer, and Library Board and staff.

County commissioners (or, in several counties, county councilmen), where they exist, have more say-so in running the county government than anyone else. They:

- Decide how much money is needed to run the county government and set the tax rate in some counties.
- Appoint other people to county jobs in tax assessment and tax collection, building inspection, etc.
- Serve on some boards themselves such as tax assessment boards, Economic Opportunity boards, county health and county welfare boards.
- Appoint people to boards that are under county control.
- Have some power to start projects to help people. They can do this by calling for a bond election to improve and build hospitals, schools, libraries, sewage and water systems.

OFFICIALS APPOINTED BY THE COUNTY COMMISSIONERS



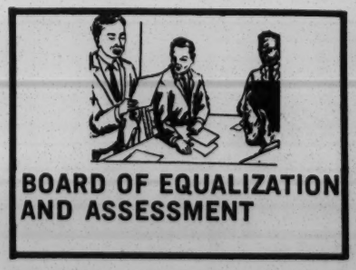
Most counties have five members on the County Board of Commissioners, and in most counties the county commissioners serve four-year terms.

There is no one way to elect county commissioners in South Carolina. All the county commissioners are elected at one time in some counties, in others they are elected at different times. Some of the ways in which county commissioners are elected are:

a. In some counties the county commissioners are elected from districts within the county by the voters in that district.
b. In some counties the county commissioners are elected to represent districts, but they are elected by all the voters in the county.
c. In some counties the county commissioners are elected at-large by all the county voters.
d. In some counties some of the commissioners or one of the total number are elected at-large, and the others are elected by voters in the districts.

The best way to find out how the county commissioners are elected in a given county is to check with elected officials at the county courthouse or with some leader whom you trust in your community.

COUNTY BOARDS ON WHICH COMMISSIONS MAY SERVE AND MAY APPOINT MEMBERS, WHEN AUTHORIZED BY LAW.



Some of the other elected county officials and their duties are:

- **Sheriff**
  1. Chief law enforcement officer of the county.
  2. Appoints deputies as needed within the budget.
  3. Preserves the peace and arrests persons who have committed crimes.
  4. May call others to assist in arrest of persons as in a **posse comitatus.**
  5. Executive officer of the circuit court and must attend all its sessions.
  6. He or his deputies serve, deliver, and return every rule, order or notice addressed to him by the circuit court.
  7. Responsible for the county jail (in most cases).
- **Coroner**
  1. Holds inquests over all bodies which have met with mysterious or violent deaths within the county.
  2. Summons jurors and witnesses necessary for conducting the inquest.
  3. Acts as temporary sheriff if there is a vacancy or when sheriff is personally connected with a case.
  4. Coroner is the only county official who can arrest the sheriff.
- **Clerk of Court**
  1. Acts as secretary of the circuit court.
  2. Keeps records and is custodian of all county records, deeds, mortgages, etc.
- **County School Board**
  1. Work with County Superintendent of Education.
  2. Fill vacancies on the board until elections are held (where elected).
  3. Act as board of appeals from decisions made by district board of trustees.
- **County Superintendent of Education**
  1. Approves applications for state aid.
  2. Supervises schools for the county board.
  3. Keeps financial records.
- **County Auditor**
  1. Chief officer for assessing taxes in the county.
  2. May have a board of assessors to assist him.
- **County Treasurer**
  1. Handles all tax money paid to the county.
  2. Handles all payment of money by the county.
  3. Keeps records of all tax monies by school district.
- **Probate Judge**
  1. Deals with estates and wills.
  2. Issues and records marriage licenses.
  3. Handles the affairs of the mentally incompetent and minors.

All the county officials, except for some county school boards, are elected in partisan elections. This means that people run for office as a member of a political party. County officials are elected in primary and general elections.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS

The most numerous unit of government in our state is the school district. In some counties there is only one school district for the entire county. This is called the county unit system. In other counties there are several school districts within the county. In some counties that have the unit system the county is divided into school areas. Each of these school areas is under an area superintendent.

Every school in the state is under the control of a school board which is made up of several school board members or trustees. This school board makes the policies, picks the district or area superintendent of schools, who is responsible to the school board for the principals and teachers hired for the various schools within the district or area. Citizens usually take their school problems to the district or area superintendent of schools of the school district or area in which they live, and to the School Board of that district.

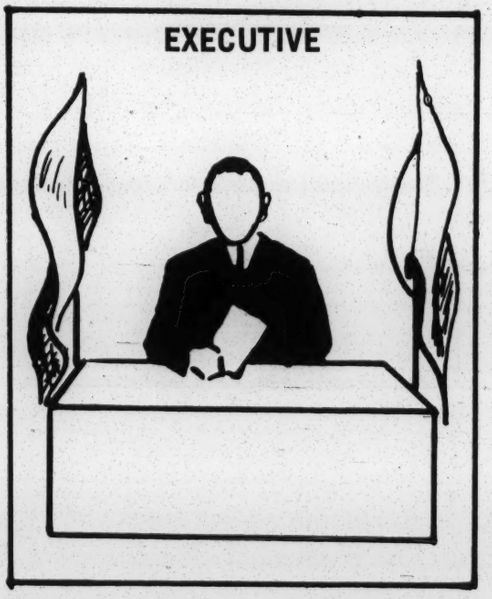
The county government in which a particular school is located collects local taxes for schools within that county and keeps records of these taxes by school districts. The county government sometimes controls how much tax can be collected within each school district.

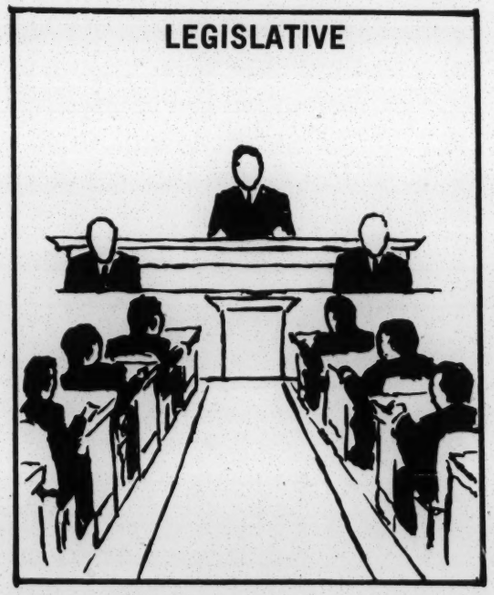
In districts or counties where school boards are elected, voters can control the actions of the school board members more directly. This is not the case in districts or counties where schools board are appointed. Every citizen should try to find out how school board members are selected in his county or school district.

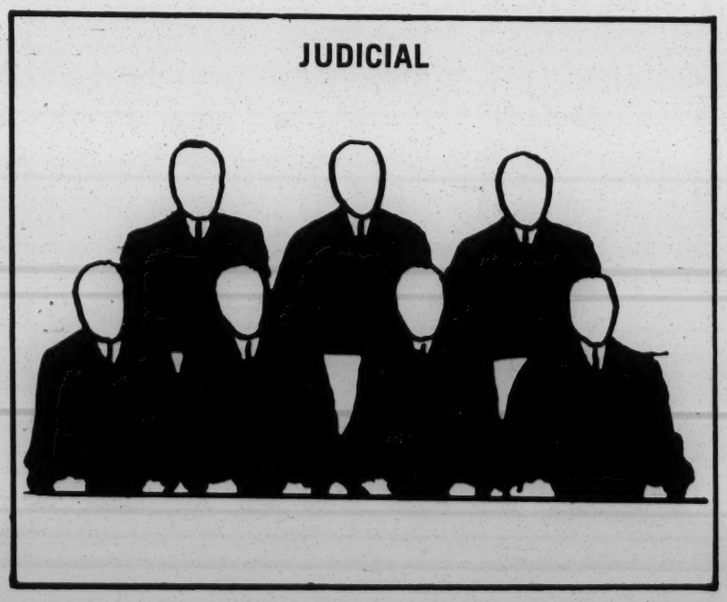
STATE GOVERNMENT

The state government is divided into three parts just like the United States government. The three parts are:

- Executive. This part is made up of the Governor, other elected officials and appointed officials and boards. The job of this branch is to run the government and enforce the laws.
- Legislative. This is the General Assembly which meets in Columbia. This branch makes the laws about how the government is to be run.
- Judicial. This part is made up of the different courts of law. The job of this branch is to decide questions of law and help punish those who are proved guilty of crimes.







THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The job of the executive branch is to run the government and see that the laws are carried out. The Governor is head of the executive branch. The Governor has persons who help him do the work of the executive branch. Some of these people are appointed by him and others are elected by the people.

The Governor has a lot of power. He serves on many important boards himself. He appoints others to offices and boards. The General Assembly (legislature) also selects many of the very important boards and commissions.

The Governor has other jobs like telling the legislature what laws he thinks are needed. He is the commander of the National Guard and may use the Highway Patrol during emergencies.

Boards and commissions are important groups of people given the orders and duty to do a certain job for the government of the state. The Governor and the General Assembly share the power to make appointments to these positions. This power gives the Governor and the legislators great influence in the state government and also in the political party to which they may belong. People are willing to be loyal to the Governor and work for the party if they have a chance of getting jobs that pay well. The people appointed to these jobs and boards have a lot of power. They have a lot of say about how people live—whether they get good schools, highways, health care, etc.

Some of the boards and commissions of the executive branch are:

- **STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION.** The members of this board are elected by legislative delegations from the 16 Judicial Circuits. This board oversees the running of the public schools in the counties and cities. It decides such things as teacher requirements and salary scales.
- **DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE.** The members of this board are elected by the General Assembly, one member from each Congressional District and a chairman from the state at large. The job of this board is to oversee the running of the welfare department at the state and county levels. This board hires a director to run the State Department of Public Welfare.
- **STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.** This body is made up of the South Carolina Medical Association, the South Carolina Attorney General, and the Comptroller General of the state. An Executive Committee of 11 members is appointed by the Governor. One of the jobs of this board is to enforce health laws.
- **EMPLOYMENT SECURITY COMMISSION.** Three members make up this commission and they are elected by the General Assembly. A job of this commission is to run the employment offices in the state and to pay unemployment compensation to people who are out of work and are eligible to receive these benefits.
- **STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT.** The 16 members of the State Highway Commission which governs the Highway Department are elected by the legislative delegations from counties in

each of the Judicial Circuits. The State Highway Patrol is part of the operation of the State Highway Department.

- **STATE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.** The six members of this commission are appointed by the Governor with the approval of the State Senate. The Governor designates one of the members as chairman. This commission runs the workmen's compensation system, which sees that workers injured on the job get paid for their injuries.
- **STATE TAX COMMISSION.** The three members of this commission are appointed by the Governor with the approval of the State Senate. This commission is responsible for seeing that the tax laws are carried out and all the state taxes are collected.
- **STATE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.** There are seven members on this commission. They are elected by the General Assembly. This commission sets the rates that people have to pay companies for electricity, telephone, natural gas, and bus and railroad fares.
- **STATE ELECTION COMMISSION.** This commission has five members, at least one of whom shall be a member of the majority political party and at least one of whom shall be a member of the largest minority political party. Commission members are appointed by the Governor. They supervise the registration of voters through the county boards of registration.

Another important power of the Governor is to help make the laws. The Governor tells the General Assembly what laws he thinks are needed. He also tells the General Assembly how much he thinks it should cost to run the state government and how the money should be spent. The State Budget and Control Board figures out the expenses and the tax income and helps the Governor do this. In South Carolina the Governor can veto all or part of a state law passed by the General Assembly. And because he has something to say about the budget and can make many appointments, he still has a lot of power with the General Assembly.

up.

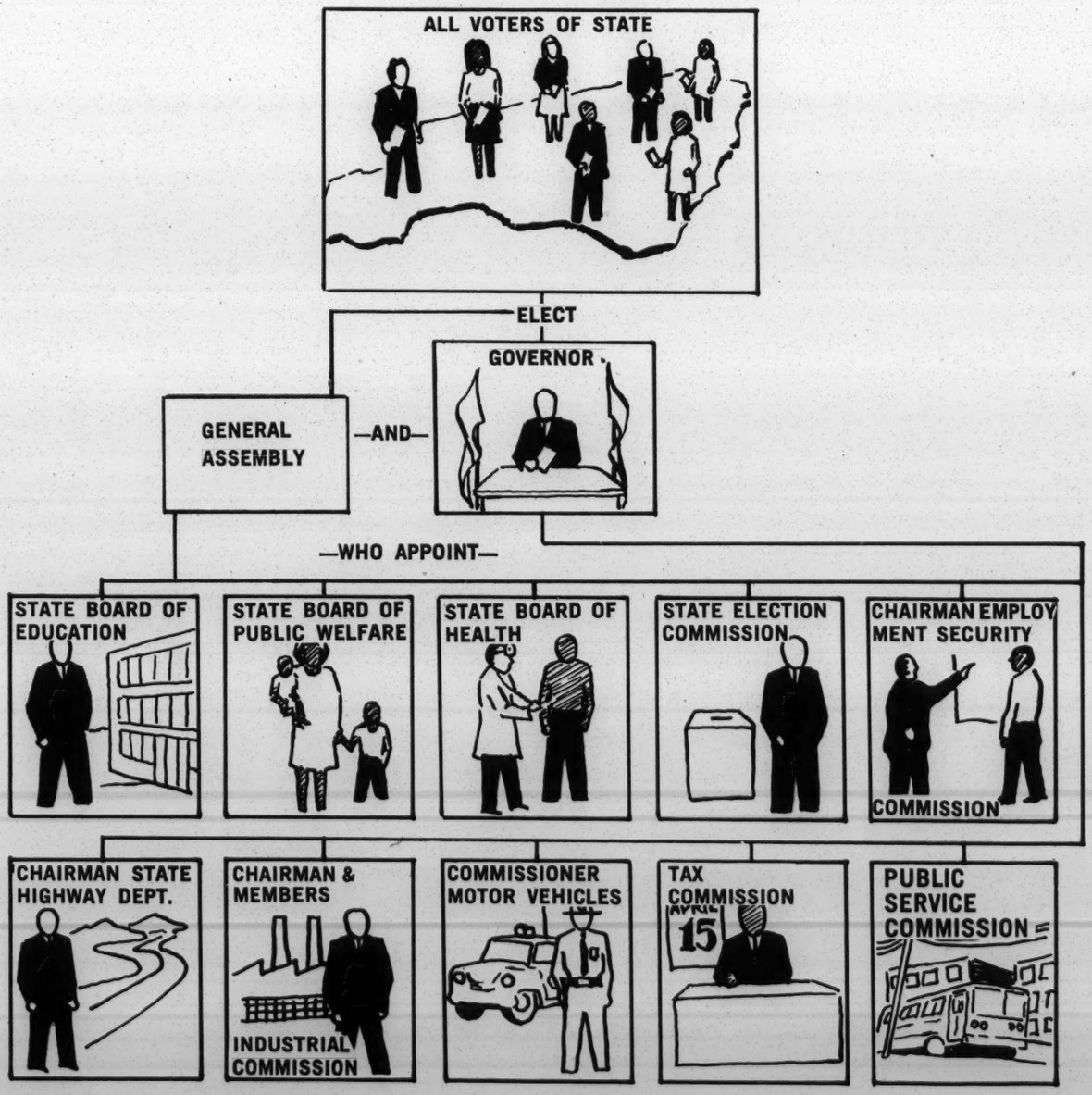
Some executive officers of the state are elected:

- **Lieutenant Governor.** Sometimes the Governor is not able to serve all of his term of office. Then the Lieutenant Governor takes the place of the Governor. The Lieutenant Governor presides over the State Senate.
- **Secretary of State.** He keeps the records of the state. He has the state laws printed, and approves charters for corporations.
- **Attorney General.** He is the chief lawyer of the state. He advises the Governor and other state officials about state laws. He represents the state in the courts.
- **Comptroller General.** He is the state bookkeeper. He looks at the public bills owed by the state. If he feels the bills are right, he asks the Treasurer to pay them.
- **State Treasurer.** He takes care of all fees, taxes and income that comes to the state. He pays all the bills of the state.

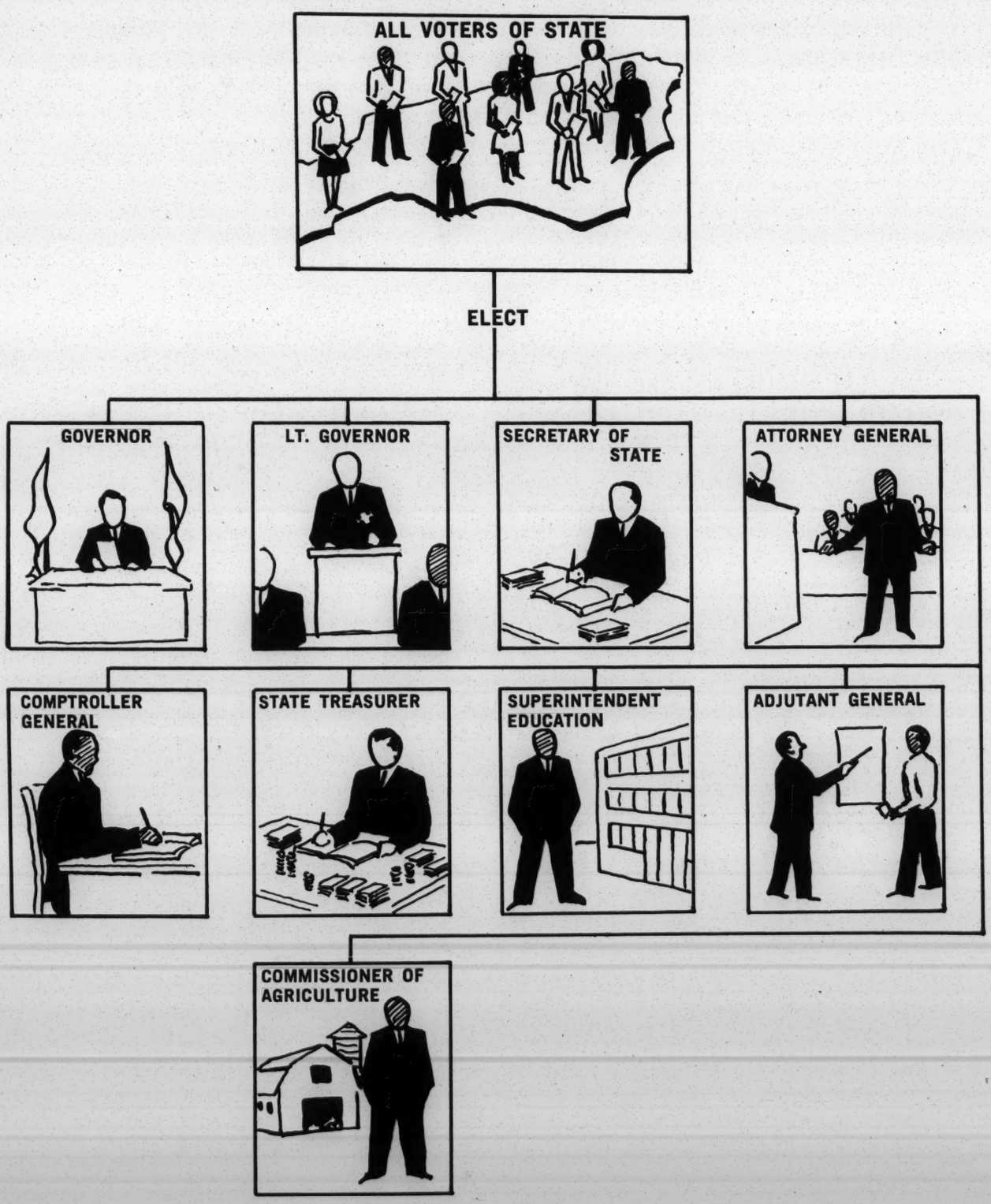
- **State Superintendent of Education.** He works with the schools of the state. Some of his jobs are to help the schools have better education programs and to see that state school laws are obeyed.
- **Commissioner of Agriculture.** He is head of the Department of Agriculture. The job of this department is to see that laws having to do with farming are carried out.
- **Adjutant General.** He administers the affairs of the National Guard in the state and keeps all military records of the National Guard and State Guard.

The Governor and the other executive officers are elected in primary and general elections. The executive officers are elected every four years in even numbered years like 1970, 1974, and 1976. The Governor cannot run again for governor until at least four years have passed and another governor has served a term of office.

OFFICERS, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS APPOINTED BY GOVERNOR AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY



ELECTED EXECUTIVE OFFICIALS



THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The law-making body of the state government is the General Assembly. The General Assembly has the power to make many kinds of laws.

The General Assembly can make laws about money matters. It can make laws about how much and what kind taxes people and companies have to pay. It can decide how much of the tax money the different departments—education, health, welfare highways, prisons and so on—will get.

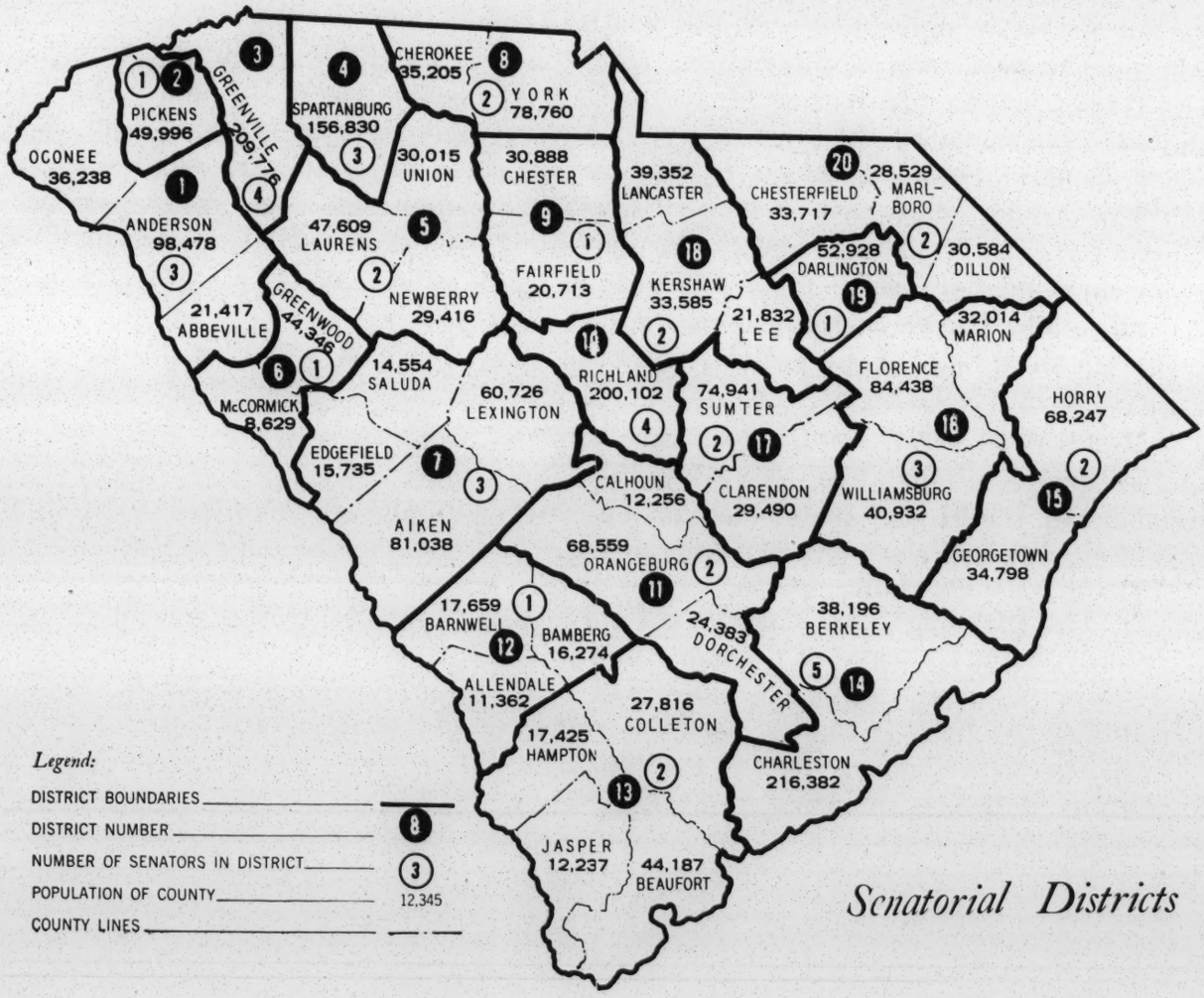
The General Assembly can make laws about companies that do business in the state. For example, it can require that the companies pay their workers a certain minimum wage. It can pass laws that make it easy or hard for workers to join unions. The General Assembly can pass laws to start new projects that will give people jobs and help people live better. It can pass laws so that the state and local governments can take part in the many federal programs that will help the people.

The General Assembly of South Carolina is made up of two parts: the State Senate and the State House of Representatives. The Senate has 46 members (senators) who are elected for four years. The House has 124 members that are elected every two years. The General Assembly meets in the State House in Columbia every year beginning in January and meeting every week, sometimes as late as July before adjourning.

Members of the General Assembly are elected in primary elections (in June) and general elections (in November) just like the executive officers are elected. Members of the House are elected on every even-numbered year like 1970, 1972, 1974. Senators are elected every four years.

The state is divided into senatorial districts. Members of the Senate are elected by the voters in each district (See map of senatorial districts). Every district is made up of one or more counties. Many districts have two or more counties. Some districts elect only one senator. Others elect two or more senators from their district depending on the population.

Members of the State House of Representatives are elected from each of the 46 counties, and the number of representatives from each county depends on the population. Some counties will have as many as ten state representatives; others will have only one.



Senatorial Districts

COURTS

The judicial branch of South Carolina government is made up of six types of courts.

The highest court in the state system is the South Carolina Supreme Court, consisting of five judges elected by the General Assembly for ten-year terms. One job of the Supreme Court is to hear appeals from the lower courts in the state. If a person does not believe he has been given a fair trial in the lower courts, he may appeal his case to the Supreme Court. Another job of the Supreme Court is to decide if laws are in agreement with the South Carolina Constitution.

The next level of the judicial system is found in the 16 circuit courts in the state. Sixteen judges, one from each judicial circuit (see map on next page), are elected for four-year terms by the General Assembly. The Circuit Court is divided into the Court of General Sessions, which hears criminal cases only, and the Court of Common Pleas, which hears civil (suits for money and non-criminal matters) cases only. There is a state lawyer in each judicial circuit called the Solicitor. He is elected by the voters in each judicial district for a four-year term. He represents the state in criminal cases and is also known as the prosecutor.

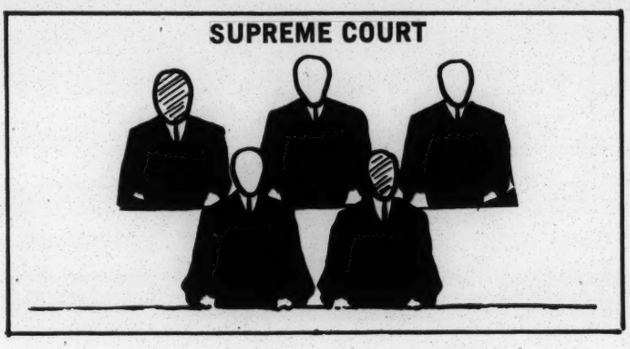
A third level of the judicial system in South Carolina is that of the special courts created by the General Assembly. These are Juvenile Courts, Domestic Relations Courts, and County Courts in the counties with large populations. County Courts deal with minor offenses at the local level.

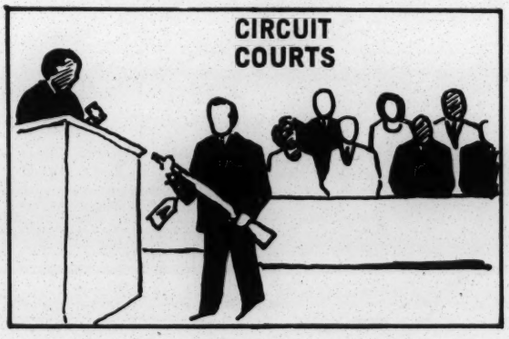
The fourth type of court is the Probate Court, through which the Probate Judge deals with estates, wills, marriage licenses and minors, and handles the affairs of the mentally incompetent.

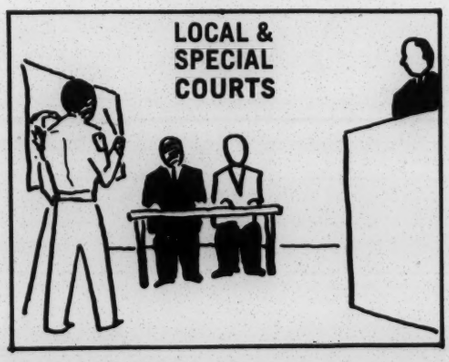
The fifth type, the Magistrate Courts, deal with minor civil and criminal offenses usually, but not always, of not more than $100 claims in civil cases, and fines of not over $100 or jail sentences of not more than thirty days in criminal cases. In some of the counties the limit is higher, sometimes $200 and sixty days.

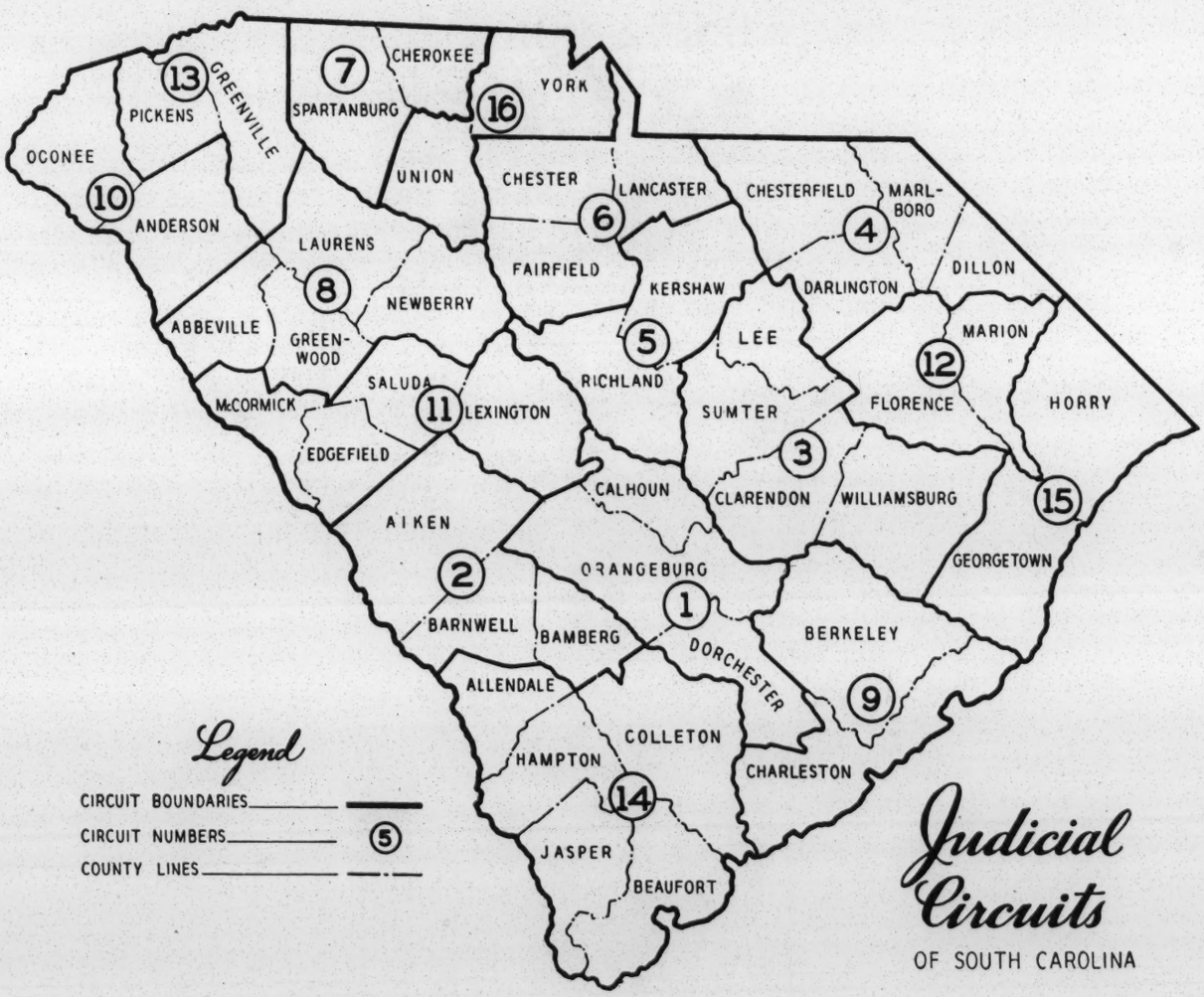
The sixth type of court is the Municipal Court. This court tries cases which involve violations of city ordinances or laws.

COURT SYSTEM





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DILLON
ABBEVILLE
GREEN-WOOD
NEWBERRY
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McCORMICK
SALUDA
LEXINGTON
RICHLAND
SUMTER
FLORENCE
HORRY
EDGEFIELD
CALHOUN
CLARENDON
WILLIAMSBURG
AIKEN
ORANGEBURG
GEORGETOWN
BARNWELL
BAMBERG
DORCHESTER
BERKELEY
ALLENDALE
COLLETON
HAMPTON
CHARLESTON
JASPER
BEAUFORT
Legend
CIRCUIT BOUNDARIES
CIRCUIT NUMBERS
COUNTY LINES
Judicial Circuits
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

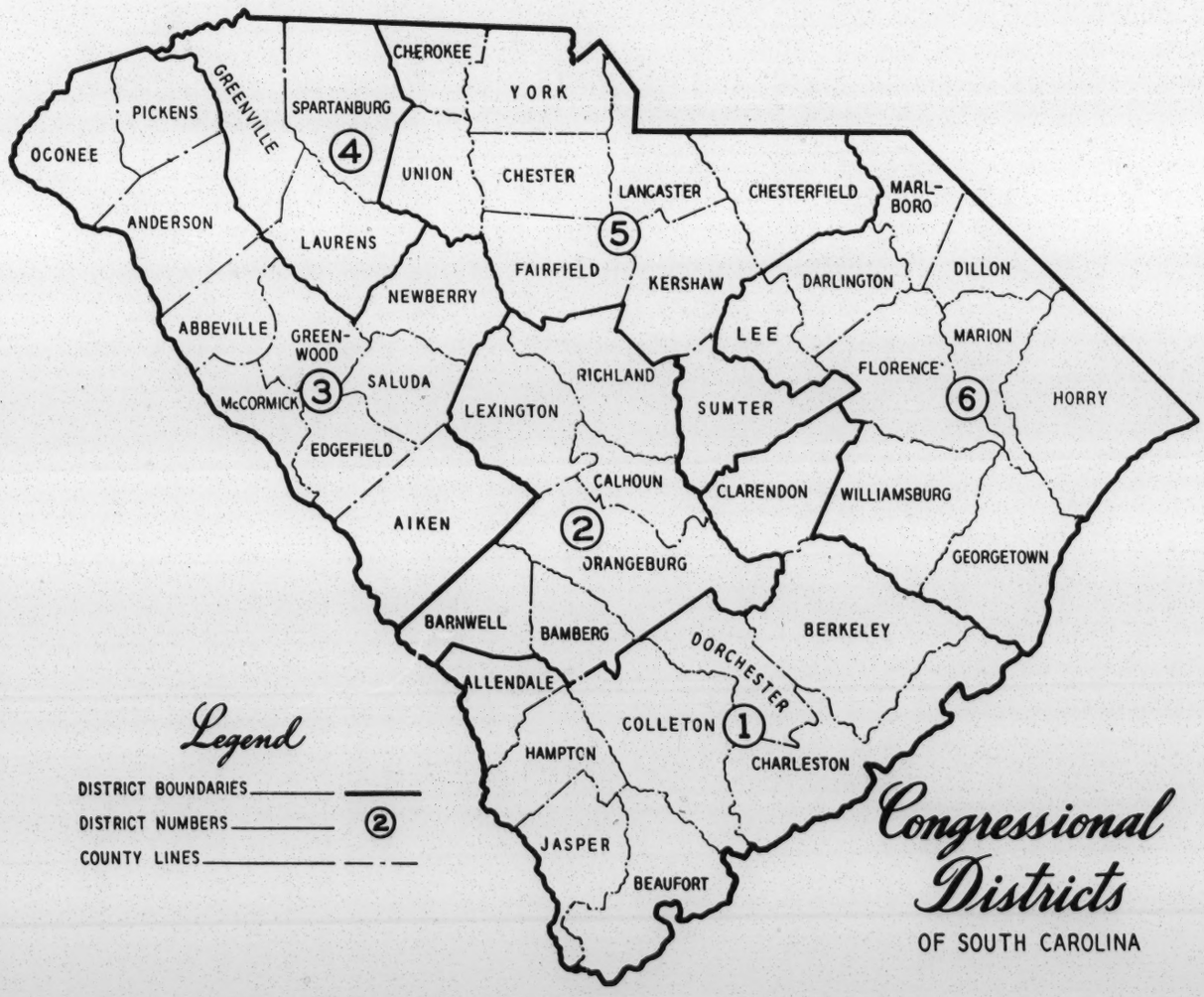
CONCLUSION

This booklet doesn't tell you all you need to know about South Carolina government—that would take a booklet many times this size. But it does tell you some of the important things every citizen of the state should know. You should ask for details of how your county, city or town government works from some reliable leader in your community who knows your county or city.

There is other information available that can tell you more about government and citizenship. This information about voter registration, election rights, precinct meetings and other important matters is available for individuals and groups for workshops which can be held in your community by the South Carolina Voter Education Project. If you would like to have a workshop in your town or neighborhood or would like to have a copy of other materials on voting education, get in touch with:

SOUTH CAROLINA VOTER
EDUCATION PROJECT
Room 208, 1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 20201
Telephone: (803) 254-4231

(Illustrations for this booklet were adapted from published drawings of Thomas C. Daye.)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BERKELEY
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HAMPTON
CHARLESTON
JASPER
BEAUFORT
Legend
DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
DISTRICT NUMBERS
COUNTY LINES
Congressional Districts
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE WAKE OF HURRICANE CAMILLE:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE FEDERAL RESPONSE

A Report

by

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

November 24, 1969

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American Friends Service Committee
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THIS SURVEY: WHY?

Americans have a reputation for a warm and ready response to the victims of floods, hurricanes, tornadoes and earthquakes. When such disasters strike, clothes, food and funds pour out to the suffering people from communities across the land.

The immediate response last August to the victims of vicious Hurricane Camille reflected those generous and humane qualities. Camille was a storm of unprecedented force, with winds that travelled 200 miles an hour and waves that reached over 30 feet. As she hit the Gulf Coast areas of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, she killed at least 250 people and brought immeasurable suffering and loss to hundreds of thousands more. There was a nationwide outpouring of material aid and offers of assistance to Camille's victims. Observers present in the immediate wake of the storm witnessed countless acts of heroism and service on the part of private citizens and public officials. The magnitude of the federal effort in reaction to the devastation of Camille was probably unprecedented.

Despite all this human concern and these vast resources, our national response to the victims of Camille was, and continues to be sadly inadequate. There were serious inequities in the immediate relief of suffering and there are now serious weaknesses in the planning for long range reconstruction of the areas affected.

Why? Why, with the immediate concern, resources and open-handed response to need, should a coalition of Mississippi anti-poverty and civic action groups have to report one month after Camille struck that

"many people on the Gulf Coast are still surviving in squalid conditions, doubling up in neighbor's houses which are damaged and which lack adequate sanitation facilities" and that for lack of adequate information about their rights many people were being victimized by unscrupulous land development speculators and contractors?

And why, one month later still, should the same group of local citizens have to telegraph the Red Cross about lack of adequate relief services for poor people?

Why should a team of private agency observers report that as of late September significant numbers of people in the nine or ten county area of Mississippi affected by the storm were still suffering from inadequate access to food or facilities where food could be prepared or stored; a lack of adequate transportation and communication; a serious lack of knowledge about where to go among the maze of private and public agencies purporting to help families and individuals; and an excess of rumors regarding food, housing loans, and other forms of help -- rumors which tended to deter people from finding solutions to their problems?

The American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council, with important assistance from staff of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and many individuals and organizations in Mississippi, searched for answers to these questions. The report which follows is a summary of our major findings and recommendations. It is our hope that a penetrating look at the response to Hurricane Camille may bring additional action now to meet continuing urgent needs and that it may also bring some further understanding of what lies behind the nation's inability to cope well with the consequences of such disasters.

Our release of this report is based on the expectation of enlightened responsiveness from those who control the resources needed to solve the real and painful problems found in the aftermath of a disaster such as Camille.

In the week following Hurricane Camille, we sent a lone observer, familiar with the area, on a trip across the Gulf Coast and into some of the inland towns. On the basis of his report, we queried federal officials as to the exact nature of their responsibilities and about the resources available for meeting some of the needs described. In mid-September, a team of four spent three weeks in the affected area -- primarily in Mississippi, but also in neighboring states hit by the hurricane. They travelled 2500 miles, interviewed over 275 different people, including private citizens -- rich and poor, black and white -- public officials, community leaders, and organization representatives. Their work was supplemented by a special effort in Washington, manned by two professionals, one loaned by the Washington Research Project. In October, one of the original Mississippi team members returned to the Gulf Coast so that our information and observations could be kept fresh.

Our focus has been on the response of government and those private agencies with which it shares responsibilities. The federal government is the major force in the nation's response to natural disasters. It has the capacity and responsibility to mobilize massive resources quickly. We studied the policies and organization behind the federal operations in relation to Hurricane Camille and we sought to isolate the factors responsible for continued and widespread dissatisfaction on the part of the victims of that hurricane.

The documentation of specific complaints in crises following such events as hurricanes is extremely difficult, but given the persistence and consistency of such complaints, and taking into account the unsolved problems of racial and economic exclusion in communities to which natural disasters often come, the probability of the basic validity of the complaints is high.

It is undeniable that the way society is organized to deal with critical community problems in normal situations will influence its style and capacity in dealing with a crisis, as a result of which the usual, unsolved and already critical problems are made worse. But for precisely this reason, disaster personnel might be expected to develop unusual sensitivity and new capacities to reach out to those who -- already "stricken" in their normal lives by the man-made disasters of poverty and denial of rights and opportunity -- suffer terribly when natural disaster strikes them also.

The on-going work of the AFSC and the SRC concerns the man-made disasters, those which result form man's inhumanity to man. Although the AFSC does have considerable experience in relief work abroad, the Committee and the SRC issue this report against a background of work designed to achieve social and economic justice in this country. We also carried on our explorations and wrote this report against a background of considerable experience over the past decade or more in the region hit by Hurricane Camille.

Most importantly, we conducted our investigations and have written this report out of concern for the people caught in the misery of the aftermath of disaster. Such a concern does not exclude anyone -- rich or

poor, black or white. In Mississippi we found a tragic number of "new poor", families who formerly had marginal or middle incomes, and who were suddenly made poor when their possessions were wiped out. Many may never recover their security.

Our concern with people does not deny the importance of rebuilding roads and bridges and businesses, for we know that people must travel to jobs, to schools, to welfare offices and hospitals, and we know there must be jobs again. But in Mississippi, we found inordinate concern with the "suffering" of business and damage to roads and too little concern with the suffering of people, who needed and still need, sensitive help in putting the pieces of their lives together again.

And finally, our concern for people leads us vigorously to support those Mississippi leaders who are insisting that the voices of the black and the poor be heard in the planning for building anew where Camille has destroyed. Indeed, the opportunity to build freshly, abandoning the old patterns of exclusion which have so hampered the development of the area, could be the one bright side to the horror of the aftermath of Camille.

THE GOALS OF FEDERAL DISASTER PROGRAMS: PHYSICAL RECONSTRUCTION AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY

For all practical purposes, the thrust of federal disaster aid is in the direction of physical reconstruction and economic recovery -- necessary, but certainly insufficient aims of public policy. Though no one would minimize the importance of this kind of dealing "with things and not with people", it clearly leaves thousands of disaster victims exposed to misery from which they should be protected.

The Office of Emergency Preparedness. Marshalling the nation's resources in response to a major natural disaster is primarily the function of a single federal agency, the Office of Emergency Preparedness (OEP), which is in the Executive Office of the President. Public Law 81-875, the Disaster Relief Act of 1966, and various executive orders assign OEP exclusive power to "plan and coordinate all Federal programs providing assistance to persons, business concerns, and entities suffering loss as the result of a major disaster" and "to direct any Federal agency to utilize its available personnel, equipment, supplies and facilities." OEP is also the agency which administers the President's disaster relief fund and the agency through which state governors request emergency disaster aid. As a measure of OEP's responsibility in the Camille disaster, government officials estimated in early November 1969 that Mississippi alone would receive between $50 and $60 million from all federal sources, including $6 million from the President's relief fund.*

* - New authority was granted to federal agencies by the Disaster Relief Act of 1969, signed on October 1, after Camille struck.

Despite the magnitude of problems caused by natural disasters, and especially those with the destructive fury of Camille, natural disaster relief is only a minor part of OEP's responsibility. The agency is principally assigned responsibility to prepare the nation for the consequences of armed military attack upon the civilian population. It is concerned with strategic materials stockpiling, establishment of emergency governments ("the national defense executive reserve"), civil defense coordination, public facilities reconstruction, economic stabilization, wartime censorship, and other programs needed for the nonmilitary preparation of a nation attacked. Though its duties in natural disasters are described in the statutes cited above, its main responsibilities are detailed in the Defense Production Act of 1950, the Civil Defense Act of 1950, and implementing executive orders. It is now headed by a retired military official, Brigadier General George A. Lincoln.

OEP's responsibility for civilian defense, with its emphasis on physical and structural preparedness, significantly colors its approach to natural disasters. The agency views its prime responsibilities in natural calamities to be those providing for physical reconstruction of public facilities, debris clearance, and aid to state and local governments. This is made explicit in OEP's "Federal Disaster Handbook for Government Officials." Here, OEP indicates that individual needs will be met primarily by the American National Red Cross, while explaining that "Federal agencies deal primarily with States and local governments..." To a limited degree, this approach is understandable because these obligations are most explicitly defined in the law (P.L. 81-875). Nevertheless, the general leadership responsibilities of OEP are essential to a balanced federal approach to disaster relief and recovery which takes into account both human and

physical dilemmas. To date, however, the agency has severely circumscribed its own activities under its general leadership mandate: it is geared to deal with objects and not people, governments and not individuals, systems and not persons. In an interview with our staff, Mr. George Hastings, specially assigned disaster chief for the Camille area on the Gulf Coast, summarized this view when he stated, "We deal with things and not with people."

The Governor's Emergency Council. The primary state body in Mississippi concerned with recovery from Camille is the Governor's Emergency Council. The Council was created by Governor John Bell Williams on September 6, 1969 "to make an immediate determination of all factors that relate to the long range development of the affected area," to explore all avenues of assistance, and "to recommend a comprehensive plan for the accomplishment of the maximum long range development of the area's recreational, cultural, and economic life." Its overriding emphasis is on economic recovery and redevelopment.

The Council is supported by a $495,000 grant from the Economic Development Administration in the U.S. Department of Commerce. Local matching requirements have been waived Its ten members were appointed by the Governor and are all white and all bankers, lawyers, or big businessmen. Only three members live on the Gulf Coast. One is a banker, one a boat and barge company owner, and one a real estate man. With one major exception, the Council has not been involved in immediate, human needs on the coast and other hard-hit areas. It has instead concentrated on such development items as the creation of a uniform building code for the coast communities. (The ultimate objective appears to be the creation of a

single metropolitan government along the coast and the construction of a recreational and resort area similar to Miami Beach, Florida.) Nevertheless, disregarding the all-white, non-representative, single-interest character of the Council, the President on September 16 ordered all federal agencies giving disaster aid to Mississippi to "coordinate their activities and efforts through" this body.

NEGLECTED HUMAN ASPECTS OF RECOVERY IN FEDERAL DISASTER PROGRAMS

The failure of OEP to meet its leadership responsibilities in the area of individual human care and the preoccupation of the Emergency Council with economic recovery, has left a vacuum into which rumor, insensitivity, confusion and misdirection have rushed. There is no government-wide plan by which the dimensions of human need are measured after a natural catastrophe occurs. In addition, there are no apparent standards by which OEP can gauge the adequacy of services provided by other federal agencies.

Outreach and Communication. In the aftermath of Camille, there was systematic analysis of destruction of public facilities, but no comparable affirmative federal action to measure accurately the extent of human suffering and disruption. For example, OEP might have taken advantage of the grassroots outreach potential of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in assessing human needs. Furthermore, OEP apparently ignored OEO's recommendations concerning human need submitted less than three weeks after the hurricane. For example, outreach people to make contact with the elderly poor were not extensively employed nor was provision made for adequate transportation to and from places of employment.

For the most part, human beings who had been physically and mentally disoriented by the awesomeness of a violent storm were required to go to federal offices and describe the extent of their own plight. In some cases, for example SBA, the locations of these loan and aid dispensing offices were not prominently indicated nor sufficiently advertised. In addition HUD's

emergency housing policy guidelines regarding available assistance were not laid down quickly nor made public in clear and understandable terms until, as we point out later, more than two months after the hurricane struck. And even then no affirmative effort was made to put the information in the hands of the people whom they might especially concern. Informational flyers were not distributed widely; sound trucks did not travel the back roads nor reach the trailer camps; outreach workers were not extensively employed to seek out those who might need assistance.

This is certainly an ineffective way for the government to comprehend the extent to which a natural disaster has caused hunger, homelessness, mental and physical illness, confusion, and unemployment in a large geographic area serviced by relatively few emergency aid offices. It is difficult to understand why an official agency is willing affirmatively to take steps to measure the extent of physical loss, yet is reluctant to do so for human loss. The remainder of this section describes specific areas in which there has been failure to concentrate on human needs.

HUD and Emergency Housing. Our experience during the Camille disaster has been that the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has been highly insensitive to human problems. We can only describe the involvement of this agency in disaster relief as "reluctant." When the hurricane struck, HUD was unprepared to meet its responsibility to provide emergency temporary husing for storm victims.* When the need for

* - (Though a 1962 Executive Order on emergency preparedness required the Housing and Home Finance Agency, HUD's housing assistance predecessor, to "develop plans for the construction and management of emergency housing..." Though this was an order primarily concerned with armed attack, any plans made presumably would have been effective for natural disasters as well.)

emergency housing became apparent, HUD acted quickly to arrange for distribution of mobile homes, but its management of the program has led to great confusion and often public unwillingness to apply for the benefits. Though figures vary, OEP reported in its latest official report (September 25) that in Mississippi alone there were about 4,000 homes destroyed and 12,000 which received major damage, yet applications have never exceeded one third of this total. A general policy outlining the terms of tenancy (whether you have to pay rent, how much you pay, who pays what for utilities and hook-up, how long you can stay, etc.) was not released until October 17, two months after the storm struck. For 60 days after Camille swept the area, those assigned trailers signed a lease which left blank the spaces dealing with amount, if any, of rent.

Rumors spread rapidly in this information void. One couple needing housing, for example, told our field staff they would not apply because they heard they would have to pay $85 per month rent plus $150 for utility hook-up. Though many such rumors were not based on fact, the confusion of local HUD representatives in the absence of clear guidance from Washington only heightened speculation. Moreover, HUD originally intended to stop receiving applications for housing by October 10 -- before their explanatory policy came out -- and when we asked HUD officials to extend this deadline because of the local misunderstandings about the program, they responded that they were "unsympathetic" to anyone who had failed to apply. (The deadline was extended 30 days due to last-minute interventions by Senators Hugh Scott, Charles Percy, and Edward Brooke.)

In addition, the tenancy agreement finally announced by HUD allowed for only 90 days free rent instead of the one year permitted by law; no special attempts were made to secure trailers for off-shore counties hit

hard by the storm (by late October, only 16 trailers had been delivered to these counties); and, in general, the delivery of trailers has been seriously behind schedule.

Consumer Protection. The general area of consumer protection is also one where the absence of government aid has led to aggravated suffering by victims. Perhaps the most widespread and dramatic example has been in the settling of insurance claims of destroyed homes and property. Private insurance companies dispatched approximately 600 extra insurance adjusters to the hurricane area to settle claims as quickly as possible. The insurance industry reported that by early November 87% of the claims had been settled. In many cases, these claims were settled for 10% - 30% of the face value of the insurance contracts; this situation takes advantage of the victim's desperate need for short cash. Moreover, many claims have been either denied or reduced on the contention of the insurance firms that damages have been caused by water (not covered by homeowner policies) and not by wind. For example, our team was told by one man that the roof of his house had been blown off and the interior of his house had then been flooded by rain; he got $1,000 for his roof.

The general insurance situation has caused great public complaint, yet there has been no evidence of government presence to protect consumers. It is especially important because the devastation of the storm has, in effect, created a class of "new poor", people in marginal or middle income circumstances before the storm who suffered so much economically that they are heavily dependent on whatever insurance coverage they had for recovery. The failure of state insurance regulatory officials to protect

victims has caused a local scandal and has led to a county grand jury inquiry into the activities of the state insurance commissioner. (One local employee of the state agency reported to our staff that it was their job to "pacify the people.")

What is distressing in these circumstances is that information could be developed to help hurricane victims if there was interest to do so. The U.S. Weather Bureau, for example, hired one of the world's leading atmospheric meteorologists to analyse the nature of the storm immediately after it hit. Our staff interviewed him while he was preparing his report. He was impressed with what he called "the tornado-like" ferocity of the storm, and indicated that there was clearly widespread and heavy wind damage; in areas immediately adjacent to the shorelines there was also severe water damage. Information like this could be extremely beneficial to storm victims were someone in the federal (or state) government watching out for their interests.*

* - Some help is coming through an OEO legal aid grant, which is being used primarily on insurance cases. But, as we discuss below, this is really a distorted use of OEO money and is severely limited in scope.

CLASS AND CARE

An argument is made by some advocates of the present federal disaster policy that disasters usually hit middle-income people harder than the poor. This is unfounded. Undoubtedly, a family with considerable income and substantial real and personal property is more likely to suffer a greater dollar loss than a poor family in the same disaster area. But actual dollar loss tells very little about the hardship which a disaster brings to an individual family. Much more important is the human need which the losses formerly fulfilled. For example, the poor family who loses a $5,000 house is likely to suffer more than a family who loses a $30,000 house. Though neither family has a place to live, the poor family will in all likelihood be less able to recover. In most cases, the wealthier family will have supplemental assets, including insurance, to help it to full recovery. Humane systems of disaster aid would take into account actual need and not only dollar losses.

The demographic characteristics of the Mississippi coast counties, and especially those more inland, mark them unmistakenly as poor, significantly black, and undereducated. (See appendix.) Yet, the federal government and private agencies to which it has delegated disaster responsibilities have dispensed assistance as if they were dealing with wealthy suburbs.

Federal Aid to Individuals. OEP's Disaster Handbook indicates that individuals should get assistance from either private agencies or one of the following federal agencies which give loans: the Small Business Administration, Farmers Home Administration, Federal Housing Administration, and Veterans Administration. Federal

disaster aid, therefore, with the exception of emergency housing, is basically limited to loans and rests substantially upon the ability of individuals to establish credit, or the ability to repay. For people who are poor -- who are unemployed or seasonal workers, who have very low incomes when they get a chance to work, who rarely have collateral to back a loan and who cannot promise regular repayments -- this system is cruel.

Though loans fairly provide aid on a repayment basis to those who can meet the economic standards required, they arbitrarily discriminate against those who are not in the right economic class. Moreover, loans are not generally given to any person if, as a result, his real property will be worth more than before the disaster.* Clearly, such a policy inevitably works against those whose possessions before a disaster were worth very little, e.g. a person living in a wood frame, two room home with minimum furniture could not qualify. SBA does grant loans to persons to build homes of increased value if they lived in homes which failed to meet minimum housing code levels. The loans can be used to construct homes to meet these minimums. Generally, however, unincorporated areas have no such codes.

In the provision of emergency housing, the law allows free rent for a year or less (HUD, as we noted earlier, chose a limit of 90 days) and, thereafter, a rent and utilities payment not to exceed 25% of a family's income. This admirable formula, however, can have unfair effects. In

* - The 1969 Disaster Relief Act, passed after Camille, provides for forgiveness of the first $1800 of SBA and Farmers Home Administration loans. Theoretically, a person needing a loan of, for example, $2300, would have to repay only $500. This could help poor people who could qualify.

Camille, for example, fees have been established for emergency trailers according to their size, up to a maximum of $50 per month for a three bedroom unit. Because there are no income restrictions, rightly, on trailer tenants, this fee may be as much as 25% for some families and considerably less percent for those with greater incomes. In fact, a family with an annual income below $2500 would quickly reach the 25% limit. In disaster situations, when necessities have been destroyed or washed away and there are unusual expenses, this government-regulated cost can become unfairly burdensome to the poor.

Finally, the principal non-monetary federal aid available to disaster victims is food, through participation in one of the Department of Agriculture's food stamp or commodities distribution programs. The limitations of these programs have been documented elsewhere and it is not our intention to do so here.*

During September, the Red Cross paid the entry fee for persons wishing to participate in the food stamp program in Harrison County. While there may have been other factors involved, local food officials reported that when this Red Cross program stopped at the end of the month participation rates dropped; 23,057 households received food stamps in September. This was reduced to 1,360 households in October; or 95,536 persons in September and only 4,983 in October.

* - In Mississippi, if you have an income of $70/month or below you pay 50 cents for stamps. However, if your income is higher the fee increases rapidly, e.g. a family of four with $90-$110/month income has to pay $40/month for food stamps - almost half their income. If the income is $170/month, the family pays $56 and gets $78 worth of stamps. Anyone earning more than $180/month in Mississippi is not eligible.

Our observation of the operation of federal aid programs in the aftermath of Camille leads us to conclude that it is difficult for poor people to obtain disaster relief from such sources.

The American National Red Cross. How, then, are individuals cared for in a natural disaster? Theoretically, state and local officials should handle a considerable portion of the assistance. Practically, however, the location of these offices within the devastated area makes them victims as well, and especially if local employees live in the disaster area. Moreover, in poor states such as Mississippi, there is little likelihood that these agencies can respond effectively to the huge demands of an emergency. Harrison County, for example, has a population of about 166,700 and has no full-time public health officer. In these situations, the federal responsibility -- and especially that of OEP -- necessarily increases.

OEP has in effect delegated the bulk of its responsibilities for individual care to the American National Red Cross. The Red Cross is chartered by Congress to "carry on a system of national and international relief ... in mitigating the sufferings caused by pestilence, famine, fire, flood, and other national calamities ..." It is a quasi-public agency, supported entirely by voluntary contributions, but having close ties to the federal government in both purpose and operations. The chairman and seven other members of the 50-member Board of Governors are appointed by the President of the United States. It is housed in a federally owned building, has its books audited by the Department of Defense, and is recognized in Public Law 81-875 as a conduit for federal agencies for releasing emergency supplies in disasters. The Red Cross also maintains

a Statement of Understanding with the OEP to cover disaster functions, and it is through this formal agreement, last approved in May 1969, that OEP grants a preemptive role to the Red Cross for individual care in a disaster, covering such items as food and other consumable supplies, clothing, medicine, shelter, occupational rehabilitation, household furnishings, building and repair of homes. The Statement also provides that federal funds will not be used to pay state and local governments for expenses they incur carrying out functions which the Red Cross is able to perform. Coupled with statutory language (section 4 of the 1966 Disaster Relief Act) which provides for cooperation between federal agencies and the Red Cross, but which prohibits any action which will "limit or in any way affect" its operations, the Statement of Understanding essentially gives the Red Cross a free hand in providing individual disaster care without effective public oversight.

The Red Cross operates two related, but distinct, programs of disaster assistance. In the immediate aftermath of a disaster it concentrates on providing "mass care" which is dispensed through emergency offices manned predominantly by volunteers, and where victims are given medical care, some clothing, food, etc. As the immediate needs are met, however, this part of the program phases out. Caseworkers then arrive to develop individual recovery assistance for victims and their families. Disaster aid applicants complete detailed forms which describe their assets, liabilities, and losses. (The household furnishings loss list alone contains more than 90 items.) Caseworkers then determine how much each victim should get and the Red Cross issues a grant, or gift, to the victim.

By the beginning of November, 23,208 persons in Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama had received grants. Though normally the average Red Cross grant is $720, local staff are empowered to give $7500 without headquarters approval, and large gifts are granted. The Red Cross Biloxi office stated that the average Camille grant for them has been about $1100.

The Red Cross grant program is unique because it does not require repayment. Because federal financial aid for disasters is primarily limited to loans it is especially valuable. At first glance, therefore, it would appear uniquely suited to help all disaster victims, regardless of income. But theory has proved quite different from practice. Caseworkers are given a considerable amount of discretion in dispensing these grants, but generally are required to help applicants "resume their normal family life in the home and in the community." Just as for federal financial aid in disasters, there is no minimum standard of need by which the adequacy of aid can be measured, and because the organization attempts to bring victims back to their previous level of living -- regardless of what it was -- aid is dispensed unequally. Those who had more before the disaster will get more for recovery; those who had less will get less. And many poor will be referred to public relief agencies in lieu of getting Red Cross assistance (Mississippi does not have a general relief program; you must be either blind, disabled, aged, or a dependent child to get state welfare aid).

Guidelines contained in the Red Cross Disaster Casework Procedure Manual indicate how this general approach to disaster aid is translated into operating terms.

*Clothing: The Manual says, "Used clothing should be given only when the family's standards indicate it is appropriate." The Gulfport casework supervisor confirmed that this means if you've never had new clothing, you don't get any from the Red Cross (unless that's all there is). But if you are accustomed to new clothing, that's what you'll get.

*Household furnishings: The Manual says: "Needs will vary according to the amount and quality of furnishings lost, and the economic level, size, and composition of the family. For example, ...the family that lost poor quality furnishings can be expected to resume its normal way of living with used or unpainted items."

*Renters v. homeowners: The Manual says: "Rent. A family that has lost its shelter may be referred to a Red Cross operated shelter, or assistance may be provided by paying a maximum of one month's rent for a room, apartment, or home if the family does not have resources to pay for this expense." Payments to homeowners who have lost their shelter have no limit, are made to cover rebuilding costs, and can be for thousands of dollars worth of such costs.

The inequities which can result from this system of aid can be understood from the following examples (the first two were obtained by our field representatives from the aid applicants described).

*A black man in Waveland followed a white applicant into a Red Cross center. Both men had the same size families, but the black man had a substantially lower income. The white man got $80 for food, the black $5 for the same period of time.

*A young white couple on Point Cadet had their home destroyed. The husband's weekly income varied from $40 to $100. They were told they would receive an allowance to replace their furniture; they received $30 for groceries, $80 for clothes. They could not get money to rebuild their home, worth $4500, because "they would end up with more than they had before the storm." A 70 year old lady from the same area with more than $3000 in savings received $10,000 to rebuild her $11,000 destroyed home.

*The chairman of a consolidated citizens organization along the coast complained (in a telegram to the Red Cross) that a family with a $39,000 income received "a full bedroom outfit" while another family with a $3000 income got a mattress.

According to the disaster chief of the national Red Cross, Mr. Robert Pierpont, the Red Cross is fully cognizant that it does not serve all income groups equally. He summarized the organization's relationship with its clientele by saying, "We're not dealing with the poor, we're dealing with Mr. and Mrs. Average America."

The result of this Red Cross policy is that an agency acting on behalf of the federal government has decided to interpret its Congressional charter in such a way that a disproportionate amount of its fixed disaster budget ($10 million is budgeted for disasters annually, without special contributions) goes to people who are not poor. Though it is not our purpose to suggest that any disaster program ought to be a substitute for a carefully defined, humane program providing economic security for all people, it is clear that the net effect of this policy is to arbitrarily exclude a portion of the population from disaster assistance solely because they are poor.

The Disaster Aid Rationale. Both federal and private agencies therefore operate disaster assistance without any minimum standard of adequacy; they also disburse aid frequently according to the income or assets of the aid applicant. One can only conclude, therefore, that the general theory which guides the federal government in its disbursement of disaster aid is that no one should have, even temporarily, better living standards than they had before, even if they were poverty-stricken. In its own words, the Red Cross "considers only those needs that have been created or made worse by the disaster." Though certainly a reasonable sounding approach, the net result -- coupled with no minimum standard and a graduated level of care -- is inequality and inadequacy for many.

Special Needs of the Poor. Not only are the poor discriminated against in the general approach to the disbursement of financial aid, but their needs also go unmet in a number of special areas where they have particular concerns.

Legal Aid - Three days after Hurricane Camille hit Mississippi, negotiations began between the Mississippi Bar Association and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) for an emergency grant to establish a legal aid program to help "low income people" struck by the storm. A six-month, $50,000 grant was approved even though the Mississippi Bar has long opposed strong legal aid on behalf of the poor and civil rights, and even though (in violation of 42 USC 2809) no attempt was made to coordinate the program with existing community action agencies, or make it meet the peculiar problems of the poor. Two full-time attorneys have been hired and "volunteers" work at $10 per hour. No limits of income are set for people wishing to receive legal aid services. The president of the bar told our representatives that no advocacy actions would be taken, and that to a considerable extent the program was designed to keep out civil rights lawyers who might "start trouble." The NAACP Legal Defense Fund has collected six affidavits from black people who state they were refused aid.

The program concentrates primiarly on those issues which are of benefit to families with assets in the form of insurance or real property: settlement of claims cases for homes and cars, repairs or improvements on property, problems of getting into and out of contracts. While there is a clear need for such aid to people of all economic levels, OEO funds should not be used to provide such aid for the non-poor.

Planning and adequate representation: The future of the area hit by Camille depends mainly upon the Mississippi Emergency Council. As we indicated above, this Council is totally unrepresentative of both poor and black, indeed of any segment of Mississippi society but the business and banking community. In general, the Council has operated without

public sessions or hearings to gather information from the populace about what the direction of the new development ought to be.

For more than two months after the storm the Council failed to meet with representatives of the black community. Then, when the body extended an invitation to various private agencies interested in its activities, including our organizations, local representatives of concerned civil rights and anti-poverty organizations asked that the Council membership be made more representative. That request was denied, though a return offer was made to allow three non-member black people to sit in regular Council meetings and participate when appropriate.

Even though the federal government granted $495,000 to the Council, a grant which even waived local contributions in cash or kind, the President's representative said, "The President has no control over the make-up of the Council." This is an excessively restricted view of federal responsibility, especially when the Council had to sign an assurance of compliance with title VI of the Civil Rights Act in order to receive the money.

In the future, the issue of adequate and fair community representation will become increasingly important as HUD approves money and proposals for community planning, low income housing, etc. The Workable Program for Community Improvements Handbook, for example, states:

> A guiding principle of departmental policy is to insure that citizens have the opportunity to participate in policies and programs which affect their welfare. Therefore, the workable program requires ... that the community provide opportunities for citizens, including those who are poor and members of minority groups, to participate in all HUD - assisted programs for which a workable program is a requirement and in the community's plan to expand the supply of low and moderate income housing.

In view of the difficulties and shortcomings of HUD's performance in relation to community representation in the recent past, its future actions in this regard should be carefully observed.

Transportation: A crucial problem for poor people, especially those in rural areas, is transportation Lack of transportation after the storm -- even where it was not present before the hurricane -- has seriously hampered the effectiveness of relief work simply because many poor people have been unable to reach assistance centers. The OEO staff in Mississippi, for example, requested and received approval for an emergency food proposal which was geared primarily to obtain temporary transportation for poor people to reach food distribution centers. The federal government, aside from OEO, has been oblivious to this problem. The Department of Transportation's mass transit office has never made a survey of transportation needs after the storm.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND FEDERAL DISASTER PROGRAMS

There is a popular myth during disasters that the exigencies of natural calamities significantly reduce or entirely eliminate the normal hostilities and differences between races. Mississippi is, unfortunately, a perfect testing ground for this thesis, and from the beginning it has proved false. On one hand, there is little doubt that some federal officials and relief agencies have at least been aware that racial discrimination is possible during emergencies, e.g. OEP was prompt to investigate a complaint of discrimination after Camille, and the Red Cross has made some efforts to bring in black workers to the disaster area. Nevertheless, through both actions and inactions the Federal Government has indicated there is little national sensitivity to the problems of race, even during a calamity. Indeed, in some instances federal agencies and officials appear to be supporting discrimination.

One of the first, and most important examples, which we have discussed above, was the President's decision to recognize the all-white, unrepresentative Mississippi Governor's Emergency Council as the coordinator of federal aid. This act has become particularly repulsive to local black citizens because the White House acted after the membership of the Council was publicly named.

A number of other issues, however, specifically illustrate the failure of federal agencies to take steps to assure equal opportunity.

*The Small Business Administration appears to be approving loans in a discriminatory manner. In the month following the hurricane (September) SBA approved 617 disaster loans. All but 21 (3%) went to whites. In addition, the average white loan was $8,919 and the average black loan was $3,797. Finally, 99% of the total dollars in loans approved by SBA have been for whites.

*In general, federal agency responsibilities under title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, (which prohibits discriminatory use of Federal funds) are overseen by the Department of Justice. In this disaster situation, where at least $50 million is expected to flow to a state with a long history of racial problems, Justice has confined its actions to general conversations with OEP about title VI.

*The ability of the Federal Government to disburse school aid according to the Constitutionally-approved requirements of tital VI has been compromised. In late August an HEW official stated that school districts which were segregated in violation of title VI would not get aid (six districts in disaster counties are not in compliance). The Vice President publicly condemned this statement on more than one occasion, calling it at one point a "gratuitous determination by a minor official, repugnant as an example of overbearing bureaucracy ..." The Vice President's position has placed great pressure on HEW's civil rights staff to accept less than adequate compliance proposals in order to make districts which now violate the law eligible for aid.

*The bulk of physical clean-up work after Camille was done by private contractors working for the Corps of Engineers. No attempts were made by the Corps to assure nondiscrimination in hiring, even though they are required to do so by Executive Order 11246.

*The federal fair housing statute states that "all executive departments and agencies shall administer their programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively to further the purposes" of the law. HUD has principal responsibility for administering this act for its own activities and for other agencies. It has taken virtually no action under this language since its passage. This will directly affect the future development of the Gulf Coast.

Generally, therefore, the black citizens of Mississippi, who must suffer gross indignities every normal day, have had to withstand additional violations of law and spirit during this extreme situation. Contrary to the desires of those who felt that Camille might bring new hope through new building, there is every reason to fear that discrimination will exist as before, but be cloaked in a mantle of modernity.

FINDINGS

The response of the Federal Government and of agencies acting on its behalf to the disaster caused by hurricane Camille along the Gulf Coast of Mississippi was large. Private agencies also provided extensive immediate help. But to a great extent the federal influence was characterized by its size rather than by its sensitivity. The Federal Government appears to treat a natural disaster as it would a military disaster ... large numbers of troops are rapidly assigned to remove bodies and clean up debris, and are withdrawn as soon as possible. Though individuals have acted with great understanding in countless cases, our investigations show that in response to hurricane Camille:

1. The Federal Government devoted its primary attention to public facilities damaged or destroyed by a natural disaster and relegated the care of individuals to others. There are ample statistics on the destruction of bridges, highways, sewers and public buildings but far less detail about the destruction of homes and personal possessions. There is insufficient information about the degree to which people are hungry, sick, homeless or in need of special care.

2. The Federal Government has not recognized by its actions the need for imaginative outreach to people both numbed by disaster and cut off from normal channels of communication. Clear information regarding services available, location of sources of aid and the terms of such aid was not taken to people, and as a result rumors were rife and inhibited utilization of such services.

3. Aid was not dispensed equitably to all people. There is no minimum standard of need by which the adequacy of disaster care is measured.

Aid was frequently disbursed on a graduated scale of income; if you had more, you got more; if you had less, you got less. In the case of the American National Red Cross, this is official policy.

4. There has been no coordinated program to protect consumers from exploitation and fraud. Many "new poor" fortunate enough to have had insurance policies were forced to settle for a fraction of their claims. Two months after the hurricane, the Associated General Contractors of America had to warn Camille victims of the dangers of hiring fly-by-night repair contractors. Information about the nature of the hurricane which would have helped in these situations was not made available to victims.

5. The special needs of the poor have not been affirmatively identified and met. Often alienated from the community at large the poor are especially ill-prepared to cope with a disaster. Under normal circumstances the poor are least able to qualify for loans, and loans are the main category of recovery aid. Many of the poor live in isolated areas and aid was slow to reach them. The poor have not been involved in identifying needed emergency services nor in planning for the future, thus adding both to frustration and alienation.

6. The Federal Government has taken little or no action to combat racial exclusion and discrimination in this disaster situation, and in some instances is contributing to the problem. The Department of Justice has confined its actions to conversations with OEP about title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Other departments of the Federal Government have failed to take affirmative action to ensure non-discrimination.

Only a tiny percentage of SBA loans have gone to black people. Most importantly, the President has sanctioned the exclusion of the poor and the black from the long range planning process by designating the all-white Governor's Emergency Council as the official body through which all federal programs for reconstruction must be coordinated.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The above findings lead the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council to make the following recommendations, some of which are designed to help meet immediate continuing needs in the wake of hurricane Camille and others of which are directed toward the nature of the Federal response to possible future disasters.

1. We Recommend that the Federal Government and its agencies work only through state or local bodies which affirmatively embody non-discriminat ry policies and are fully representative of all segments of the affected area. If such a state or local body cannot be found or speedily created, the Federal Government should bypass non-complying agencies and itself directly administer federally funded or assisted programs for recovery and reconstruction: and that inasmuch as the Governor's Emergency Council of Mississippi is highly unrepresentative of the people of that state, the President immediately revoke his recognition of that Council as the coordinating agency through which federal programs of recovery and reconstruction reach Mississippi.

2. We Recommend that the President allocate sufficient portions of his disaster relief fund to meet the emergency food, unemployment and housing needs still existant on the Gulf Coast until such time as, at his request, Congress appropriates necessary funds for the implementation of the goals of the Disaster Act of 1969 (PL 91-79).

3. We Recommend that the Department of Housing and Urban Development rescind its order establishing charges for emergency housing and trailers, provide for free occupancy of trailers for one year, and extend its cut-off date for applications for housing assistance for as long as the disaster period is officially recognized by the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

4. We Recommend that the Office of Economic Opportunity establish and fund a special legal aid and ombudsman program for the Gulf Coast area, this program to be administered by a board representative of the total Gulf community including those the program will serve, i.e., the poor, and to continue until the disaster period is officially terminated by the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

5. We Recommend that the Department of Agriculture make available commodities, free food stamps and free school lunches for needy disaster victims for at least as long as the disaster period is officially recognized by the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

6. We Recommend that appropriate agencies immediately initiate and fund adequate job training and employment programs to provide income and security for those dislocated by hurricane Camille.

7. We Recommend that Congress convene an oversight investigation into the administration and direction of the federal response to hurricane Camille, with particular emphasis upon the Federal Government's preparation for, and ability to handle, the individual human consequences of natural disasters.

8. We Recommend that there be developed "Disaster Guidelines" which shall be binding on the Executive Office of the President and all federally supported, assisted or chartered agencies, and which should include the following among its provisions.

*Uniform minimum levels for aid, equally applicable to all people regardless of this pre-disaster economic status, shall be established to provide such basic necessities as food, shelter and medical needs for as long as is needed;

*Special needs unmet by this minimum standard shall be considered on request of individuals and families;

*All federal disaster programs shall adhere to the intent and provisitions of federal civil rights laws, including sending civil rights staff to the scene immediately;

*The total community affected, including the poor, shall be involved as soon as possible after a disaster in the planning and implementation of short and long range recovery and reconstruction activities;

*No agency shall terminate disaster aid without the concurrence of the overall coordinating agency.

9. Finally, we recommend that the Congress take appropriate steps to ensure that the agency designated to coordinate the Federal response to natural disasters reflect in its policies, personnel and program an equal concern for the human and physical dimensions of disaster reconstruction; and that Congress consider whether, in the light of the primary defense responsibilities of the Office of Emergency Preparedness, OEP is the suitable agency to carry out such coordinating functions.

We want to note here that the Senate Committee on Public Works announced November 21 that it would hold public hearings into disaster policy administration, with particular emphasis on the response to hurricane Camille. The Committee has indicated it will look into many of the areas we have discussed in this report. We are indebted to Senators Edmund Muskie and Birch Bayh for their sensitivity to these issues and their concern that these hearings be held, and to the Chairman of the Committee, Senator Jennings Randolph, for approving the hearings.

APPENDIX 1

Selected Demographic, Social, and Economic data for U.S., Mississippi, and for the Camille disaster counties

POPULATION

	Total 1960 (1)	Estimate 1968 (2)	%Increase or Decrease 1950-60 (3)	%Increase or Decrease 1950-68 (4)	%Urban (5)	% 65 yrs. + (6)	% Nonwhite (7)	%Migrants from different counties (8)
U.S.	179,323,175	-	18.5	-	69.9	9.2	11.4	17.4
Mississippi	2,178,141	-	-	-	37.7	8.7	42.3	16.1
County								
Harrison	119,489	166,700	42.1	98.0	77.4	5.9	16.1	34.3
Hancock	14,039	17,950	18.1	51.0	36.1	10.8	16.1	19.0
Jackson	55,522	83,450	76.8	163.0	61.3	5.3	19.6	26.8
Lamar	13,675	-	3.4	-	-	8.8	16.3	18.1
Pearl River	22,411	27,550	8.6	-	35.0	8.2	23.2	13.5
Stone	7,013	-	12.0	-	-	9.4	24.4	19.7
Marion	23,293	-	-2.8	-	30.6	8.6	33.9	11.0
Forrest	52,722	-	17 0	-	74.0	8.2	28.0	22.9
Walthall	13,512	-	-13.2	-	-	8.6	45.1	8.5

Sources: U. S. Census; Population and Economic study of Gulf Regional Planning Commission

APPENDIX 1 cont'd

Selected Demographic, Social, and Economic Data for the U.S., Mississippi, and for the Camille Disaster counties, continued

	FAMILY INCOME, 1960				EDUCATION		
	No. of Families (9)	Median $ (10)	% Under $3,000 (11)	% $10,000+ (12)	Medium School Yrs. Completed (13)	%completed less than 5 yrs. (14)	%completed High School or above (15)
U. S.	45,128,393	5,660	21.4	15.1	10.6	8.4	41.1
Mississippi	500,921	2,884	51.6	5.2	8.9	18.8	29.8
County							
Harrison	27,092	4,272	29.7	7.1	11.5	8.8	46.6
Hancock	3,308	3,129	48.1	5.6	8.9	15.7	32.0
Jackson	13.327	5,120	23.6	8.1	10.3	10.6	36.5
Lamar	3,376	3,167	47.6	1.9	9.1	13.0	26.1
Pearl River	5,420	3,372	44.3	5.0	9.0	14.6	28.5
Stone	1,657	3,058	49.1	3.2	9.9	13.3	31.8
Marion	5,577	2,816	53.0	5.8	9.2	15.7	27.6
Forrest	12,528	4,004	37.0	6.6	11.0	11.1	42.9
Walthall	3,142	2,282	61.7	3.0	8.7	17.3	25.2

Sources: U.S. Census; Population and Economic Study of the Gulf Regional Planning Commission

APPENDIX 2

POPULATION: SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI CITIES AND TOWNS

County and Locality	Population 1960
Jackson	
Pascagoula	17,155
Eastside	4,318
Ocean Springs	5,025
Moss Point	6,631
Escatawpa	1,464
Kreole	1,870
Harrison	
Biloxi	44,053
Gulfport	30,204
Including:	
Handsboro	1,577
Mississippi City	4,169
West Gulfport	3,323
Long Beach	4,770
Pass Christian	3,881
Hancock	
Bay Saint Louis	5,073
Waveland	1,106
Clermont Harbor	-
Pearlington	-
Forrest	
Hattiesburg	34,989
Marion	
Columbia	7,117
Pearl River	
Picayune	7,834
Poplarville	2,136
Lumberton	2,108
Walthall	
Tylertown	1,532

Source: Social and Economic Study of Gulf Regional Planning Commission